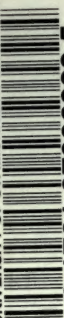



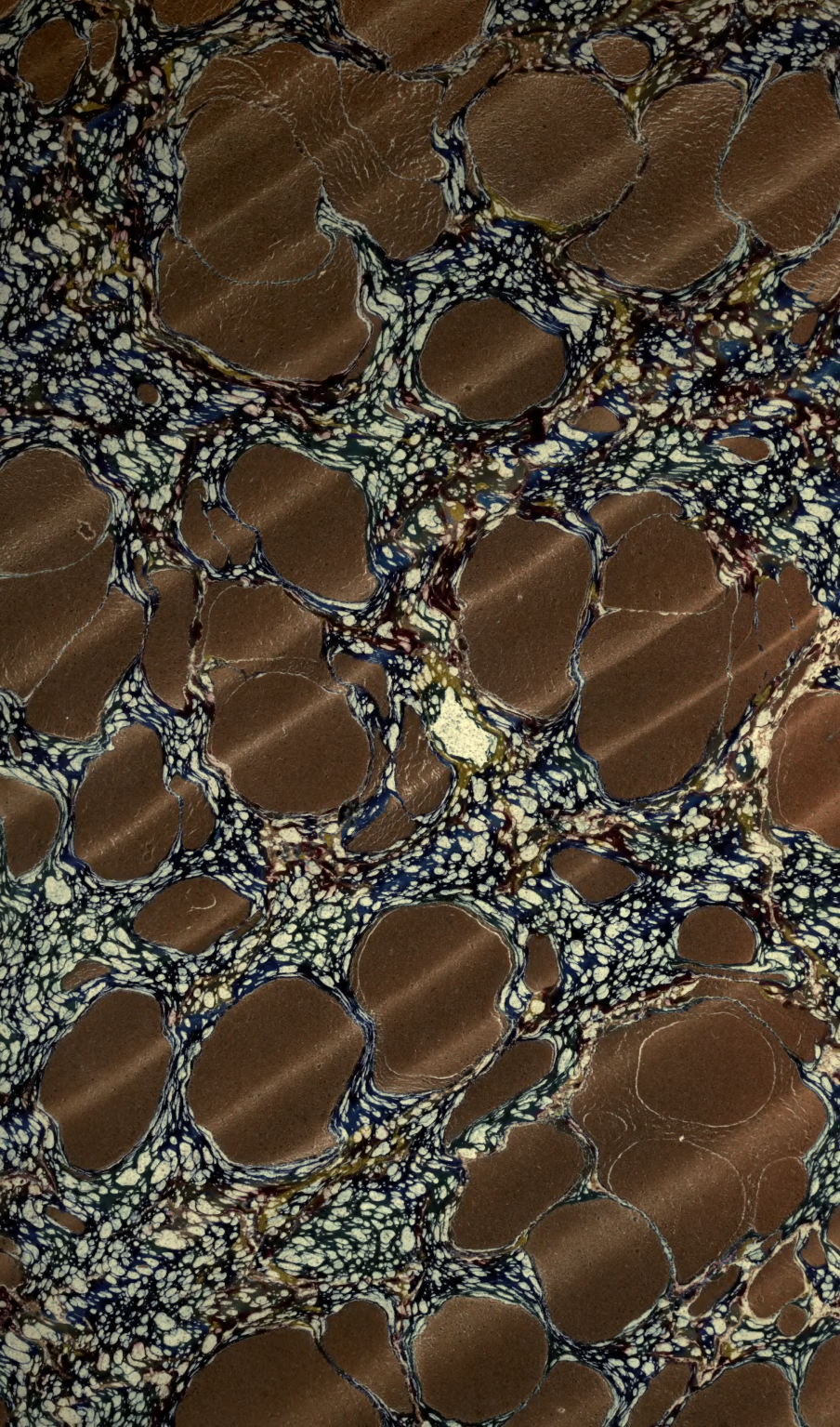
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CONTENTS

OF

No. XV.

ART.		Page
I.—1.	The Homilies appointed to be read in Churches; to which are added, the Articles of Religion, Constitutions, and Canons Ecclesiastical. Printed for the London Prayer Book and Homily Society. 1833.	
2.	Popery as opposed to Knowledge, the Morals, the Wealth, and the Liberty of Mankind—"A prodigious structure of imposture and wickedness." London, 1838. - - - - -	1
II.—1.	Encyclopædia Britannica. Edited by Professor Napier. Seventh Edition. London. 1830—40.	
2.	The Edinburgh Encyclopædia. Conducted by David Brewster, LL.D. Edinburgh and London. 1830.	
3.	The London Encyclopædia; an Universal Dictionary of Science, Art, Literature, and practical Mechanics. Twenty-two volumes. London, Sydney, and Hobart Town. 1839.	
4.	The Cabinet Cyclopædia. Conducted by the Rev. Dionysius Lardner, LL.D. &c. &c., assisted by eminent Literary and Scientific men. London.	
5.	The Family Library. London.	
6.	The Library of Useful knowledge. Published under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London.	
7.	Curiosities of Literature. By J. D'Israeli, Esq. Tenth Edition. London. 1838. - - -	56

CONTENTS.

ART.	Page
III.—1. The Arabian Nights Entertainments, carefully revised and occasionally corrected from the Arabic. To which is added, a Selection of New Tales. By Jonathan Scott, LL.D., in 6 vols. 12mo. London: 1811.	
2. Contes inédits des Mille et une Nuits, extraits de l'original Arabe. Par M. J. de Hammer. Traduits en Français, par M. G. S. Trébutien, 3 tomes, 8vo. Paris: 1828	
3. Tausend und eine Nacht Arabisch. Herausgegeben von Dr. Maximilian Habicht. 8vo. Breslau. 1825.	
4. The Alif Lailâ, or, Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night, in the original Arabic; Edited from an Egyptian MS. By W. R. Macnaghten, Esq. Vol. 1, 4to. Calcutta and London: 1839.	
5. The Book of the Thousand Nights and one Night, from the Arabic of the Egyptian MS., done into English by H. Torrens, B.C.S. B.A. Vol. I, 8vo. Calcutta and London. 1838.	
6. A new Translation of the Tales of a Thousand and One Nights; known in England as the Arabian Nights' Entertainments: with copious notes. By Edward William Lane, author of "The Modern Egyptians." London: 1838. - - - -	105
IV.—Life of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, Mother of King Henry the Seventh. By Caroline A. Halsted. London: 1839. - -	134
V.—Boz Sämmtliche Werke. Erster Theil—Die Pickwickier: oder Herrn Pickwick's und der correspondirenden Mitglieder des Pickwick-Club's Kreuz- und Quer-züge, Abenthuer und Thraten. Nach den Ueberlieferungen des Pickwick Clubs von Boz. (Dickens). Aus dem Englischen von H. Roberts; mit Federzeichnungen nach Phiz. In 6 Theilen. Leipzig, J. J. Weber, 1839. - - - -	160
VI.—1. The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon, Esq. With Notes by the Rev. H. H. Milman, Prebendary of St. Peter's, and Vicar of St. Margaret's, Westminster. London: 1838.	
2. Histoire de la Décadence et de la Chute de l'Empire Romain. Traduite de l'Anglais d'Edouard Gibbon. Nouvelle Edition, &c. &c. Par M. F. Guizot. Paris: 1828. - - - -	189

CONTENTS.

ART.	Page
VII.—Œuvres de Lamartine. Bruxelles: 1839. - -	221
VIII.—1. A Sermon preached at the Opening of St. Mary's Catholic Church, in Derby, Oct. 9, 1839. By Nicholas Wiseman, D.D. [Text, Matt. xiii. 31, 32, The Kingdom of Heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, &c.]	
2. The present State and Character of Popery in Europe, with Suggestions as to the Means best calculated to diminish its influence. Translated from the first number of "L'Europe Protestante." London: 1838. - - - - -	240
IX.—The History of the Rise and Fall of Chartism in Monmouthshire. Merlin Office, Newport; Bird, Cardiff. - - - - -	271

CONTENTS

OF

No. XVI.

ART.	Page
I.—Mores Catholici; or, Ages of Faith. Books I to IX. London: 1831—39. - - - - -	289
II.—Autobiography of Charles Waterton, (an exed to his "Essays on Natural History." London: 1838.	317
III.—1. Origines Liturgicæ, or Antiquities of the English Ritual. By the Rev. William Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford: 1832.	
2. A Treatise on the Church of Christ; designed chiefly for the use of Students in Theology. By the Rev. William Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1838.	
3. A Sermon, preached at the Chapel Royal in St. James's Palace, on the First Sunday after Trinity, June 17th, 1838. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D. London: 1838.	
4. Tracts for the Times. By Members of the Uni- versity of Oxford. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1838.	334
IV.—1. De l'Etat de l'Instruction populaire et primaire en Belgique, comparé avec celui de l'Instruction en Allemagne, en Prusse, en Suisse, en France, en Hollande, et aux Etats Unis. Par E. Ducpétiaux. Bruxelles: 1838.	
2. Ueber den gegenwaertigen Zustand des offenen Unterrichts in den westlichen Staaten von Deutsch- land, in Holland, Frankreich, und Belgien. Von Friedrich Thiersch. Stuttgart und Tubingen, 1838.	373
V.—Travels in Koordistan and Mesopotamia. By James Baillie Fraser. London: 1840. - - - - -	414

CONTENTS.

ART.		Page
VI.—1.	First Annual Report of the Irish Temperance Union, on the principle of Total Abstinence from all Intoxicating Liquors, for the Year ending 25th February, 1840. Dublin: 1840.	
2.	Professor Edgar's Digest of the Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, on the Extent, Causes, and Consequences of Drunkenness. Dublin: 1840.	
3.	Speech of John Mackay, Esq., on Temperance, delivered on the 29th of December, 1837, at the Rotunda. Dublin: 1840.	
4.	Dublin Weekly Herald; Temperance, Agricultural, and Commercial Journal.	
5.	The Dublin Morning Register. - - -	448
VII.—	Romish Review of "The Roman Schism," with Mr. Perceval's Reply. [Episcopal Magazine and Church of England Warder, for May, June, July, and August, 1839.] - - -	484
VIII.—1.	Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Gregorii Divina Providentia Papæ XVI Allocutio habita in Consistorio Secreto, die xxvii Aprilis M.D.CCC.XXXX. Romæ: 1840. Allocution of His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI, delivered in the Secret Consistory held April 27th, 1840.	
2.	Relazione della Persecuzione contro la Religione Cristiana, &c. Narrative of the Persecution against the Christian Religion, and of the glorious death of the Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Tonkin, of the Coadjutor Bishop, and of other Missionaries, slain in hatred of the faith, in the year 1838. Rome: 1840.	
3.	Annals of the Propagation of the Faith. London. 529	
	Miscellaneous Foreign Catholic Literature. -	554
	Intelligence. - - - - -	568

THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

FEBRUARY 1840.

ART. I.—1. *The Homilies appointed to be read in Churches ; to which are added, the Articles of Religion, Constitutions, and Canons Ecclesiastical.* Printed for the London Prayer Book and Homily Society. 1833.

2. *Popery as opposed to Knowledge, the Morals, the Wealth, and the Liberty of Mankind*—"A prodigious structure of imposture and wickedness." London, 1838.

IT is a remarkable feature in the character of the Established Church, that, though, from her origin, supported by all the power of the State, possessed of immense wealth, and all the advantages of "the Ascendancy," she has ever been compelled, in her contests with Catholicism, to resort to weapons of offence, for the employment of which it would be difficult to find a sanction in any code of morality recognized among Christians. The weapons, of which we are now disposed to complain, are misrepresentation and calumny. She has ever found it easier to prepossess her followers with the belief that "Popery" was a farrago of absurdities, than to state its real tenets, and refute them—to frighten them into a horror of that faith by the awful disclosures that it was damnable, blasphemous, superstitious, and idolatrous, and the source of everything odious in religion, morality, and politics, than to be at the trouble of telling precisely what it was that rendered it liable to this general condemnation. We cannot but regret, for the sake of our common Christianity, that her ministers have ever pursued this discreditable system. Whether it proceeded originally from the lack of charity, or of knowledge, it would be now difficult to determine. Certainly, men who were not overburdened with theology, would find it a more acceptable task to abuse than to confute their adversaries, as the weak in argument are ever the most furious in loose rhetorical invective; and they who rely on rhetoric,

must occasionally draw on their fancy and invention. Is it from a feeling of this nature that the members of the establishment have ever pursued that system of misrepresenting and vilifying Popery, instead of fairly stating her doctrines, and refuting them? Are they in dread to look Truth boldly in the face? We feel convinced that it is a consciousness of their own inability to rebut the tenets of Catholicism by argument, that causes them so generally to employ their oratory in depicting it in odious colours—in propagating every calumny against it, and especially in disseminating that spirit of hostility—nay, hate—to everything “Popish,” which characterizes “the true Protestants” of both kingdoms. If it be that congeries of abominations, which they represent it, why not anatomize and expose them, and not lay themselves open to the charge of falsifying and inventing? If truth would suit them, why resort to falsehood?

It would appear that in the prosecution of the warfare against Catholicism, the followers of the Established Church have acted on her principles without exercising their “private judgment” to discover any better code of morality. With them Popery has never ceased to be the object of every odious and degrading imputation. History has been falsified, justice tainted, and perjury openly rewarded, for the promotion of this “pious” and laudable object. The entire of the seventeenth century was one continued series of plots, perjuries, and impostures, to destroy the character of the Catholic body, and thereon to found pretexts for their persecution. Not content with imputing to the principles of Catholicism the crimes of every professing Catholic, the advocates of the Church suborned witnesses to accuse Papists of atrocities they never contemplated, while judges were corrupted and juries packed, to secure their conviction, that they might point these crimes out as the necessary emanations of “Popery.” Of this system of defamation we have a very “godly” example even in the Book of Common Prayer, in which, for the intended crimes of a few men, maddened by persecution, the Established Church did not scruple to denounce the whole Catholic world as “workers of iniquity, whose religion is rebellion, whose faith is faction, and whose practice is murdering of souls and bodies.”* This example has been followed with extraordinary success, the principal source of which has been the utter indifference to

* This was the original form of the thanksgiving. For altering it to its present *mild* form, Laud was accused by the managers of the Commons.—Vide “State Trials,” iv. Coll. 506.

truth exhibited by the majority of these "pious" maligners. Victory over the *Scarlet Lady* being the object, they appear to think, that, in such a contest, any means are allowable for the attainment of success: and, on such principles, "the flat, dull falsehood serves for policy."

Of the charges usually advanced against Catholicism, the one which we now propose to consider is that which connects "Popery and arbitrary power" in the minds of all who hear the thanksgiving of the 5th of November for the Revolution of 1688. There is scarcely one of them which exhibits, in truer colours, the real character of the Established Church, and proves how indifferent even she is to truth or consistency, provided she can calumniate Popery to advantage. From the very dawn of the Reformation, "Arbitrary Power," under the more captivating and evangelical title of Right Divine and Non-resistance, had been the idol of her aspirations, and had been made even an article of faith, without believing in which no one could presume to be a member of her fold, or reasonably hope for salvation. No other tenet had been more sedulously, more continuously inculcated. By this she secured the favour of the monarchs, to whom she was willing to assign *a participation in the Divine Omnipotence*. Up to the Revolution "Protestantism and Arbitrary Power" had been, in her estimation, the acmé of felicity and godliness. Up to that epoch she had been continually reviling Popery for her "anti-monarchical, king-deposing and soul-destroying doctrines;" simply because Catholics held that the monarch should be responsible for the exercise of his authority, and that by no law, human or "divine," was he entitled to "arbitrary power" over the lives, fortunes, or liberties of his subjects. For holding these fundamental principles of the constitution, their "faith was faction, and their religion rebellion." For these "damnable and anti-scriptural doctrines" they, and especially the Jesuits, were denounced as the enemies of the monarchy; nay, of every species of government. Nothing less than general and perpetual confusion could be the object of persons holding such detestable principles.* Every commotion, every disorder in the state was attributed to them. They were the original promoters of the Puritans, the Independents, "the Great Rebellion," and even the solemn league and covenant for "the

* Watson, in his *Quodlibets*, says it was the design of the Jesuits to bring all Christendom into confusion, by teaching "common soldiers to examine their kings what titles they hold by."

*extirpation of Popery,** &c. &c. This system of calumny she continued, until James, encouraged by her principles of divine right and non-resistance, attempted to employ the “arbitrary power,” of which she had been so zealous an advocate, for purposes of which the active majority of the nation disapproved. The Revolution was at length effected, on “the damnable and anti-scriptural” Popish principles, and in direct contradiction to her doctrines, the votes of her bishops, and the preaching of her clergy. When, however, a public thanksgiving for the altered state of the nation was to be prepared, the Convention pursued the old system of all “pious Protestants;” and as “Popery and Republicanism” had been the cry, while “arbitrary power” was in fashion, Popery was now necessarily to be associated with the doctrine most obnoxious under the new dispensation. The Church, as a dutiful child of the State, obeyed the injunction, adopted “a new song;” and has ever since been in the habit of annually thanking the Lord for her own deliverance, and that of the nation, “from Popish tyranny and arbitrary power;” by implication confessing, at the same time, the error of her former ways, by praying “*that we may not grow secure and careless in our obedience, by presuming upon thy great and undeserved goodness.*” From that period “Popery and Arbitrary Power” has been, of course, the watchword of that politic establishment, which, seeing the current of popular feeling to run against the revival of even “Protestantism and arbitrary power,” has been most anxious to impress the nation with the belief that Catholicism naturally tends to destroy the civil liberties of mankind. No article of heavenward faith has been more earnestly, more zealously, more pertinaciously inculcated than that “Popery and arbitrary power” were inseparable—as inseparable as cause and effect. This has been so long taught, without contradiction, that we fear the majority of Protestants, in both kingdoms, now regard it as a religio-political axiom. Until within the last few years Catholicism was such an object of general persecution, that few were found to defend her, so that every sponser and scribbler was at liberty to disseminate any calumny without fear of exposure or contradiction. Hence this imputation had such a possession of the public mind a few years back, that one of the pretences for depriving Catholics of their

* When Nalson and Carte introduce these charges into their histories, what would not “pious Protestant” pamphleteers have the impudence to impose on the credulity of their readers?

civil rights was that they were unfitted by their creed for freedom.

To this subject we would not now draw attention, if the cant of "Popery and arbitrary power" had not been lately revived by all the organs—scriptural and oratorical—of the Establishment, as one of the "*ingenious devices*" for checking "*the progress of Popery*;" but we feel compelled, in self-defence, to give some reply to the imputation. The chief ground on which this predisposition of Popery in favour of despotism, is usually supposed to be founded, is a gratuitous assumption that Catholicism depends principally for its stability on retaining its followers within the trammels of spiritual thralldom. But Catholicism has no greater tendency to produce or maintain a thralldom of any kind than any other form of Christian worship. It assuredly makes greater endeavours to induce men to observe the duties of morality and religion, than would be consistent with the first, abstract, and essential principles of Protestantism. But we are not to conclude, that, because men are observant of those duties, they must be slaves in their political relations. If we look through the history of the world, we find that those who have been the most able and sincere advocates of freedom, and who have conferred the greatest benefits on mankind in general, or their own countrymen in particular, were men who simply and faithfully discharged all the duties of social and domestic life, without making any extravagant pretences to supereminent piety, or exhibiting their "*freedom*" by a contempt for morality and religion. If men could not be religiously moral and politically free, civil freedom would be inconsistent with the respect due to the Deity—a proposition too atrocious to require refutation.

But Protestantism, by professing to proclaim the right of private judgment, has, in appearance, a tendency to allow men a greater degree of spiritual liberty than the Church of Rome. This is in appearance only. The principles of the latter are plain, clear, and undelusive, and in reality much more liberal than those of any or all the sects which have sprung from the Reformation. She certainly attempts not to enlist on her behalf the pride, presumption, and ignorance of mankind, by pretending to tell every unlettered boor and half-read witling, that he is as capable of judging rightly in matters of religion, as the entire body of Christians of the past and present generations.*

* Here Protestantism in the abstract has the advantage over her; but no one Protestant sect is entitled to this advantage, as no Protestant sect admits the right of private judgment.

This doctrine of the right of private judgment is the abstract principle from which the various forms of Protestantism have sprung. It is the *Ens Protestantismi*, in the language of the schoolmen. But it must be plain that this principle extends only to bringing different sects into existence; and that, as soon as they are in being, and have established articles of faith, and a mode of worship, it can no longer be allowed by them. It would be obviously inconsistent, that a Church which had adopted certain articles of faith, as embodying all that was essential to salvation, should teach every one that he was at liberty to form another set for his private convenience. If belief in those be essential to salvation, it is not right to tell him that he may dissent from them without danger to his eternal interests. And if it be not essential, what is the use of them? By teaching this doctrine every sect would be admitting *that itself was in error*, and inculcating the principles of its own dissolution, since the moment any one ceased to believe its articles, he would cease to belong to it. It will be found, on examination, that not a single sect commits this inconsistency; nay, that each one of the various modifications of Protestantism condemns every other with a virulence which proves that they differ from the apostle, and look upon "faith" as superior to "charity."

The advocates of the Church of England claim for it especially the merit of liberality and toleration, on the pretence of its teaching this right of private judgment. But it has never admitted any such doctrine. It merely allows a man the use of his natural faculties to study the Thirty-nine Articles, and to believe them and no other. That this is the utmost extent to which it allows this "right of private judgment," we will put beyond controversy.

In the declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, these are ratified by the head of the Church "requiring all our loving subjects to continue in the uniform profession thereof, and *prohibiting the least difference from the said Articles*;" and ordering "that no man hereafter shall either print or preach or draw the article aside in any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof, and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense."

Of the Canons of 1603, the first relates to the supremacy: by the second, the impugnors of this supremacy; by the third, the impugnors of the "true and apostolical" character of the Church; by the fourth, the impugnors of its worship; by the

fifth, the impugnors of its thirty-nine articles, are all excommunicated *ipso facto*, to be restored by the archbishop only on revocation of their errors; by the sixth, the impugnors of the rites and ceremonies of the Church; by the seventh, the impugnors of its government by archbishops and bishops, &c.; by the eighth, the impugnors of the mode of consecrating and ordering archbishops and bishops, &c.: by the ninth, those separating from her communion, and “forming themselves together in a new brotherhood,” are all excommunicated *ipso facto*, not to be restored till they repent and revoke, &c. &c.; by the tenth, those affirming that ministers refusing to subscribe to the form of worship in the Communion Book, and their adherents, might “truly take unto them the names of another Church, not established by law,” &c. &c.; and by the eleventh, the maintainers of conventicles are to be excommunicated; by the twelfth, the maintainers of the rules, orders, or constitutions made in conventicles are *ipso facto* excommunicated; by the 139th, those denying the synod to be “the true Church of England by representation;” by the 140th, those asserting that the synod did not include the absent as well as the present; by the 141st the depravers of synods;—are all to be excommunicated.*

If, after this wholesale system of *ipso facto* excommunication, the act of uniformity, the unrelenting and unceasing persecutions of that Church against all dissenters from its doctrines, and its innumerable decrees of damnation against Popery and Papists, its advocates will still pretend that it allows this right of private judgment, they are welcome to say anything. No man, as a member of that Church, has any right to dissent from any of the articles, “but shall submit to it in the full and plain meaning thereof,” or from any of the rites or ceremonies under pain of excommunication. It is only when he renounces her authority, and assumes the abstract character of a PROTESTANT, that he has any right to think for himself. The religious freedom at present enjoyed in this country, has been wrested from the State in spite of the Church of England: and if different *Protestant* sects are in existence in this community, it is because that Church has been unable to destroy

* The spiritual effects of excommunication might not be regarded by those dissenting from the Church on principle, except for the civil consequences annexed to them. A person excommunicated could not do any act required to be done by a *probus et legalis homo*. He could not be a juror, or a witness, or bring an action, real or personal, &c. &c. and was liable to the persecution of the Ecclesiastical Courts till he was restored. It was only by the stat. 58 Geo. III. c. 127, s. 2 and 3, that these civil consequences were abolished.

the first principle of *Protestantism*, and men have preferred enduring her persecutions to subscribing to her errors.

As the Church of England has been adopted by this kingdom, as the best of all the systems which have originated from the Reformation, and as it arrogates to itself the guardianship of "our glorious constitution," we shall compare its doctrines and practices with those of the Church of Rome, as to their relative tendency to extend or limit the civil rights of mankind. Both systems we shall regard only in their political relations to the constitution of these kingdoms. We must of necessity confine our illustrations to the only countries, to the institutions of which the Church of England has been enabled to extend its influence. English Protestants usually illustrate the arbitrary tendencies of Catholicism by some loose references to the histories of foreign nations. But they should recollect that they usually derive their knowledge of the affairs of Catholic countries from sources which are ever certain to give them an anti-Catholic colouring. They should suspend their judgment, as to the political tendencies of Catholicism in those countries, till they had thoroughly understood their history, and had well considered what connexion Catholicism really has with every act of a Catholic government. They know not what might have been the result, if Protestantism had been established in those countries. Let them learn what it has done at home in the cause of freedom; and then consider what it might have done abroad. On a future occasion we may travel into the history of other nations,—of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Germany,—and see what these owe to Protestantism. But we will now confine ourselves to home. We will compare Popish England with Protestant England; and her Popish kings, priests, and parliaments, with her Protestant kings, parsons, and parliaments. We will prove, by a plain detail of facts, that it is since the Reformation every tyrannic doctrine of arbitrary power has been introduced into the constitution and practice of this country; and that every resistance to it has been founded on the precedents, the laws, and the principles which had been established by the "besotted Papists." We will show that Catholicism has ever exercised its power in behalf of the rights of the people; and that "the Church, by law established," has made slavery an article of faith, and ever employed her authority for the destruction of the civil liberties of England.

As the entire system of government must depend on the doctrine entertained as to the responsibility of the supreme

magistrate for the use of the authority with which he is invested, we shall commence by comparing the views of the Church of Rome and the Church of England on this fundamental principle of civil polity. The Established Church regards kings as the absolute and irresistible delegates of God; the writers of the Church of Rome regard them merely as the officers of the people. But though this opinion has been maintained, the Church has not pronounced any judgment on the doctrine; for, regarding the salvation of man under every form of government—in all times and places—as the only legitimate object of its mission, it has not presumed to alloy the purely spiritual truths of Christianity by commingling with them any dogmas as to the civil government of states and empires. Founded by the Saviour for the propagation of his faith, and owing all its authority under Him to the respect and reason of universal man, it has had no occasion to seek support from monarchs, by making that faith subservient to the objects of their rapacity and ambition. Not limited to any one country, and owing its origin and stability to no human authority, it suited not its doctrines to the ends of faction in any state, or to the peculiar circumstances of any age or any nation;—but taught Truth as it was equally applicable to all—universal, immutable, and eternal. Regarding all men, whether princes or peasants, as equal in the eyes of its Founder, it taught not the monarch the “Reformed” and courtly doctrine that he was free from all laws of human institution, and accountable only in another world for his violation of those bearing the sanction of Heaven; but it taught him that he was as amenable to justice as the humblest of his subjects, and that though he might be certain of being punished in the next world, he was not to be allowed to run riot through the present. Thus it taught princes to be just, and subjects to be obedient; and, though it did not make politics an article of faith, it favoured those views of government, which tended to secure the happiness of the people. Everything connected with it served to cherish a love of liberty in the body of its clergy—itself the pattern of a perfect republic, with an elective and responsible head—the principles of election and representation continually carried into practice in the provincial and general councils—the perpetual study by the clergy of the stores of classical literature, and particularly of the language of the Catos, the Brutii, and the Fabii,—their connexion with that city, which could never be forgotten, for the lessons it had given mankind in freedom

and civilization,—their not being called into office by the breath of monarchs, but chosen for their merits by persons independent of princely authority,—united by the principles of their faith with their fellow-men in every region of the globe, and exalted with the feeling that they were propagating the doctrines of a Church not limited in space or duration,—all necessarily tended to lift them above the littleness of pandering to the humours of the tyrants of any country, whether they appeared in the form of mobs, oligarchs, or monarchs. They treated all alike with the same strict regard to justice ; and in the views of civil government which they have bequeathed to us, we find the rights of mankind asserted with a simplicity, dignity, and truth, which strangely contrast with the doctrines of those, who, in the exuberance of “ Reformed ” devotion and loyalty, condemned them as heterodox in faith and in politics. We cannot, however, blame the Established Church for the doctrines which it has adopted on this subject; being made by kings for kingly purposes, it could not refuse to perform the ends of its institution. But we cannot see any excuse for its wilfully misrepresenting “ Popery ” as the hand-maiden of “ arbitrary power,” merely because it thought its followers too ignorant or too prudent to expose the imposture.

It had been from the earliest period the doctrine of Catholic writers, that the people were the only legitimate source of all civil authority. As this doctrine is directly contradictory to the tenets of the Established Church, we shall cite a few passages,—not to prove that this is the doctrine of Catholicism, for no one disputes it,—but to contrast the plain, manly, and rational views of “ schoolmen, monks, and friars,” with those of the enlightened teachers of the Reformed Faith of England. It would rather puzzle an antiquarian to discover how the former could have conceived that any family had an indefeasible right to govern, with absolute and irresistible authority, any particular nation, or, in the words of the Canons of the Established Church, that “ *Monarchy is of Divine Right* ” in any particular family. Such a phantasy had never been known in any of the civilized kingdoms of the world, prior to the Reformation. The doctrines of ancient Greece and Rome, that in free states the magistrate was invested with authority by the people for their common benefit, was adopted by Catholic writers, as the only rational principle of civil government. In the eighth century we find Pope Zachary writing thus to the French: “ The prince is responsible to the people, whose favours he enjoys. Whatever he has,—power, honour,

riches, glory, dignity,—he has received from the people, and he ought to restore to the people what he has so received from them. The people make the king, they can also unmake him.”* St. Thomas Aquinas says, that civil governments are not “*jure divino*,” but “*jure humano*,”† and that “ordinare aliquid in bonum commune est vel totius multitudinis vel alicujus gerentis vicem totius multitudinis.”‡ Bellarmine says: “It is false that political princes have their power from God only: for they have it from God, only so far as he has planted a natural instinct in the minds of men that they should wish to be governed by some one. But whether men should be governed by kings, or by consuls: by one or by many: by a perpetual, or a temporary magistrate, depends on their own wishes: as also, it is not the special command of God, but the wish of men, which determines that this person should be king rather than that: wherefore, the same St. Thomas, in the cited passage, 2. 2. q. x. Art. 10, and q. xii. Art. 2, lays it down as a matter certain, and examined, that political governments and kingdoms are not founded on divine but human law; *which no scholar contradicts*, neither would Barclay,”§ &c. &c. This doctrine of the delegation of civil authority from the people, Suarez tells us, was the *common* opinion of his day;|| and, that it was the common doctrine of almost all scholars up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, is admitted by an authority to whom Protestants are disposed to listen with respect—the notorious Antonio De Dominis.¶

* “*Princeps populo, cujus beneficio possidet, obnoxius est. Quæcunque habet, potentiam, honorem, divitias, gloriam, dignitatem a populo accepit, et plebi accepta referat necesse est. Regem plebs constituit, eundem et destituere potest.*” *Aventinus Annal. Boiorum*, lib. iii. p. 222. “*Général, Consul, Empereur, je tiens tout du peuple.*”

† 2. 2. Quest. 10. Art. 10. “*Considerandum est quod dominium vel prælatio introducta sunt ex jure humano; distinctio autem fidelium et infidelium est jure divino.*”

‡ L. ii. Quest. 90. Art. 3.

§ “*Hoc, inquam, argumentum nullas vires habet: nam falsum est principes politicos a solo Deo potestatem habere: habent enim illam a Deo quatenus instinctum naturalem in animis hominum insevit, ut ab aliquo gubernari velint. Ut autem gubernentur homines a regibus vel a consulibus: ab uno vel a multis, a magistratu perpetuo, vel temporario, ab hominum voluntate dependet: quemadmodum etiam quod iste sit Rex potius quam ille, non specialis Dei jussio sed hominum voluntas fecit: quare idem St. Thomas, loco citato, 2. 2. quest. x. art. 10, et quest. xii. art. 2, tanquam rem certam et exploratam ponit dominia et principatus politicos non esse de jure divino sed de jure humano: cui nemo doctus contradicit, neque Barclaius contradiceret, si rationem, non passionem in consilium adhiberet.*” *De Potest. Sum. Pontif. cap. 21*, p. 203.

|| *De Legibus*, lib. iii. c. 2.

¶ “*Opinionem jam factam communem nostrorum Scholasticorum et ferme aliorum theologorum.*” *Repub. Ecclesias*. lib. vi. c. 2, xix.

From this doctrine of the delegation of authority from the people to the sovereign, naturally resulted the responsibility of the latter, and the right of the former to depose him, when he attempted to abuse the powers with which he had been entrusted. These principles are mentioned by Catholic writers in the same manner as they mention any other principles, about which there neither was, nor could be, a controversy. In the Council of Basil, 1431, when the question was debated, whether a pope were above a general council, or *vice versa*, such council was resolved to be above him, for this reason among others:—"The pope is in the Church as a king in his kingdom; and for a king to be of more authority than his kingdom it were too absurd: ergo, neither ought the pope to be above the Church." Thus argued the Bishop of Burgen, ambassador of Spain, the Abbot of Scotland, and Thomas De Corcellis, an eminent divine; and the Council voted with them.* Dominicus Soto,† and Peter De Ledesma,‡ Dominican friars, and professors of divinity at Salamanca, the former also confessor to the King of Spain; Feuardentius, a friar and professor of divinity at Paris,§ all held this doctrine of the right of the community to depose the sovereign, if he ruled not to their advantage. Bellarmine assigns this reason, among many others, why a nation may depose a tyrannic sovereign, because, "The people never so transfer their power to the sovereign, but that they retain it still in possession, so that in certain cases they can actually resume it."|| Tanner, professor of divinity in the University of Ingoldstadt, says, that as the commonwealth gave the prince his power, it may take it away again, as it has the power of providing for itself a lawful head, and such he is not, who from a shepherd of the people degenerates into a wolf.¶ Estius, chancellor of the University of Douay, and chief professor of divinity there, assigns this as a reason,—because there resides in the nobility and people a public authority, by which they may vindicate themselves from tyranny, and choose a lawful prince, and also deprive him of dominion, if there be cause for it.**

* Fox's Acts and Mon. ed. 1684, vol. i. p. 762.

† De Justitia, lib. v. art. 3, f. 389, (printed 1556.)

‡ Moral. Theolog. Tract. v. c. 18, p. 511. He died in 1611.

§ Comment. on the Book of Hester, p. 86-7, (printed at Cologne, 1595.)

|| "Populum nunquam ita suam potestatem in regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat ut in certis casibus etiam actu recipere possit." Recogn. Lib. iii. De Laicis, quest. cap. 6. We use *possession* above in the legal acceptation, as distinguished from *occupation* or enjoyment.

¶ 3 tom. Scholas. Theol. disput. iv. quæ. 8. dub. 3. n. 32, 33, (printed 1627.)

** Comment. de quat. Lib. Sentent. lib. ii. fol. 397, col. 2. (Printed at Paris, 1662. *Cum approbatione Doctorum et privilegio Regis.*)

It is unnecessary to cite more authorities, as no one accuses Catholics of having ever held any other doctrine.* Nay, as we have already observed, this very tenet was at one time the pretence for their persecution, till circumstances at length compelled the nation to revolt from the spurious standard of loyalty set up by the Established Church; — to revert to the rational but “damnable” principles and practices of their Popish forefathers; and to renounce the dogma that men were like animals, *feræ naturæ*, the legitimate indefeasible property of the first fortunate “Hunter before the Lord,” who could catch and subdue them.

As there is nothing connected with Catholicism, of which Protestants generally appear to have a greater horror than the supposed uncontrollable and irresistible power of the pontiff, we will endeavour to prove the groundlessness of these notions, which would be only ridiculous, did they not inflict the greatest injury on the Church of Christ. They conceive that every order of his must be obeyed, whether just or unjust; that it even sanctions crime, and makes vice and fraud become virtue and honour in the eyes of his “deluded followers.” But, on examination, they will find these notions to be the mere framework of fancy. To the pontiff, as supreme head of the Church, Catholics pay the respect due to him in that sacred character: but they still regard him as a man, liable to error, and are at liberty to canvass the propriety of his orders, and not to obey them, if they be unjust, or likely to be productive of evil, or to bring scandal or confusion on the Church.† With this principle in view, we can understand the reason why the temporal power and pretensions of the pontiffs have been, at all times, so vigorously opposed by their spiritual subjects whenever those pretensions were inconsistent with their interests. The English people seem to have always clearly distinguished between the spiritual and temporal authority of the pontiffs, and have resisted them, whenever, under the semblance of exercising the former, they invaded the lands, the goods, the rights, or liberties of the Church or the nation. The dignitaries of the Church also participated in the same spirit. In illustration, we may notice a few events in the history of our sister isle.

* “Et quoniam hæc communis sententia est non curavimus ullis argumentis eam communire.” *Bellarm. Recog. Lib. iii. De Laicis, ques. cap. 6.*

† “Nos igitur communem canonistarum doctrinam in hac parte sequemur, qui tradunt mandato papæ non esse parendum, si vel injustum sit, vel ex eo multa mala seu scandalum verisimiliter futurum, vel turbatio status ecclesiæ et reipublicæ Christi oritura.”—*Bell. De Potest. Sum. Pont. c. xxxi. p. 254.*

When in the contest between John and his barons, the pope, in consequence of the false representations from John of the circumstances under which he had been compelled to sign the great charter, excommunicated the barons,* the archbishops or bishops would not publish the sentence; the barons did not submit to it,† and the citizens of London treated it in almost the same manner in which those of the present day would treat a similar document. The language which they used, with regard to the temporal pretensions of the pontiff, exhibits the freedom of opinion then prevailing in the discussion of such subjects, and the correctness of judgment with which they distinguished between the spiritual and temporal authority of the Church and its ministers.‡ The archbishop being content to endure suspension, rather than publish the excommunication, the pontiff confirmed the suspension, which had been imposed by the legate. John being anxious to have this announced through the country, was obliged to take a body of troops to the convent of St. Albans, to compel the chapter to notify it to the churches of the kingdom.§ When the pope ordered Philip not to allow Louis to invade England, as it belonged to the Roman see, he answered that it neither had been, was, nor would be, the patrimony of Peter; and for this reason, among others, that no king could give away his kingdom without the assent of his barons, who are bound to defend it.|| When the pontiff excommunicated Louis and his abettors, and commanded the archbishop of Sens to fulminate a similar sentence against Philip, the French bishops, in a synod at Melun, resolved to disregard the mandate, on the ground that the pope had not been truly informed.¶ In 1223, when the pope, declaring Henry III to be of full age, ordered the barons

* The pontiff proceeded to this measure principally because he had been informed by John that they had refused all peaceable determinations of their demands, and had exacted by force what they had no rightful pretensions to, without giving him a trial. "Cum ab eis ipse rex non debet ABSQUE JUDICIO spoliari." The grant of the crown to himself appears as *the last reason* in the document.

† "Quod nec barones eas observarunt, nec prelati publicare decreverunt."—Paris, f. 278.

‡ "Dicebant enim generaliter omnes literas falsa suggestionem fuisse impetratas et ideo nullius eas esse momenti: et ex hoc maxime quod non pertinet ad papam ordinatio rerum laicarum cum Petro Apostolo et ejus successoribus non nisi ecclesiasticæ dispositionis a Domino sit collata potestas."—Paris, f. 278.

§ "Juxta illud poeticum, '*stricto supplicat ense potens*,' quod cum ei a conventu concessum fuisset, forte invito," etc. etc.—Par. 224.

|| "Regnum Angliæ patrimonium Petri nunquam fuit nec est nec erit. Item nullus rex nec princeps potest dare regnum suum sine assensu baronum suorum, qui regnum illud tenentur defendere."—Paris, 280.

¶ Lingard, vol. ii. p. 66, 8vo. edition.

to deliver the custody of their castles, honours, and towns, to the king, they were indignant at his interference, and did not comply.* In the great council of Lyons, held in the reign of Henry III, the procurator and proxies of the Church and realm protested against John's grant of tribute to the pope as a nullity, as it had been made without the consent of the nation, and called on the council for redress.† In the fortieth year of Edward III, when another pontiff demanded homage and tribute according to John's grant, and the subject was debated in parliament, the prelates, having been first consulted as to the answer which should be returned, deliberated apart from the other members of the Upper House, and replied that neither the said king John, nor any other, might put himself or his realm, or his people, in such subjection, without their assent and accord; and all the parliament having agreed unanimously to this, and that the grant had been made without such consent, and against John's coronation oath,—RESOLVED, *that if the pope should endeavour by any process to constrain the king or his subjects to perform what he claimed, they would oppose him with all their might.*‡ In the letter of the barons to the pope, about his claim to the crown of Scotland in 1305, they deny that at any time “did the said realm, by any right whatsoever, belong in temporals to the see of Rome. Neither have the kings of England, in their said kingdom, ever submitted their rights in temporals to any ecclesiastical, or spiritual, or secular court.” But what greater proof could be given of this opposition to the pretensions of the pontiff, than the several statutes of Provisors?§ As these clearly refute the

* “Hujusmodi præcepta indigne ferens.”—Paris.

† “In quod nunquam patres nobilium regni vel ipsi consenserunt nec consentiunt, nec in futurum consentient, unde sibi petunt exhiberi justitiam cum remedio.”—Paris.

‡ Parl. Hist.

§ A brief summary of these celebrated enactments may not be uninteresting to the reader who happens not to have the statutes of the realm in his library:—

“By the 25th Edw. III. stat. 4, in consequence of the pope's presenting to benefices, as if he had been patron, “*as he was not of right by the law of England,*” it is provided, that if any presentees of his should disturb the presentees of the rightful patrons, they should be imprisoned, till they had made fine and ransom at the king's will and “gree to the party” injured, and found surety not to attempt such things again, nor to sue any process in the Court of Rome or elsewhere, for such imprisonments, &c. By the 25th Edw. III. stat. v. c. 22, “because that some do purchase, in the Court of Rome, provisions to have abbies and priories in England in *destruction of the realm and of holy religion,*” such provisors are to be out of the king's protection, and to be treated as enemies of him, and of his realm, &c. Similar treatment is provided by the 38th Edw. III. stat. 2, for those obtaining or purchasing citations or impetrations of benefices from the pope. By the 13th Rich. II, stat. ii. c. 2, persons bringing or sending sentences of excommuni-

calumnies propagated on this subject, we regret that we cannot, for want of space, transfer them to these pages, as we believe that the *ipsissima verba* of these *monumenta majorum* would prove the spirit which animated popish England, better than whole “cart-loads of argument.” These statutes exhibit the true light in which excommunications, not founded on reason and justice, were regarded. We would only recommend “enlightened Protestants” to study these enactments, and to ask themselves how much further could opposition to the pontiff have been carried, without renouncing his spiritual supremacy, and severing the unity of the faith; and “pious Protestants” to recollect that these laws were passed, and that the several instances of resistance to pontifical authority, to which we have alluded, took place, in the very midnight of “popish darkness, superstition, and ignorance.”

It is unnecessary to multiply instances of this spirit of opposition to the temporal pretensions of the pontiff. There was, in those times, no such slavish submission to the dictates of churchmen, as the revilers of popery would have their dupes to believe. Need we remind the reader of the various acts passed to restrain the acquisition of property by the Church? or of the proposals in parliament to take that property away *in toto*? Verily, the nation is more “priest-ridden” at the present day, than it ever was in the darkest ages of “popish superstition.” Can the most diligent examiner of the records and history of England find an instance in which the public good was ever thwarted, by a pretence that it would endanger

cation against any one on account of the execution of the statutes of provisors, forfeit all their lands and goods, and “incur the pain of life and of member.” By the 16th Ric. II. c. 5, whereas “the pope *now of late* had awarded processes and sentences of excommunication against certain bishops for executing judgments given in the king’s court, and proposed to translate prelates out of the realm, or from one living to another,” without their own or the king’s assent, &c. &c.: “and so the crown of England, which hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the regality of the same crown, and to none other, SHOULD BE SUBMITTED TO THE POPE, AND THE LAWS AND STATUTES OF THE REALM BY HIM DEFEATED AND AVOIDED AT HIS WILL, in perpetual destruction of the sovereignty of the king,” &c. &c., persons obtaining in the Court of Rome “any such translations, processes, and sentences of excommunications, bulls, instruments, or any other things whatsoever, which touch the king, against him, his crown, or his regality, or his realm,” with their aiders and abettors, are put out of the king’s protection, forfeit their lands, goods, and chattels, and are subject to have a *præmunire* issue against them. By 9th Hen. IV all the statutes of provisors were confirmed, and all future elections to ecclesiastical offices were to be free from interruption by the pope or king.

the stability of the Catholic Church?—or any instance of the latter ever opposing, on any ground, any amendment of the constitution, any improvement of the laws, any amelioration of the social, moral, or intellectual condition of the community, or any proposal for increasing the power, the comforts, the rights, or the happiness of the people?

Having already noticed the opinions of Catholic writers generally on the nature of the power vested in the supreme magistrate, we may now briefly advert to the views entertained on the same subject by the Catholics of England. They always regarded the sovereign as their officer, bound to discharge certain duties, or to forfeit all title to their allegiance. By one of the laws of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by the Conqueror, the duties of the king are defined; and it is provided, that, *UNLESS* he should properly discharge them, he should not be allowed even the name of king as a title of courtesy, and this on the authority of a pope.* The coronation of Henry I was based on as regular a contract as ever yet took place in market-overt. By the coronation oaths of the several monarchs, between him and John, a similar contract was implied. By *Magna Charta*, and its articles for keeping the peace between the king and the kingdom,† this implied contract was reduced to writing, and “signed, sealed, and delivered by the parties thereto.” In the reign of Henry III, Bracton, one of his judges, tells us, that since the king “is God’s minister and deputy, he can do nothing else on earth, but that only which he can do of right. . . . Therefore, while he does justice, he is the deputy of the Eternal King; but the minister of the devil, when he turns to injustice. For he is called king from governing well, and not from reigning; because he is king while he reigns well, but a tyrant, when he violently oppresses the people entrusted to him.‡ . . . Let the king, therefore, allow to the law what the law allows to him,—dominion and power,—*for he is not a king*, with whom his will, and not the law, rules.”§ This is plain language. When

* “Rex autem qui vicarius Summi Regis est ad hoc est constitutus ut regnum terrenum et populum Domini, et super omnia sanctam veneretur ecclesiam ejus et regat et ab injuriis defendat, et maleficos ab ea revellat et destruat et penitus disperdat. *Quod nisi fecerit*, nec nomen regis in eo constabit, verum, testante Papa Joanne, nomen regis perdit.”—Spelm. Concil. vol. i. p. 622, and Lambard’s *Archæionomia*.

† “Hæc est forma securitatis ad observandam pacem inter regem et regnum.”

‡ This distinction between a king and a tyrant seems to have been as well understood by these papists as by the ancient pagans of Greece and Rome. The barons say of John—“Johannes factus est *de rege tyrannus*,” and his envoy to the Moor says also of him, “quod potius fuit tyrannus quam rex, &c.”—Par.

§ “Nihil enim aliud potest rex in terris, cum sit Dei minister et vicarius, nisi

the monarch ceases to govern “according to law,” *he is not a king*, but a tyrant, and a “*minister diaboli*,” and every “besotted papist” knew the degree of obedience due to either of these worthy characters. Fleta, who wrote in the reign of one of the Edwards, repeats this language of Bracton’s. If we take these as text-books of law, and look to history for the *practice*, we find that, whenever Henry III attempted, in contempt of the law, to oppress his people, they considered themselves entitled to defend their rights with their broadswords; that parliament deposed Edward II for misgovernment, and replaced him by Edward III, and also deposed Richard II on the same account, and elected Henry IV. Fortescue, Chancellor to Henry VI, so far from teaching that the power of an English king was “divine,” would not allow it to be “royal only, but politic also.” He declares that “such a king of a kingdom politic, is made and ordained for the defence of the laws of his subjects, and of their bodies and goods: *whereunto he receiveth power of his people, so that he cannot govern his people by any other law.*”* In brief, during the long night of “popish ignorance,” no one doubted that the monarch was the officer of the people, and bound to observe the limits set by them to his authority. If he refused to do this, they had a common-law right to compel him, if custom beyond not only legal memory, but the memory of man, be common-law. In fact, want of right and want of remedy being reciprocal,† the subjects could not be said to have a right to life, liberty, or property, if they had not the remedy for securing their enjoyment—the right to defend them against all illegal aggressors—a right which had never been questioned till the Church of England proposed its “evangelical” alteration of the constitution.‡

Such were the doctrines of our forefathers in the days of “monkish ignorance and superstition.” We should naturally suppose that, after the Reformation, when printing was facilitating the progress of letters and civilization—when commerce

id solum quod de jure potest. . . . Rex igitur dum facit justitiam vicarius est Regis æterni, minister autem diaboli dum declinet ad injuriam. Dicitur enim rex a bene regendo non a regnando; qui rex est dum bene regit, tyrannus dum populum sibi creditum violenta opprimit dominatione (Lib. iii. c. 9, f. 107, a & b.) Attribuat igitur rex legi quod lex attribuit ei, viz. dominationem et potestatem; non enim est rex, ubi dominatur voluntas et non lex.”—Lib. I. c. viii. f. 5. b.

* De Laudibus Leg. Angl. c. 13.

† Law Maxim.

‡ This Church, or at least its ministers, so far admitted this reasoning, that they founded the “damnable” character of the refusal to pay taxes levied by the royal authority, on the doctrine that, though in ordinary cases the right of property was in the subject, in extraordinary cases it was vested in the king; so that he in taking away any man’s goods was only taking HIS OWN.—Vide Mainwaring’s Trial. “Sacrosancta regum majestas,” &c. &c.

was bringing men into closer and more continual connexion, and removing the prejudices of earlier times—when, in brief, all the discoveries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were aiding in the social amelioration of mankind—that the Church of England would be promotive of the general improvement; and on the great question of human happiness, as affected by political institutions, be as far in advance of the Church of Rome as *it was on every other question*, and tend to rescue men from “arbitrary power,” as well as from the “thralldom of popery.” But we believe that the *Reformation* will appear, on close inspection, to bear a very tolerable resemblance to the ever-memorable “*amendments*” of a certain body of legislators to a late measure of Reform. *Nous verrons.*

Before we proceed to consider the views of the Reformed Church of England, we may draw attention to the line of conduct pursued by her predecessor, with regard to the question of civil liberty. It must occur to the most negligent reader of English history (“abridged for the use of schools”), to inquire why the nation on all occasions made the safety and freedom of the Catholic Church the first object of attention. In every charter,—in every coronation oath,—in every important public transaction,—the Church stood foremost. There must be a cause. It is not sufficient to say that, from its sacred character, it should have had the first place; or that the people were so sunk in ignorance, as to be willing to concede it. We have shown the mode in which they treated it and its earthly head, when either interfered with their temporal interests; and though the modern “march of intellect” may induce us, on comparing ourselves with them, to exclaim,

“How blest are we that are not simple men!”

yet we must not look on them as absolute fools. The true causes were many and obvious. In the first place, the Church was then peculiarly the Church of the people. As all offices were given only by election, persons possessed of good prospects in other pursuits could have no worldly inducement to subject themselves to the austerities of a religious life, when nought but the appreciation of their merits by their fellow-divines could raise them to rank or dignity. Hence for the most part few but of the humbler classes took orders. The people, therefore, looked on it as peculiarly their own, and sought to protect it from the usurpations of kings and pontiffs. When free elections prevailed, some of those sprung from the people were necessarily elected; when royal or papal favourites were intruded, they were necessarily defrauded of the full enjoy-

ment of their rights. By the Church was the monarch to be restrained from violating his oaths and his charters: by it alone was he to be reconciled to his people, when he hated or despised every other mediator;—to its perpetual guardianship were committed all the charters and important statutes for securing the national liberty;—by it were the people to be instructed in their civil rights;—from it, as the only depository of learning, were selected almost all the judicial officers and other public functionaries;—to it alone could they look with confidence for aid or advice in their struggles with the crown. When the people saw the Church thus pervading every ramification of the state, and their own interests entirely dependent on its honesty and friendship; and that ecclesiastics appointed by the court seldom looked to any interest but their own and their patron's, and always supported him in every act of tyranny and fraud against the rights of his subjects, while those freely elected by their fellow-churchmen were ever the uncompromising friends of justice and rational freedom, and always aided them in their struggles for either, against the oppressions of the crown;—they concluded, that if once they made this entire body the nominees of the monarch, their own liberties would speedily perish. The free spirit engendered by the constitution of the Church, must have been also an additional inducement to keep so excellent a model for their own government in continual operation before their eyes. They could not but love a system which was, as it were, the Utopia realized of a perfect republic: all parts combined for the common good,—all in perfect harmony with each other,—with a common elective head to direct all for mutual benefit and protection, not entitled to a blind, slavish, or unlimited obedience, but liable to have all his commands examined by the strict rules of justice and divinity, and disobeyed, if found to violate the principles of either. Its canons were a guide to them in their contests for their own civil rights. From those forbidding the exaction of taxes or subsidies without the consent of the persons who were to pay them, they learned that abhorrence of taxation without representation, which has been the true palladium of the constitution. In brief, it taught them a love of rational, well-regulated liberty, both by precept and example. How could they, then, possibly suffer such an institution to become a tool for their enslavement in the hands of tyrants, while every earthly motive impelled them to support it in its freedom, its integrity, and independence?

But, lest it might be said that this is all *vox et præterea*

nihil, we shall prove how well the Church deserved the support of the freemen of England, by noticing a few instances of their exertions in behalf of the rights of the nation, in the contests which took place soon after the Norman invasion. Commencing rather with that event, we find Archbishop Stigand and the Abbot Egessin obtaining the rights of the men of Kent; and, in the conference with William, declaring that "slavery is a thing that they (the Kentish men) are perfect strangers to;" and, "though they can relish kingly government well enough, yet absolute and arbitrary rule is a thing they can never digest." They were willing to submit "on the foot of the constitution;" but "they had rather lose their lives in the field, than give up their liberties, and live under the oppression of an arbitrary government."* At the coronation of William, Archbishop Aldred, it is said, took an oath of him that he should govern his subjects with justice and clemency, and treat the English on an equal footing with the Normans.† But when William began to harass the people, the archbishop remonstrated; and, finding remonstrances useless, bestowed "some ill wishes" on him. "'Tis thought, his sympathizing with the calamities of the country, made an ill impression on his health, and shortened his days."‡ William Rufus, to dispose Archbishop Lanfranc to engage for him, made promises of a fair and equitable administration. When he afterwards forgot his word, Lanfranc remonstrated, but in vain;§ and "perceiving the kingdom embroiled, and a storm likely to fall on the Church, grew melancholy, and departed this life."|| We notice the circumstance of those two archbishops dying prematurely through melancholy, induced by their sympathizing with the afflictions of the country, simply as an indication of the spirit which then animated churchmen, and which may be contrasted with the feelings of their reformed successors, not one of whom has ever experienced the slightest concern from any calamities inflicted on the nation "*by the deputy of the Lord, as a punishment for the sins of the people.*"¶

* Dr. Lingard doubts the truth of this story; but Collier accounts very fairly for its not being mentioned by the Norman historians of the time of the Conqueror, and sets it down "from Thorn and the author of the 'Antiq. Brit.,' who vouches the matter of fact by the authority of Thomas Spott, and other ancient records and usages of the county." Either way, the affair suits our purposes. If the speech were not made *by* the archbishop and the abbot, it was made *for* them by a monk; so that it is, at least, a specimen of what Popish churchmen thought of "arbitrary government."

† Malmes. de Gest. Pontif. l. iii. f. 154.

‡ Collier, Ec. Hist. vol. i. p. 237.

|| Malmes. de Gest. Reg. fol. 67.

§ Collier, i. p. 260.

¶ Vide *postea*, p. 11, &c.

On the death of William Rufus, a proceeding took place, to which, as it afterwards gave rise to *Magna Charta*, and exhibits the then elective quality of the crown,—the conditions of the original compact, and the extent to which the Catholic clergy exerted themselves in behalf of the liberties of their country,—we beg leave to call particular attention. Robert, the next heir, having been absent for five years in the holy wars, and the nation not knowing what had become of him, and fearing to remain long without a government,* Henry, the youngest of the brothers, took advantage of the general feeling; and, when all the clergy of England and the people were assembled at London, canvassed for the vacant office, promising a reform of the laws with which the kingdom had been oppressed during the reigns of his father and brother. On his making this appeal, and offering these “pledges,” to the electors, the clergy and nobles answered,—“THAT IF he would willingly concede to them, and confirm with a charter, the liberties and ancient customs which had flourished in the kingdom in the time of the holy King Edward, they would consent to him, and unanimously consecrate him king.” He having willingly agreed to these conditions, the clergy and people gave him the crown, and he gave them the charter.† At the coronation of Richard the First, after he had sworn, before the clergy and people (*coram clero et populo*), to maintain the peace and honour of the Church,—to do strict justice to the people,—to abolish bad laws and customs, and to observe the good ones; and before he had received the crown, the archbishop conjured and forbid him not to presume to accept this honour, UNLESS he intended to observe the oaths which he had taken.‡ On his again promising faithfully to observe them, the archbishop placed the crown on his head.

At the coronation of John, Hubert, archbishop of Canter-

* “Timuerunt diu *sine regimine* vacillare.” Paris.

† “Quod Henricus ultimus fratrum et juvenis sapientissimus, dum callide cognovisset, congregato Londoniis clero Angliæ et populo universo promisit emendationem legum quibus oppressa fuerat Anglia tempore patris sui et fratris nuper defuncti, ut animos omnium in sui promotionem accenderet et amorem, et illum in regem susciperent et patronum. Ad hæc clero respondente et magnatibus cunctis: QUOD SI animo volente ipsis vellet concedere et charta sua communire illas libertates et consuetudines antiquas quæ floruerunt in regno tempore sancti regis Edwardi, *in ipsum consentirent* et in regem unanimiter CONSECRARENT. Henrico autem hoc libenter annuente et se id facturum cum sacramento affirmante consecratus est in regem,” &c. &c.; “favente clero et populo... has libertates subscriptas in regno ad exaltationem sanctæ ecclesiæ et pacem populi tenendam concessit.” Paris.

‡ “Conjuratus est ab archiepiscopo ex parte Dei et prohibitus ne hunc honorem accipere præsumat, NISI in mente habeat sacramenta tenere, quæ fecit.” Paris.

bury, fearing that he would throw the kingdom into confusion, and lest he should have “free reins” for doing so, if he imagined that his “royal blood” alone entitled him to succeed to the royal office,* said aloud in the midst of the assembly, that no one had a right by any precedent reason to succeed another in the sovereignty, unless he were unanimously chosen by the entire kingdom, and pre-elected according to the eminency of his morals, after the example of Saul, the first anointed king, whom God had set over his people, though not a king’s son or sprung of a royal race, that thus he who excelled all in ability, should preside over all with power and authority. But if any of a deceased king’s family excelled the rest of the nation, to his election they should more readily assent. For these reasons they had chosen Count John, the brother of their deceased king, on account as well of his merits as of his royal blood. To this declaration, John and the assembly assented.† Many of the advocates of “absolute monarchy,” conversant only with the discourses of Reformed theologians, have doubted the probability of an archbishop delivering doctrines so opposed to the “gospel rights of kings.” But in searching for arguments for their *constitutional* theory, they should have particularly eschewed the coronation sermons of *un-Reformed* archbishops. It being unnecessary to proceed

* “Interrogatus autem postea archiepiscopus . . . respondit se præsaga mente conjecturare . . . quod ipse Johannes regnum et coronam Angliæ foret aliquando corrupturus et in magnam confusionem præcipitatus, et ne haberet liberas habenas hoc faciendi ipsum electione non successione hæreditaria eligi debere affirmabat.” Id. p. 197.

† “Noverit vestra discretio quod nullus prævia ratione alii succedere habet regnum, nisi ab universitate regni unanimiter invocata spiritus gratia electus et secundum morum suorum eminentiam præ-electus ad exemplum et similitudinem Saul primi regis, inuncti, quem Dominus proposuit populo suo, non regis filium, nec de stirpe regali procreatum. Similiter post eum David Jessæ filium hunc, quia strenuum et aptum dignitati regiæ illum quia sanctum et humilem. Ut sic qui cunctos in regno supereminet strenuitate omnibus præsit et protestate et regimine. Verum si quis ex regis stirpe defuncti aliis præpolleret, pronius et promptius in electionem ejus est consentiendum. Hæc idcirco dicimus pro inclyto comite Johanne . . . quem nos invocata spiritus sancti gratia, ratione quam meritorum quam sanguinis regii unanimiter elegimus universi. . . Verum comes Johannes et omnes hoc acceptabant.”—Id. As the truth of Paris’s history with regard to this speech, has been questioned by Carte and other writers, we may observe, that Lewis, writing in 1216, to the Abbot of St. Augustine’s, Canterbury, to beseech him not to publish the excommunication against him, alludes to this speech as a matter of universal notoriety. Mentioning his election, among his titles to the crown, he says: “propter quod Hubertus quondam Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, in coronatione ipsius Johannis, publice dixit quod non ratione successionis sed per electionem ipsum in regem coronabat.”—Thorn’s Chronicle in Twysden’s collection, p. 1869, ed. 1652. It would be easy to show that the doctrine of the speech was the constitutional one of that day.

through the entire list of these discourses, we shall conclude our notice of them by directing attention to that climax of “popish” treason and heresy, the archiepiscopal sermon at the coronation of Edward III, founded on the theme—“*Vox populi vox Dei.*”*

For *Magna Charta*, we are principally indebted to another of these prelates. In 1213, John was desirous to be absolved; but the archbishop, before he granted the absolution, obliged him to swear to protect the Church,—to restore the good laws of his predecessors, and particularly those of Edward—to judge all men by the just judgments of his courts, and to do justice to every individual.† At an assembly of the bishops, abbots, priors, deans and barons, soon after, in St. Paul’s Cathedral, the archbishop took some of the barons aside, and said to them privately—“You have heard how I absolved the king, at Winchester, and compelled him to swear that he would destroy bad laws, and restore the good ones,—those of Edward,—and cause them to be observed by all in the kingdom. A certain charter also of Henry I has been found, by which, if you wish, you can restore your long-lost liberties to their former state.”‡ He produced the charter, promised his assistance in struggling for those liberties; the association was formed,§ and the issue is known.

But the Church did not content itself with obtaining *Magna Charta*; it also exerted its energies in procuring its confirmations, and in causing all parties to observe its provisions. Through the influence of the archbishop of Canterbury, Henry III was induced, in 1223, to promise a confirmation of the liberties, for which war had been waged against his father. In 1227, on his coming of age and cancelling the charters, he offered the Churchmen to maintain their liberties, provided they would take out new charters, and esteem the old ones invalid. This was a fair opportunity to these “selfish ecclesiastics” to secure to themselves their own liberties, and the favour of the crown—if they would abandon the general interests of the nation. But they replied, that they could not agree to any proposal without the common consent of the estates

* Hollingshed, Chron. vol. ii. p. 340.

† Paris.

‡ “Audistis, inquit, quomodo ipse apud Wintoniam regem absolvi, et ipsum jurare compulerim quod leges iniquas destrueret et leges bonas, videlicet leges Edwardi, revocaret, et in regno faceret ab omnibus observari. Inventa est quoque nunc charta quædam, Henrici primi regis Angliæ, per quam, si volueritis, libertates diu amissas poteritis in pristinum statum revocare.”—Paris, p. 240.

§ “Exercitus Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ.”—Id.

engaged with them.* In 1242, when at the convention in London, the barons “told the king to his face that they would not be so robbed and plundered any more,” he took the members apart and tried them severally; promising among the clergy, this man an abbey, that a priory, and so on, till he found that not one would recede from the common answer by which they had sworn to abide.† In 1244, he again tried the same means with the clergy, showing them also the pope’s letter exhorting them to give the king a liberal donation of money: but he again was told that they would do nothing without the common consent of those engaged with them.‡ Similar to this, was their conduct up to the Reformation. They never for any selfish interests betrayed the rights of the people, but exerted themselves on all occasions to defend them from encroachment or infraction. It would be inconsistent with the limits of the present article to enumerate all the instances of their devotion to the cause of national liberty and justice; nor should we have noticed those, to which we have alluded, at such length, but that Conservative orators, in toasting “the glorious *Protestant* constitution,” seem totally to forget that such things ever occurred, or that whatever there is really “glorious” about “the constitution,” is essentially and thoroughly “*popish*” in spirit, origin, and operation.

It is rather extraordinary, that though up to the Reformation, neither the Post-office nor the Press facilitated the communication of “Parliamentary Intelligence,”—though “the schoolmaster was *not* abroad,” and the people were, according to the phraseology of a “true Protestant advocate,” “muffled up in ignorance and superstition,” yet they seemed always perfectly acquainted with their fundamental civil rights and ready to resist those disposed to disturb them. This is apparently a moral phenomenon; but in it also we trace the agency of the Church. The mode employed at that period for conveying to the people a knowledge of the ordinary statutes, was the proclaiming of them in the county-courts by the sheriffs, to whom they were always sent for that purpose. But respecting the charters—the very corner and keystones of the constitution—the legislature was more circumspect. If the people were not sufficiently acquainted with the nature and the value of these, a crafty tyrant might with security virtually cancel or revoke them. Sheriffs might be corrupted or careless, and the people might not be over diligent in resorting

* Parl. Hist. vol. i. p. 17.

† Id. p. 18.

‡ Id. p. 22.

to county-courts to collect information. "National schools" they had not, to refer to for instruction. Whom then could the legislature find better calculated to diffuse among the people a knowledge of their fundamental rights, than those churchmen who had been so instrumental in obtaining them? Accordingly, in addition to making the Church the depository of the charters, and authorizing it to protect them from violation by excommunicating all who "by word, deed, or counsel" acted contrary to them, the legislature made it the "sole agent" for instructing the people in their contents.* Their thus committing to it the entire guardianship of those bulwarks of the constitution, shows the degree of confidence then reposed in its devotion to the principles of liberty, and the rights of the nation. That this confidence was well deserved, will appear even from the following circumstance. The Church, not content with obtaining the charters, with protecting them from violation by its censures, and with explaining them twice a-year to the people, made even the observance of their provisions a subject of inquiry in—the confessional.† Only let our Protestant readers conceive a clergyman warning a penitent against a breach of the Decalogue or *Magna Charta*, and they will have a clear view of the inseparable connexion between "popery and arbitrary power." Or, if they be "true Protestant" advocates of "right divine, and non-resistance," they will see, that before "absolute monarchy" could be established in England, the Catholic clergy should have undergone a thorough REFORMATION.

It was absolutely necessary for monarchs having arbitrary designs on the liberties of their subjects, to subvert or to control a power so invariably and effectually exercised in their defence. The former method, John proposed to adopt by offering to become a Mahommedan. But the rest of our mo-

* By 25, Edward I, c. iii. it was provided, that the charters should be sent "under our seal to the Cathedral Churches throughout our realm, there to remain, and shall be read before the people two times by the year." By c. iv. all archbishops and bishops, shall pronounce twice a-year "the sentence of excommunication against all those, that by word, deed, or counsel, do contrary to the foresaid charters, or that in any point break or undo them," and if any of the prelates should be remiss in the denunciation of the said sentences, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, were to compel them to the execution of their duties in form aforesaid. A similar provision was annexed to the statute *De Tallagio non concedendo*.

† In the "*Pupilla Oculi*," a work published for the instruction of confessors, under the title *De participantibus cum Excommunicatis*," fol. 59, all the articles of the great charter were inserted, with this direction: "*Hos articulos ignorare non debent quibus incumbit confessiones audire infra provinciam Cantuariensem.*" Cited by Mr. Pym, in his charge against Mainwaring. State Trials, iii. p. 351.

narchs pursued a different and far more rational scheme: they aimed at acquiring a virtual supremacy by assuming the appointment to all ecclesiastical dignities. As a general rule, it would appear to be true, that every one of our sovereigns longed for this supremacy in proportion as he hated the liberties of his people. During the Saxon government, there were no attempts made by the crown to restrain "free elections" in the Church; yet the devotion of the monarchs of that dynasty to the liberties of the subject, and the degree of liberty actually enjoyed, cannot possibly be questioned. "The good laws and customs of the realm" as enjoyed prior to the Norman conquest, and particularly in the reign of Edward the *Confessor*—this very title betokening the degree of "popish ignorance and superstition" to which the prince and nation were degraded—were looked upon for several ages afterwards as the highest desirable standard of popular liberty. For swearing to restore and observe these, the people recognized William Rufus as monarch, and formally elected Henry I and Stephen, in opposition to the heirs by the law of primogeniture. These every monarch swore at his coronation to observe; till at length, to prevent disputes, the principal part of them were embodied in *Magna Charta*. Yet neither the Saxon kings nor people felt any jealousy of the rights of the Church, but seem to have sought on all occasions to confirm and extend them. But the Normans, hating sincerely the Saxons and their liberties, used every exertion to reduce them to the lowest grade of bondage, and as a means to an end, employed the subversion of the essential privileges of the clergy. Thus we find the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I, Stephen, Henry II, John, Henry III, Edward I, Edward II, and Richard II, exercising, or contending for, this power of appointing their own creatures to ecclesiastical offices; while those known for their respect for the rights of their subjects, sought not this dangerous addition to the prerogative. Up to the reign of Henry VIII, the contest for the power of nominating to offices in the Church continued with occasional interruptions. In this latter reign, the crown succeeded, and we have now to consider the results.

In every country where the free elections of the Church, and the right of the pontiff to control the appointment of the elected, has been virtually abrogated, we find the clergy invariably abandoning their ancient independent character, and forsaking the advocacy of the rights of the people. This admits of a very simple solution. The sovereign naturally ap-

pointed men, whom he knew or suspected to be disposed to support his own policy. Hence these men, either having no sympathies with the people, or having those sympathies overpowered by the paramount feeling of personal gratitude, or conscious of their own inferiority as the creatures of his breath, could not or would not any longer authoritatively command him to observe the rules of justice to his subjects. The people of several neighbouring countries have learned, in the dear school of experience, that the absolute or partial assumption of this supremacy by their rulers, has not tended to promote either their civil or spiritual liberties, but has consigned them without resource to the tyranny of their temporal governors. We shall presently exhibit some of its beneficial operations on the faith and politics of England.

It must be obvious that, if men really think there is any necessity for any true Church, or for any Church teaching the real doctrines of Christianity, the appointment of its teachers must rest with the body of the Church and not with any external authority. For, if the crown can nominate to ecclesiastical offices, it may appoint men holding opinions expressly condemned by those over whom they are called to preside. Moreover, by this system, the Church of each nation is isolated from those of all others, and as every state must consider its own Church the right one, every little community will have a "*true Church*" of its own, with the further advantage of having its tenets liable to perpetual amendment according to the judgment of whoever happens to be the civil governor of the day. Had John possessed this supremacy, when he offered to become a Mohammedan, there would not be any principle in the civil or religious constitution of this country, according to the doctrines of the Church of England, to prevent him from filling all the livings with the followers of the Prophet, and through them declaring Islamism to be only a reformation of popery. But not to revert to so antique an example, what could prevent the government of the present day from appointing Socinians to ALL the archbishoprics of the kingdom, and through them forming a new code of national faith denegative of the divinity of the Saviour?

To understand the object of those who established the Church of England on its present footing, we must consider the political condition of the country at the period of the Reformation. Up to the reign of Henry VI, the king was usually restrained within the due limits of his authority by the three estates of the Lords, the Clergy, and the Commons.

Each of those estates was then totally independent of the sovereign. In the wars of the Roses the barons had suffered so severely, that in the reign of Henry VIII they were unable to offer any vigorous resistance to his arbitrary proceedings. When he had stripped the clergy of their territorial possessions, and made them his humble retainers, he had annihilated the power of the Upper House, as he had now a body of clerical dependents to oppose to the temporal peers, if they should be disposed to offer any resistance to his measures. He therefore had now no check on his "royal and absolute authority," except the Commons, and the *prejudices* of the people in favour of their ancient national liberties. The Commons he and his successors speedily found means to manage; the *prejudices* of the people were to be removed only by a proper course of moral and religious instruction. This they were enabled to regulate, by having in their hands the appointment of those who were to dispense it.

At no period were tranquillizing doctrines more necessary. In the reign of Henry VIII, thousands were driven into agrarian insurrections, in consequence of the property on which the poor had been supported for ages, being converted to the private purposes of the gentry; while his cruel and arbitrary conduct made the entire nation ripe for revolt. The sudden alterations of the public profession of faith on the accessions of Edward VI and Elizabeth, against the will of the nation, by crowding into the Commons the *patented* minions of the crown,—the fearful convulsions consequent on them, and the other concurring excitements of the period,—made it natural for those in authority to be anxious to allay the general commotion. To remove the causes of the excitement would be a submissiveness to the calls of the people, which enlightened reformers thoroughly abhorred: to sabre the disaffected, particularly the *IDOLATORS*, was not convenient, though it might be warranted by divers precedents in Scripture. The only other course which remained, was the preventing the outbreak of discontent, by teaching the ungodliness of murmuring against rulers, the necessity of obedience, and the damnation consequent on resistance. According to the ancient doctrine, that the king was only the officer of the people, there could be no rational pretence for allowing him to ruin those whom he was chosen to protect. But the doctors of the new Church met this difficulty: they saw that the former notion was only one of the "abominations of popery," which it was necessary to eradi-

cate out of the minds of the long-deluded people. They invented a new theory of civil government,—declaring it, however, like all their other reformations, the doctrine of the Bible, the apostles, and the primitive Church. They taught that the prince was the delegate of heaven, not the delegate of the people;—that from heaven alone all his authority was committed, for the benefit or the punishment of mankind;—that as he was commissioned by heaven, to heaven only was he accountable for his conduct;—that he was not to be subject to any human law, but to his own “meer and frank good-will;”—that as to resist him would be to resist God, every one was bound to obey him in all matters, and to “suffer death in the body,” rather than to endure eternal damnation, for rebellion against God and his deputy;—that good princes were sent by the Lord to those whom he loved, and evil ones as a punishment for the sins of the people, whom they were therefore to endure in the same manner as they would any other visitations from heaven. And all this they fortified with texts of Scripture. Though the causes already assigned were sufficient to elicit some such doctrine, yet as they were temporary, and this singular specimen of reformed politico-theological reasoning continued for ages after, and probably still continues, “the distinguishing badge and glory of our Reformation,”* we may notice a few of the probable permanent motives for its adoption.

When the supremacy was vested in the sovereign, it was natural that the clergy, who derived all their authority from him, and who claimed by “*divine right*” everything to which they laid any pretensions, should lodge the fountain of it in their head, from which they could draw according to their necessities. If the head had not a supply, the body could not possibly have it.

It would be highly inconsistent with the dignity and stability of the Church, that its head should be regarded only as the officer of the people. For he being, in that case, accountable to them, represented in parliament, he or his ministers, might be as regularly examined as to the orthodoxy of those set in authority over the Church, as to the competency of the officers in the other departments of the government. A standing committee of religion might be as regularly appointed as a committee of ways and means, or a committee of privileges. Every election, every division, might be productive of serious

* Vide Sacheverel's Speech, post.

consequences to the Establishment, which could pretend to be a "true Church" only so long as its friends could command a majority. Thus the greater the restraint which the Parliament possessed over the sovereign, the less was the security of the Church, and the more its very existence depended on the humours of the people; while the higher he was raised above the reach of parliamentary influence, the greater was its own fancied security. Therefore from a regard to its dignity—its stability—its very existence—it must have discovered some principle, which would make its head independent of the people. This could be done only by condemning the popish doctrine, and declaring him to have his commission direct from God—to be to God only accountable—and thus placed entirely above the reach of popular control.

It is certain also, that the sovereign was anxious to have some such doctrine invented to support his arbitrary pretensions. Each of our Protestant monarchs, up to the Revolution, exercised, or aimed at, absolute despotic authority. They might have refused to admit any to ecclesiastical dignities, who would not previously promise to support this doctrine, or they might have threatened suspension for refusing assent to it, or they might make its inculcation, *as one of the saving truths of the gospel*, a condition of restoration to favour or office,* or they might have secured its adoption on terms of mutual accommodation, as appeared in the time of James I, when the Church denounced the impugners of the divine right of kings, and he imprisoned the impugners of the divine right to tithes.† It is unnecessary to mention any other motives—we leave them to the fancy of the reader.

If this doctrine were once firmly established in the minds of the people, as churchmen would have the education of the heirs to the throne, and the inheritance would be as indefeasible in the line of primitive divine right as it was among the Children of the Sun in the dynasty of Peru; and the Crown and Church would be reciprocally dependent on each other; the security of both from all attacks, "papal or popular," would be complete. It must be perceived that under every conceivable motive for the adoption of so extraordinary a doctrine, the exclusion of the people from all controlling power in the state was absolutely essential to the security of the new consti-

* See, postea, case of Bonner.

† The reader cannot forget the imprisonment of Selden for denying the divine right of tithes, (which he did on Catholic principles and authorities,) till he consented to the erasure of the objectionable passages.

tution. They were to be only the passive instruments, on which kings and churchmen were to conduct their experiments in law and religion. They were to be taught by the Church to be obedient in all things “for conscience sake” to the monarch, and he was in turn to compel them to pay the Church for teaching this “wholesome and profitable doctrine.” All depended on the divine right of the king, the absolute unlawfulness of the people to interfere with the principles or practices of government—to inquire into the *arcana imperii*—to murmur against or resist their heavenly delegated ruler.

We shall now give a brief chronological sketch of the invention and propagation of this saving doctrine of Protestantism. In 1534, the supremacy was vested in Henry: in 1540, a select number of the Reformers sat by virtue of a commission from the king, confirmed in Parliament. “Their first great work”* was, “*A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man sette furthe by the King’s Majesty,*” &c. &c. When “the king’s majesty” was thus setting forth the “erudition of a christen man,” it was not probable that he should forget himself: accordingly we find, under the exposition of the 5th commandment, that the words “father and mother” there used, meant not only the natural parents, “but also *princes* and al other governours, rulers and *pastours*.” The compilers further discover that “by this commandment subjects be bounde not to withdrawe” their “obedience towards theyr prince *for any cause whatsoever it be,*” and to “obey also all the laws, proclamations, precepts, and commandments, made by their princes and governours, except they be against the commandments.” Under the exposition of the sixth commandment, “Thou shalt do no murder,” we find the following “necessary doctrine:” “Moreover no subjects may draw their swordes agaynst theyr prince *for any cause whatsoever it be,* nor against any other (*saving for lawful defence*) without their prince’s lycense..... And although princes which be the chief and supreme heads of their realmes, do otherwise than they ought to do, yet God hath assyned no judges over them in this worlde, but will have the judgment of them reserved to himself, and will punish them, when he seeth his tyme. And for amendment of such princes that do otherwise than they ought to do, the subjects may not rebell, but must praye to God, which hath the hartes of princes in his hands, that he do tourne their hartes unto hym,” &c. &c.

* Burnet. Hist. of Ref. part i. p. 286.

We need scarcely observe, that all these “instructions” are alleged to be supported by divers precedents in Scripture. No sooner was the supremacy vested in the king, than he set a body of clerical officials to work, to wrest the Scriptures to the support of the sacred cause of despotism. Prior to that period, that volume had been looked to only as a guide in matters of faith and morals; but thenceforward it was applied by Reformers to the promotion of every scheme of civil government, to making their head a divinity, and Englishmen slaves. What a contrast we find between the popish doctrine on the relative rights and duties of kings and subjects, and this propounded by Henry’s Reformed commission, which leaves the aggrieved subject no resource but PRAYER against the oppressions of a despot!!!

At the coronation of Edward VI, the ancient form was altered, and even the manner of the archbishop’s demanding the people’s consent for owning the king, which yet was done “*in such terms as should demonstrate he was no elective prince.*”* The change was, of course, determined on by the council, the corporate head of the Church; and “*the most illustrious of the Reformers,*” Cranmer, was the instrument for carrying it into execution. He, leading the Prince forward, said to the people, “Sirs, I here present KING Edward, rightful and undoubted inheritor, by the *laws of God* and man, to the royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, &c. &c. Will ye, at this time and place, give your good-wills and assents, to the same consecration, inunction, and coronation, *as by the duty of your allegiance ye are bound to do?*”

Instead of a sermon at the coronation, Archbishop Cranmer made a speech to the king, to the following effect;—“In the first place, he declares the king’s right to govern DID NOT DEPEND UPON ANY ENGAGEMENT AT HIS CORONATION; THAT HIS CROWN BEING GIVEN HIM BY GOD ALMIGHTY, COULD NOT, BY A FAILURE IN THE ADMINISTRATION, BE FORFEITED EITHER TO CHURCH OR STATE, &c. &c.....The solemn ceremonies at a coronation are significant, but not absolutely necessary: they serve to put princes in mind OF THEIR DUTY TO GOD, BUT ARE NO ADDITION TO THEIR CHARACTER; for it is not so much the oil which makes them God’s anointed, AS THE POWER AND JURISDICTION GIVEN THEM FROM ABOVE. ’TIS BECAUSE THEY ARE PLACED IN THEIR STATION BY GOD’S

* Burnet.

APPOINTMENT, AND ASSISTED by his grace for the better discharge of the office.”*

In 1547, the first book of homilies appeared. In 1549, Bishop Bonner was reprimanded for negligence and misbehaviour in his office, and ordered by the king “to observe the following injunctions:—first, to preach a sermon at St. Paul’s Cross, &c. &c.; further, for his first sermon at St. Paul’s, the matter was prescribed to him by the king, in the words following, viz.: *that all such as rebel against their prince, get unto them damnation. And those that resist the high power, resist the ordinance of God; and he that dies therefore in rebellion, by the words of God is utterly damned, and so loses both body and soul.* And therefore those rebels in Devonshire and Cornwall, in Norfolk or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their prince, against the laws and statutes of the realm, and go about to subvert the state and order of the commonwealth, not only do deserve death, as traitors and rebels, *but do accumulate to themselves eternal damnation, ever to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the first author of pride, disobedience, and rebellion.* What masses or holy water they pretend to, or *what pretence soever they have*, they are in the same guilt with Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, who for rebelling against Moses were swallowed down alive into hell, although they pretended to sacrifice unto God. And thus Saul was rejected, for saving the fat sheep and Agag for sacrifice. *For, as the Scripture saith, obedience is better than sacrifice.*” This was a pretty thesis for a bishop to maintain. With its truth or falsehood, he, of course, had nothing to do: he had no alternative but to lose his bishopric, or to inculcate these “saving truths of the gospel,” as they were “prescribed” to him by the head of the Church.

In the reign of Elizabeth “the truth of the gospel shone forth in its full lustre,” and the last Book of Homilies was published. In this book there is a sermon against wilful disobedience and rebellion, of such a character, that it would seem as if, according to the thesis proposed to Bonner, Elizabeth and her council had selected the sentiments, and ordered the convocation to search the Scriptures for passages to support them. It is evidently a *state paper*, and could never have originated from a Church which thought only of the moral and spiritual improvement of the people. But though

* Collier’s Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 220.

the State may have been anxious for such a production, yet the Church was equally anxious to exhibit its zeal and loyalty, by the promulgation of such opinions. The divine right and irresistibility of kings was then becoming "the distinguishing badge and glory of her Reformation." This being the cornerstone of her entire structure, she seems to have employed all her abilities in placing it on a firm foundation. She has devoted so much reasoning and so many scriptural quotations to this sermon, that it is divided into *six parts*, for the preacher to read on six successive Sundays. There is not a single other doctrine for which she seems to have more carefully examined the sacred volume. If she have not satisfactorily established this, *on isolated texts of Scripture, taken on the first impression*, she cannot lay pretensions to the proof of any other doctrine. Every passage, every sentence, every word in that Book of Life, which could be perverted, she has perverted, to uphold the right of one man to be a lawless tyrant over his fellows. We beg of the reader to examine the Homilies for himself: we cannot give more than will barely illustrate the doctrine. Let him go to those books, and there discover the *right divine and irresistibility* of Claudius, Nero, and Caligula, proved incontestibly from Scripture. If any one be disposed to become the victim or the agent of a despot on true "*evangelical*" principles, we refer him to those Homilies, as a perfect text-book of perverted scraps of Scripture, for the use of slaves and tyrants.

To prevent doubts as to how far the Homilies form part of the faith of all "true Protestants," we transfer to our pages the thirty-fifth of the Thirty-nine Articles:—"The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times; as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward the Sixth: and therefore we judge them to be read in churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people." Every clergyman is charged to read one of these homilies every Sunday and holiday, "except there be a sermon, according as it is enjoined in the book of her highness's injunctions;" and "for that cause only," the reading is to be deferred to the next Sunday and holiday. These, therefore, are authoritative declarations of the doctrines of the Church of England: they are as much a part of her faith as the Thirty-nine Articles. Let us hear, then, what she says on the authority of kings, divine right,

and non-resistance. In the tenth sermon of the First Book, entitled "a Sermon of Obedience," we are told,—“The high power and authority of kings, with their making of laws, judgments, and offices, are the ordinances not of man, but of God.”...“Here, good people, mark diligently: it is not lawful for inferiors and subjects, IN ANY CASE, to resist and stand against the superior powers; for St. Paul’s words be plain: ‘Whosoever, therefore, withstandeth the power, withstandeth the ordinance of God; but they that resist, or are against it, shall receive unto themselves damnation.’”* After declaring, on the authority of this passage, that all do owe, “even in conscience,” obedience “to the powers which be set in authority by God, forasmuch as they be God’s lieutenants, God’s presidents, God’s officers, God’s commissioners, God’s judges, ordained of God himself, OF WHOM ONLY they have all their power and all their authority,” they proceed: “and the same St. Paul threateneth no less than *eternal damnation* to all disobedient persons, to all resisters against this general and common authority, forasmuch as they resist not man, but God,” &c. &c. The second part of this sermon is occupied with a multitude of examples of obedience to rulers, from the Old and New Testaments, from which this conclusion is drawn:—“These examples being so manifest and evident, it is an intolerable ignorance, madness, and wickedness, for subjects to make any murmuring, rebellion, resistance, or withstanding, commotion, or insurrection, against their most dear and dread sovereign lord and king, ordained and appointed of God’s goodness for their commodity, peace, and quietness. Yet let us believe undoubtedly, good Christian people, that we may not obey kings, magistrates, or any other, though they be our own fathers, *if they would command us to do anything contrary to God’s commandments*. In such a case, we ought to say, with the apostle, ‘We must rather obey God, than man.’ *But nevertheless in that case we may not in anywise withstand violently, or rebel against rulers, or make any insurrection, sedition, or tumults*, either by force of arms or otherwise, against the anointed of the Lord, or any of his appointed officers; but we must *in such case patiently* suffer all wrongs and injuries, referring the judgment of our cause only to God.” In the third part of this sermon, “We learn, by the word of God, to yield to our king that is due to our king;—that is, honour, obedience,

* Rom. xiii.

PAYMENT OF DUE TAXES, CUSTOMS, TRIBUTES, SUBSIDIES, love, and fear."

In the Homily against "Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion," in the second book, we are told that, "as the name of the king is very often attributed and given unto God in Holy Scripture, *so doth God communicate his name with earthly princes, terming them Gods* (Psalm lxxxii. 6), doubtless for *that similitude of government which they have or should have*—not unlike unto God their king. What shall subjects do then? Shall they obey valiant, stout, wise, and good princes, and contemn, disobey, and rebel against children being their princes, or against indiscreet and evil governors? God forbid; *for first, what a perilous thing were it to commit unto the subject the judgment which prince is wise and godly, and his government good, and which is otherwise*; as though the foot must judge of the head,—an enterprise very heinous, and must needs breed rebellion." After then declaring "rebellion the greatest of all mischiefs," and rebels "the worst of all subjects," as "being most ready to rebellion, the worst of all vices," the sermonists proceed:—"What an unworthy matter were it then to make the naughtiest subjects, and most inclined to rebellion and all evil, judges over their princes, over their government, and over their counsellors, *to determine which of them be good or tolerable, and which be evil and so intolerable*, that they must needs be removed by rebels, being ever ready, as the naughtiest subjects, to rebel against the best princes. . . . But whereas, indeed, a rebel is worse than the worst prince, and *rebellion worse than the worst government of the worst prince that hitherto hath been*, both rebels are unmeet ministers, and rebellion an unfit and unwholesome medicine, to reform any small lacks in a prince, or to cure any little griefs in government; such lewd remedies being far worse than any other maladies and disorders that can be in the body of a commonwealth (p. 388). . . . But, what if the prince be indiscreet and evil indeed, and it also evident to all men's eyes that he is so? *I ask again, what if it belong of the wickedness of the subjects, that the prince is indiscreet and evil? Shall the subjects, both by their wickedness, provoke God, for their deserved punishment, to give them an indiscreet or evil prince, and rebel against him; and withall against God, who, for the punishment of their sins, did give them such a prince?* Will you hear the Scriptures concerning this point? God, say the Holy Scriptures, maketh a wicked man to reign for the sins of the people." The writers then proceed

to inculcate the necessity of obeying and praying for wicked princes, *on the authority of several texts of Scripture*. “Shall the old Christians, by St. Paul’s exhortation, pray for Caligula, Claudius, or Nero? Shall the Jews pray for Nebuchodonosor? These emperors and kings being strangers unto them, being pagans and infidels, being murderers, tyrants, and cruel oppressors of them, and destroyers of their country, countrymen, and kinsmen, the burners of their villages, towns, cities, and temples? And shall not we pray,” &c. &c.

In the second part of this Homily, a variety of scriptural examples are considered, and David is made to forbid rebellion “against a prince hated of God and God’s enemy, and therefore like not to prosper in war or peace, but to be hurtful and pernicious to the commonwealth;” or “against our known, mortal, and deadly enemy, that seeketh our lives;” and to recommend that they should “lay no violent hand on him, but let him live till God appoint and work his end, either by natural death, or in war by lawful enemies, not by traitorous subjects.” The same conduct is, of course, prescribed to all Christians; those disobeying their natural sovereign being declared “no true Christians, but worse than Jews, worse than Heathens, and *such as shall never enjoy the kingdom of heaven*, which Christ by his obedience purchased for true Christians, being obedient to him, the King of Kings, and their prince whom he hath placed over them.”

In the third part of this Homily, “rebels,” we are told, “*justly do fall headlong into hell*, if they die” (in battle), “and live in shame and fearful conscience though they escape. But commonly they be rewarded with shameful deaths, their heads and carcasses set upon poles and hanged in chains, eaten with kites and crows; judged unworthy the honour of burial; and so their souls, if they repent not,—as commonly they do not,—*the devil hurrieth them into hell in the midst of their mischief*.” “The rebels themselves are the very figures of fiends and devils, and their captain the ungracious pattern of Lucifer and Satan, the Prince of Darkness, *of whose rebellion as they be followers, so shall they of his damnation in hell undoubtedly be partakers*.”*

That these form a perfect code of right divine and non-resistance no one can have the hardihood to deny. But Protestants, who are now ashamed of the doctrines inculcated by the Church in the first hurry and confusion of its starting in

business, say that these Homilies, though they are declared to contain “wholesome and necessary doctrine for those times,” yet are not declared to contain *essential* articles of faith. But if the doctrine in them was necessary (of course it must be understood) to salvation, in the sixteenth century, it must be also necessary in the nineteenth; and that it was considered so then, is obvious from the care taken to inculcate the truths of these Homilies, every clergyman being compelled to read one of them every Sunday and holiday, “that they may be understood of the people.” But we shall show that the Church, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Anne, invariably maintained the doctrine of these two sermons as absolutely essential to salvation, and that no one could be considered a member of it who did not believe in the religious unlawfulness of resistance to kings *on any pretence whatsoever*.

Our views on this subject will be considerably strengthened by the meaning affixed by the Church to the supremacy of the crown. From that meaning it will appear, that the right divine of our sovereign is actually an article of faith,—nay, one of the Thirty-nine Articles. The mode in which this supremacy was perverted from making him head of the Church, to overthrowing the entire constitution, and making him an absolute despot,—almost a divinity,—is rather a curiosity in theology, as exhibiting the track in which the current of political divinity flowed from the head to the members.

In the articles of faith of Edward VI, he was simply supreme head of the Church. In 1559, Elizabeth ordered all ecclesiastical persons to teach at her “power within her realms and dominions is the highest power under God, to whom all men, BY GOD’S LAWS, owe most loyalty and obedience,” &c. &c. In 1562 she improved upon this, as appears by the thirty-seventh article, — “The Queen’s Majesty hath the chief power in this realm, &c. &c. unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, *in all causes doth appertain*,” &c. &c. “Where we attribute to the King’s Majesty the chief government, &c. &c., we give not to our princes the ministering either of God’s Word, or of the sacraments, the which thing the injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth, our queen, do most plainly testify: but *that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God himself*; that is, that *they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God*, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.”

From this, right divine and arbitrary power follow as inevitable corollaries. As to the first, we are taught that our princes should rule all states and degrees *committed to their charge by God*. Is not this a commission from God? i. e. right divine? As to the second, the only limitation to their prerogative is, that they should not preach, or minister the sacraments. In all else it is to be the same as that “given always to all godly princes in Holy Scripture,” who were never restricted in the exercise of their absolute authority by the Pagan and Popish “abominations” of parliaments, juries, and charters, which are clearly in contravention of the *scriptural prerogative of Godly princes*. Though this is “the full and plain meaning” of the article, yet, lest the correctness of our interpretation may be doubted by “true Protestants,” who are prohibited from affixing “any new meaning other than is already established in convocation,” from which the head of the Church “will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree:”* we shall consider what the convocation has determined on the subject.

The first of the canons of 1603 declares the king’s royal authority to be the first and greatest, next to and after God’s, within the realm of England, &c. &c., and to whom all men, &c. &c., do, BY GOD’S LAW (*lege divinâ*), owe most loyalty, &c. &c. This clearly gives the monarch a *divine right*; and as this canon is in explanation of the article of the supremacy, all, who receive this, must receive it in the sense here affixed to it by the convocation, “from which we will not endure any varying or departing in the least degree.” But the canons of 1640 put the matter out of all doubt. To these we shall refer in their chronological order.

The convocation of 1603 continued by adjournments and prorogations to 1610, and adopted several other canons, which, however, were not confirmed by James, but were published, under the title of Overrall’s *Canonical Constitutions*, in the reign of Charles II, by Archbishop Sancroft, as an authentic declaration of the doctrine of the Church, on the ground of non-resistance. They commenced with an exposition of the Scriptures, from the book of Genesis: to each canon they prefixed a chapter of arguments derived from the sacred volume; and, from all, they deduced the same substantive conclusion as to the divine and patriarchal origin and authority of monarchy and priesthood. To Adam, the first king, parent,

* See Declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles.

and patriarch, God gave a portion of his omnipotence and authority, and from him they very satisfactorily deduced it to all the kings and princes (all other they declared “degenerate forms of government”), who had since appeared among the children of men. All these got their authority direct from God; and whoever dared to maintain that “civil power, jurisdiction, and authority, was first derived from the people and *disordered multitude*, or is originally still in them: or else is deduced by their consents naturally from them, and is not God’s ordinance originally descending from Him, and depending upon him, doth greatly err.”* They, of course, condemn resistance; but lest they should leave any pretence for inquiring into the original formation of government, or for resistance on any account, they also condemn whoever would affirm that, when any forms of government, “began by rebellion, are thoroughly settled, the authority in them is not of God, and that any are not bound to be subject to God’s authority, which is there executed, but may rebel against the same;”† or “that the Jews generally, both priests and people, were not the subjects of Alexander, after his authority was settled among them, as they had been before the subjects of the kings of Babylon and Persia, or that they might have lawfully borne arms against him, or were not all bound to pray for the long life and prosperity of Alexander and his empire, as they had been bound to pray for the life and prosperity of the other, the said kings and kingdoms, whilst they lived under their subjection.... Or that they might, on any occasion whatsoever, have offered violence or destruction to either their persons or authority,”‡ &c. &c.

From these principles it is plain that any people, *who would believe the Church of England*, would be for ever slaves: for, no matter how any marauder once acquired dominion over them, they were for ever to obey him and his posterity, “*for conscience sake*,” *as the ordinances of the Lord*. These, be it remembered, were the doctrines of the entire Church, in the reign of James, and were published in the reign of Charles II

* Canon 2.

† Canon 28. What a pretty specimen of political theology! When “Lucifer, the first author of rebellion,” has “*thoroughly settled* any form of government,” he retires from office, and is succeeded by ——. It would be irreverent to “name the name.” Burnett, in Sacheverell’s case, said that this canon referred to the state of the United Provinces, and that allusion had been made by the convocation to the Maccabees. But we have not been able to find this allusion, and the canon seems incapable of any other meaning than that which we have assigned.

‡ Can. 31.

as the doctrines of the Church of that day. We recommend these constitutions to the reader, particularly for the irrefragable manner in which all the propositions are proved by ingenious interpretations of scraps of Scripture.

In 1622, when one Knight preached at Oxford the doctrine of resistance, he and his abettors were imprisoned, and Paræus's commentary on Rom. xiii. from which he had derived his notions, censured and burned, *at the instance of the king and privy council*; and a decree passed at convocation, "*That by the doctrine of the Holy Scripture, it is IN NO CASE lawful for subjects to make use of force against their prince, nor to appear offensively or defensively in the field against the king, either upon the score of religion, or any other account whatever*;" and all promoted or to be promoted to a degree, were obliged to swear that they *would ever continue of the same opinion*. At the same time, all the bishops assembled at London, condemned the same book, and others of like principles, and ordered it to be burnt. It received the same treatment at Cambridge.*

We shall here insert a passage or two from Fortescue, as to the scriptural character of kingly power, that our Protestant readers may be able to contrast the opinions of this "besotted papist" with those of the entire body of the divines of the "*English Law Church, from the first to the last*;"—"But forasmuch as a king is not always such a man (viz. a good king,) therefore, St. Thomas, in the book which he wrote to the king of Cyprus, of the governance of princes, wisheth the state of a realm to be such, that it may not bee in the king's power to oppress his people with tyranny. Which thing is performed only while the power royal is restrained by the power politique. Rejoice, therefore, O sovereign prince, and be glad that the law of your realm wherein you shall succeed, is such. For it shall exhibit and minister to you and your people no small securitie and comfort. With such laws, as saith the same St. Thomas, should all mankind have been governed, if in paradise they had not transgressed God's commandment. With such laws also, was the synagogue ruled, while it served under God only as king, who adopted the same to him for a peculiar kingdome. But at the last, when at their request, they had a man king set over them, they were under royal laws only, brought very low."† Again, after stating that all the purely ROYAL governments, which were in the world at the time the

* Collier, Eccles. Hist.

† Chap. ix. De Laudibus Legum Angliæ.

Jews desired a king, were originally founded on force, he says, "Wherefore the Lord being displeased with the children of Israel, requiring to have a king as then all other nations had, commanded the law regal to be declared unto them by the prophet; which law regal was no other thing but the pleasure of the king their governor, as in 1 *Kings* more fully is contained."*

In the reign of Charles I, the doctrines of the Homilies, and the practical application of them, were enforced from the pulpits in all quarters. Of the sermons then preached on this subject, we may take Mainwaring's as a fair average specimen; as the two sermons, on which the impeachment was founded, for teaching doctrines subversive of the fundamental laws of the land, "and giving a participation of Divine omnipotence to kings"† were printed by the king's command, with the assent, or at least the knowledge, of two or three bishops. In one of these, he said, "That the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the subjects' rights and liberties; but that his royal will and command, in imposing loans and taxes without common consent in parliament, doth oblige the subjects' conscience upon pain of damnation. That those who refused to pay those loans, offended against the law of God and the king's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty and rebellion, &c." In his defence, he says, "That the grounds of his position in these two sermons, are in the Holy Scriptures, and in the interpreters of the Scripture, and are not complained of by the Commons, but *the inferences* only drawn from these grounds are questioned by them. He craved leave to explain himself in two of those positions. The first was, he said, *that kings partake of omnipotence with God*. He said, he meant no more by this, *than is meant by Holy Scripture*, and by the laws of the land; for the Psalms say, '*Dii estis*;' and Mr. Calvin saith, '*Reges a Deo imperium habere et divinam protestatem in regibus residere*:'‡ *wherefore to offend against kings, he*

* Id. chap. xii.

† Among other things, he was charged with teaching, that though in ordinary cases the property of goods was in the subject, *in extraordinaries it was in the king*.

‡ "Calvin, in his Institutions of Christian Religion, in the 20th and last chapter of the book of the first edition (August 1, 1536) sect. 21 to 29, laid down the doctrine of obedience, and the unlawfulness of resistance in what case soever, with as much truth and clearness as perhaps any man could do it." But an alteration in his political circumstances having taken place before the end of the month, "that very month he changes his *note*, and destroys all his orthodox assertions concerning obedience to, &c. &c."—Brady, *Hist. of the Succession*.

thought it a sacrilege, and by the laws of the kingdom, a great image of God was in kings.”* Though the preaching of these scriptural truths was condemned in parliament, and the doctor perpetually disabled from ecclesiastical preferments, yet he procured a royal pardon, was immediately presented to the rectory of Stamford Rivers, in Essex, and had a dispensation to hold it with the rectory of St. Giles’s-in-the-fields, was made dean of Worcester in 1633, and bishop of St. David’s in 1635. We may, therefore, consider the doctrines taught by him as the orthodox tenets of the Church, since he was so rapidly promoted by its *head*, for his honest firmness in maintaining them.

These doctrines the clergy continued to teach during the prorogation, from 1628 to 1640; when, on the assembling of the convocation, they were embodied in the authoritative form of a canon. The mode in which those celebrated canons were prepared and presented to the convocation, is another excellent illustration of the flow of political divinity from the head to the members. “Before the canons were offered to the houses of convocation for subscription, *they were read before the king and privy council*; the judges and other eminent persons of the long robe being present: and here they were approved by the whole audience, the king giving the archbishop thanks for bringing things to so good an issue.”† They were subscribed in the Upper House with only one dissentient,‡ and at York were signed “*unanimously without debating upon matter or form.*”

The first of these canons declares, that *the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being, by the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly established by express texts, both of the Old and New Testaments.* A SUPREME POWER is given to this most excellent order by God himself in the Scriptures, which is, “That kings should rule and command, in their several dominions, all persons of what rank or estate soever, whether ECCLESIASTICAL or CIVIL, and that they should restrain and punish with the temporal sword, all stubborn and wicked doers.” After alluding to the power of kings to regulate the spiritual affairs of the nation—the canon proceeds: “For any person or persons to set up, maintain, or avow, in any their said

* State Trials, vol. iii. col. 335, 338, 354.

† Collier’s Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 793.

‡ The Bishop of Gloucester, who in his last illness, declared himself a Roman Catholic.—Vid. Collier, ii. p. 725.

realms or territories respectively, under any pretence whatsoever, *any independent co-active power, either papal or popular, (whether directly or indirectly,)* is to undermine their great royal office, and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred ordinance, which God himself hath established, and *so is treasonable against God as well as against the king. For subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the powers which are ordained of God; and though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly 'THEY SHALL RECEIVE TO THEMSELVES DAMNATION.'* And although tribute and custom, and aid and subsidy, and all manner of necessary support and supply, be respectively due to kings from their subjects by THE LAW OF GOD, NATURE, AND NATIONS, for the public defence, care and protection of them; yet nevertheless, subjects have not possession of, but a true and just right, title and propriety to, and in all their goods and estates, and ought so to have, and these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together for the honourable and comfortable support of both. *For as it is the duty of the subjects to supply their king,* so it is part of the kingly office to support his subjects in the property and freedom of their estates."

This and the other canons having been condemned by the Commons, as containing in them "many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the right of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and "as being matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence;" they are not now printed with the other constitutions. But having been passed with the forms required by law, and having never been rescinded by the Church or its head, they must be received as authoritative explanations of the doctrine of the *supremacy* as contained in the 37th article, and must be binding on the consciences of all members of the Church of England, unless it be a principle with them that the complexion of their faith is to depend on the votes of the national *purse bearers*. It is true, that according to the declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, the canons should not be contrary to law; but the judges—not the Commons—were the authorities to decide that, and they, according to Collier, approved of them before they were offered to the convocation. But can a "pious Protestant" conceive anything more degrading—more derogatory to the dignity of his Church, than that it should be *silenced* from teaching the saving truths of the gospel, merely because they were declared by the

Commons to be *contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm?*—laws passed by “*the damnable papists*” in sacrilegious violation of the *divine right* of kings as “*clearly established by express texts, both of the Old and New Testament*”? We almost blush to find a sect of Christians compelled to search—not the Scriptures, nor the Fathers—but the Journals of the Commons, for the articles of their faith.

From the Restoration to the Revolution, right divine and its necessary consequence, non-resistance, became matters of faith uncontroverted and incontrovertible. Then men were compelled by acts of parliament* to swear to the truth of that doctrine of non-resistance, which had been before only promulgated from the pulpit and the convocation. That was the period of the great triumph of this principle. Then the Established Church, in the meridian of its ascendancy, could revile “popery and puritanism,” for their seditious and antimonarchical principles; then Rome and Geneva became equally the objects of her hate and contempt; then “the light of the gospel shone forth in its utmost brilliancy,” and men saw the ungodliness of “*the king-deposing and soul-destroying doctrines*” of “*schoolmen, friars, Jesuits, puritans, Calvinists, dissenters, and republicans.*”† Then the abominations of the Scarlet Lady became apparent to every “true Protestant” who could comprehend a text of that sacred volume, which she had hidden for ages from mankind, lest they might see and believe the divine rights and irresistibility of monarchs.

To show that the doctrines of the Homilies—for all the opinions subsequently broached were evidently only a more minute or practical elaboration of them—were at that period also absolutely essential saving articles of faith, we shall adduce a few proofs, to which there cannot be an objection. Need we allude to the ever-memorable scene of the Duke of Monmouth’s execution? the importunities used by the four assistants‡ to induce him to acknowledge the doctrine of non-resistance? and, on his non-compliance, to their denying him the consolations of faith and prayer as he was about to be sent before his Maker? An extract or two may enlighten some as to the latitude of salvation, which many, who conceive themselves acquainted with the doctrines of the Established Church, pretend or imagine that it allows.

* 13 Car. II. ses. ii. c. 1, (Corporation Act); 13 & 14 Car. II, c. 4, (Act of Uniformity); and by act for Select Vestries.

† Brady, History of the Succession.

‡ Bp. of Ely, Bp. of Bath and Wells, Dr. Tennison, and Dr. Hooper.

"*Assistants.* My lord, if you be of the Church of England, you must acknowledge the doctrine of non-resistance to be true.

"*Monmouth.* I die very penitent, and die with great cheerfulness, for I know I shall go to God.

"*Assistants.* My lord, you must go to God in his own way. Sir, be sure you be truly penitent and ask forgiveness of God for the many you have wronged. My lord, I said before there is nothing in your paper about the doctrine of non-resistance.

"*Monmouth.* I repent of all things that a true Christian ought to repent of. I am to die, and pray, my Lord —

"*Assistants.* Then, my lord, we can only recommend you to the mercy of God, but we cannot pray with that cheerfulness and encouragement as we should, if you had made a particular acknowledgment."

This language requires no commentary.

Among those who importuned the unfortunate Lord Russell to make a similar acknowledgment, was Tillotson, who, by letter, told him that this doctrine of non-resistance, "was the declared doctrine of all Protestant Churches, though some particular persons had thought otherwise,"* and expressed his concern "*that you do not leave the world in a delusion and false hope to the hinderance of your eternal happiness,*"† by doubting this saving article of faith. Within the same period, Bishop Sanderson delivered the doctrine in the following clear and explicit language. He declares that, "to blaspheme the holy name of God, to sacrifice to idols," &c. &c. "*to take up arms against a lawful sovereign,* none of these, and sundry other things of the like nature, being all of them simply and *de toto*

* In Lord Somers's collection of State Tracts, there is one entitled, "The Divine Right and Irresistibility of Kings and Supreme Magistrates clearly evidenced, not from any private authority, but from the public confessions of the Reformed Churches, and the Homilies of the Church of England. 1645." The writer, after laying before his readers the confession of Helvetia, Bohemia, France, Belgia, Augsburg, Saxony, and Scotland, says, "The sum of these confessions is; all power is originally in God himself, who is *solus potens*, the only king and independent potentate. He hath for the good of mankind communicated some of his power immediately to kings, and by them (1 Pet. ii. 13) to inferior magistrates. So that a king is God's immediate vicegerent and deputy; and, therefore, his authority and person are both sacred and should be inviolable. He is *minister Dei* and *unctus Domini*, not the people's but the Lord's deputy, the Lord's anointed: and therefore none can stretch out his hand against him (Rom. xiii. 2) (though he be a Saul or tyrant), and be guiltless. And if the Church of Scotland may be judge, they that go about to take away or confound monarchy, *those men are not only enemies to mankind but fight against God's express will.* I would to God that the practice of that nation were any way suitable to the piety and truth of this profession."

† Harris's Life of Charles II. p. 254.

genere, unlawful, may be done on any colour or pretence whatsoever, the express command of God only excepted, as in the case of Abraham sacrificing his son, not for the avoiding of scandal, not at the instance of any friend, or command of any power on earth—NOT FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF THE LIVES AND LIBERTIES OF OURSELVES OR OTHERS, NOR FOR DEFENCE OF RELIGION, NOR FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE CHURCH AND STATE; NO NOR YET, IF THAT COULD BE IMAGINED POSSIBLE. FOR THE SALVATION OF A SOUL, NO NOT FOR THE REDEMPTION OF THE WHOLE WORLD.”* This was considered a very orthodox effusion.

To show that these divines were not singular in these opinions, we may notice the decree of the University of Oxford in 1683, in which the prevailing notions of that period on the subject of civil liberty were embodied, in the form of twenty-seven propositions: “The first proposition: *All civil authority is derived originally from the people.* The second: There is a mutual contract, tacit or express, between a prince and his subjects, and that if he do not perform his duty, they are discharged from theirs. The Third: That if lawful governors become tyrants, or govern otherwise than by the laws of God and man they ought to do, they forfeit the right they had to the government. The Fourth: The sovereignty of England is in the three estates, viz. King, Lords, and Commons. The king has but a co-ordinate power, and may be over-ruled by the other two. The Fifth: Birthright and proximity of blood give no title to rule or government; and it is lawful to preclude the next heir from his right and succession to the throne.” Each and every of these and the twenty-two other propositions, they decreed *to be false, seditious, and impious*; and most of them to be also heretical and blasphemous, infamous to Christian religion, and destructive of all government in Church and State.” They ordered the books containing these “damnable doctrines”—and among them they included “the Jesuits’” *en masse*—to be burnt, and enjoined all teachers to ground their scholars “in that most necessary doctrine which in a manner is the badge and character of the Church of England, of submitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake,” &c. &c. “teaching that this obedience and submission is to be clear, absolute, and without any exception of any state or order of men.”

In *The Cambridge ADDRESS*, presented to the king by the vice-chancellor of the university about the same time, we find

* Quoted by Sacheverell’s Council, State Trials, vol. xv. p. 255. Ed. 1812.

the same doctrine—"We will still believe and maintain that *our princes derive not their title from the people, but from God—that to him only they are accountable; that it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so, by a fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture can alter or diminish.*"*

Such were the doctrines of the Church of England so long as the "Lord's Deputies" employed their authority for the overthrow merely of the national liberties. But when her own interests were attacked, she acted as if she had discovered that rebellion was justifiable in defence of a cloister at Oxford, though till then it would not have been so "*for the preservation of the Church and State,—no, not for the redemption of the whole world.*" Delighted that *nobody believed her*, and that she had escaped from "Popish tyranny and arbitrary power" by the agency of those, whose souls, according to her doctrines, "the devil would hurry into hell in the midst of their mischief," she shared in the general joy of the Revolution, and was disposed to allow her former notions of saving faith to be buried in eternal oblivion, and to admit, by her acquiescence in the late proceedings, the propriety and lawfulness of rebellion in certain contingencies.

But when she was required formally to renounce her former doctrines, by swearing allegiance to William and Mary, pride, honour, and consistency, came to her rescue. To renounce what had been her *badge* and *glory* from her very origin,—to acknowledge herself in error,—and to adopt "the king-deposing and soul-destroying" tenets of the scarlet w—e, after such a lengthened persecution of her, for her superstition and ignorance,—was a measure of degradation to which she could not easily submit. Accordingly, a considerable body of the clergy, headed by five of the SEVEN CANDLESTICKS, refused compliance. The five suffered deprivation;† Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, joined them; and Lake, of Chichester, died soon after, leaving a written confession of his adherence to the doctrine. Those who took the oaths, however, did it without renouncing this "saving truth," by adopting a variety of "Jesuitical" evasions, "reservations, and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censures, as if they had taken them against their conscience."‡ Some said, they

* Collier's Eccles. History, vol. ii. p. 904.

† Of the other two, St. Asaph yielded, and Bristol was dead.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 28.

took the oaths in no other sense than a peaceable submission to the powers that were; saying, that the legislature had dropped the word “rightful” in the Bill of Rights, to make a distinction between a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*.^{*} Others, again, avoided all difficulty, on the following simple and original view of the Revolution. They considered, that there was no resistance offered to James. He had abdicated the government—the throne was vacant—and the *right divine* descended on his heir, Mary—the Pretender being, of course, supposititious. As to the trifling difference of a parliamentary settlement—if the votes of the Convention coincided with the disposition by divine right, were they, on that account, to refuse their allegiance to “the delegate of the Lord?” It is unnecessary to notice the other quirks, quibbles, and evasions adopted by gentlemen not disposed to forsake the truths, or the livings, of the Church of England.

Though, on a general view of the Revolution, it might appear that the divine right had ceased with the parliamentary settlement, yet we have no reason to come to that conclusion. Henry VIII succeeded by the right vested in him by parliamentary settlement. Edward VI took, by his father’s will, made under the provisions of an act of parliament; yet he had a divine right. Elizabeth, a bastard by canon and municipal law, took under the same title; she had a divine right. James the First’s best human title was the right vested in the children of Henry VIII by act of parliament; yet he had a divine right. His son Charles was the first monarch who succeeded by a pure hereditary title, since the doctrine of divine right had been discovered. Then came his sons, Charles II and James II, on the same title; and yet the divine right of Edward VI, Elizabeth, and James I, was less questioned than that of the three latter. Hence we can clearly see, that the doctrine of divine right received no such shock at the Revolution as is commonly imagined; and that, therefore, the Church of England had no cause to apostatize from one of its *essential*—its *peculiar*—its *distinguishing* doctrines. Neither did she; for we find her maintaining this *saving truth* with the same spirit and earnestness in 1710 as at any former period. When Sacheverell was prosecuted for

^{*} Burnet, alluding to the conduct of the clergy in taking the oaths and reading the prayers for the new government, and yet by other acts shewing “their aversion to our establishment,” says, “this made many conclude, that the clergy were a sort of men that would swear and pray, even against their consciences, rather than lose their benefices; and by consequence, that they were governed by interest, and not by principle.”—Vol. ii. p. 101.

seeming “to throw black and odious colours on the Revolution,” by teaching the unlawfulness of resistance, and maintaining that William did not use forcible means for acquiring the crown, “the clergy generally espoused Sacheverell as their champion, who stood in the breach, and so they reckoned his cause as their own.”* As no one can doubt that Sacheverell’s sentiments were those of the entire Church, he having been treated all through the proceedings as her champion, we shall conclude this genealogy of right divine by a notice of what took place on that trial.

One of the passages particularly selected from his sermons, to convict him on the charge of “throwing black and odious colours on the revolution,” is as follows:—After laying down the doctrine of non-resistance, he said, “Our adversaries think they effectually stop our mouths, and have us sure and unanswerable in this point, when they urge the revolution of this day in their defence; but certainly, they are the greatest enemies of that and of his late majesty, and the most ungrateful for their deliverance, who endeavour to cast such black and odious colours upon both. How often must they be told, that the late king himself solemnly disclaimed the least imputation of resistance.”† In another part, he said, “Though this *fundamental* doctrine was now become unfashionable, and exploded as a dangerous tenet, inconsistent with the rights, liberties, and property of the people; yet, God be thanked, *it still continued to be the doctrine of Church and State.*”

In his pleadings also, he avers it “to be the doctrine of the Church of England;” and says, “that he was the rather induced to preach about it” on the 5th of November, “because on that day the Church commemorates our deliverance from the traitorous attempts of rebellious papists, and *because the lawfulness of resisting the supreme power was originally a popish doctrine.*” “Whilst, therefore, the Church of England, as by law established, is in a safe and flourishing condition, under her Majesty’s happy administration; whilst *POPISH TENETS are by all good Protestants condemned and abhorred*; whilst the laws of this realm continue in full force and vigour, the said Henry S. humbly hopes that a dutiful son of that Church, a sincere Protestant, and a faithful subject of Her Majesty, shall not suffer for asserting the doctrine of non-resistance of the supreme power.”

At the trial, it was urged on his behalf, that this was the

* Burnet’s History of his own Times.

† State Trials, vol. xv. p. 117.

doctrine of the Church from the very “dawn of the Reformation;” and besides “the necessary doctrine,” the homilies, canons, decrees, &c.—the following phalanx of eminent dignitaries was cited in support of it:—Cranmer, the ten bishops imprisoned in 1554, Bishop Jewell,* Dr. Jackson, Archbishop Usher, Chillingworth, Archbishop Bramhall, Bishop Sander-son, Bishop Sherlock, Bishop Beveridge, Stillingfleet, Hooker† Tillotson,‡ Archbishop Sancroft, the four assistants at the Duke of Monmouth’s execution, and Burnet.§ Sacheverell’s counsel named three archbishops, eight bishops, and three doctors of divinity, who, between the revolution and 1709, had maintained the same doctrine on public occasions,—some even in sermons before the Lords and the Commons, and for which some were by those bodies publicly thanked.

Sacheverell, in his defence, thus denounced the ignominy which would attend the Church, if it should apostatize from this “distinguishing badge and glory of our reformation.” “What a guilt as well as disgrace would it justly devolve upon the clergy, to recede from any principle of our excellent Church, *especially from what has been so long retained and boasted of as its peculiar character, by abandoning which we must relapse into some of the worst doctrines even of popery itself*, and render ourselves the most contemptible as well as inconsistent Church in the world.”

However, nothing could save him—not the fact that he preached only the undisputed doctrine of the privileged Church—not the fear of relapsing “into some of the worst doctrines even of popery itself,”—not the precedential autho-

* *Defence of the Apology for the Church of England*.—Burnet, in his speech on Sacheverell’s case, in endeavouring to palliate his own apostacy by attempting to prove that this was not the doctrine of the Church, said that Jewell was generally considered the writer of the Homilies, and yet cited a letter of his, in which he admitted that, in some cases, resistance might be lawful. This, instead of proving that resistance is compatible with the doctrines of the Homilies, proves only that Jewell did not believe what he wrote for the instruction of the Church.

† In a *Treatise on the Legal Power*.—In his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, he holds the opposite—Romish—doctrine. *He was continually accused of being a papist in disguise, and of papistical tendencies*.—Vid. Keble’s Edition of Walton’s Life and Works of Hooker, Oxford, 1836.

‡ Letter to Lord Russell, *ante*.—After the revolution, he became archbishop of Canterbury, and learned to preach non-resistance in one part of a sermon, and to qualify it by different expressions in another part.—Vid. his sermon of 30th January, 1700.

§ Burnet taught this in 1673.—At and after the revolution, he held the opposite, and sought to prove, in a rather singular manner, that it was the doctrine of the Church of England—by contrasting the private opinions and public conduct of the heads and guides of the Church, with the doctrines which they inculcated as wholesome and “necessary” for the people.

rity of so many clerical luminaries; and he was convicted of high crimes and misdemeanours — sentenced to three years' suspension, and his sermons ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.* To the same honour the Oxford decree was admitted, it having been adjudged to contain "several positions contrary to the constitution of this kingdom, and *destructive to the Protestant succession as by law established.*"

Whether the established Church has since apostatized from this distinguishing doctrine, and relapsed into popery, we cannot at present determine. But if this be not an essential tenet of that Church, it would be difficult to prove that the divinity of the Saviour—the redemption of man, a future state of rewards and punishments, or the inspired character of the Bible, is an essential article of her faith. We do not think that in support of any one of these doctrines could there be found such a number of authorities in the dignitaries and members of the Church in every age, as we have enumerated in support of this tenet of right divine and non-resistance. In all probability, she has abandoned this principle; as there can be no reason to believe that she would obstinately persist in teaching doctrines subversive of the state which paid her. She has always on every other subject adapted her tenets to the wishes and necessities of the state, and we can see no reason why she should not do so on this. To the Parliament, especially, she has always bowed as the last arbiter of heresy. In obedience to a resolution of the Commons, she rejected the canons of 1640, and so complete a condemnation was that considered, that there was not the least allusion made to them in this case of Sacheverell's. At the present day, most professing members of the Church talk of resistance to oppressive governors, without seeming at all aware of the *damnation* consequent on it. Either, therefore, the Church has renounced this doctrine, or she, for her own temporal interests, allows her followers to adopt notions, for which, in due time, "*the Devil will hurry them into hell, in the midst of their mischief.*"

We would specially recommend our readers to recollect, that in the homilies are contained all the primal principles, and most of the very identical principles, for which Manwaring and Sacheverell were condemned; the canons of 1640

* After the period of his sentence had expired, the head of the Church, to mark her approbation of his orthodoxy, allowed him to preach on the first Sunday following before her, and immediately promoted him to a valuable living.

censured, and the Oxford decree burned. All those principles are either plainly laid down in them, or are immediately and directly deducible from them. Why then have the homilies escaped unscathed?

Let them bear in mind also, that though in questions of theology the solutions of parliament ought never to be regarded as of the slightest importance; yet, on matters affecting the rights of the nation, it is the only competent authority; and though it has repeatedly declared popery to be damnable, blasphemous, idolatrous, &c. &c., it has never yet, in the excess of its malignity, declared any of her tenets to be “contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm,” or detrimental to the rights, interests, or liberties of the subject.

The doctrine of divine right and non-resistance being the peculiar badge of the established Church, by which she so effectually secured the favour of the monarchs of this country, though for ages previously the Catholic Church had been the subject of their continual attacks and depredations, she spared no pains to support it, and especially with all the authority of Scripture. It was peculiarly as a Scriptural doctrine that she recommended it, in opposition to the “anti-monarchical” tenets of Popery. But Popery could support her doctrine on her canon of Scripture. She had two books expressly recounting as laudable acts, the efforts of the Jews to rescue themselves by force from a slavery, to which they had been subject for 400 years. How could the Church of England teach the unlawfulness of resistance on Scriptural grounds, and retain the Maccabees in her canon? But we will tell the tale in the words of Burnet, that there may be no pretence for doubting the motives for ex-canonising the Maccabees.

“But to proceed with the history of our Church: when the articles of religion were settled, the books of the Apocrypha were indeed declared not to be part of the canon of Scripture, but yet to be useful for the example of life, and instruction of manners.* A great part of these are the books of the Maccabees, which contain the history of the Jews’ striking off the yoke of the king of Syria, when they were broken in upon by a total overthrow of their whole law, and an unrelenting persecution. Mattathias, a private priest, began the resistance, which was carried on by his children till they shook off the Syrian yoke, and formed themselves into a government under the

* This was in the reign of Elizabeth, at the settlement of the Thirty-nine Articles. In Edward VI’s time, divine right was not unalterably fixed as a saving truth; and the canon remained intact.

family of the Maccabees. It was easy to show that the Jews had been for above 400 years subject first to the Babylonish, then to the Persian and at last to the Grecian empire, so that by a long prescription they were subject to the kings of Syria. It were easy to show that this resistance was foretold by Daniel in terms of high commendation, and is also mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews as the work and effect of their faith. *If then all resistance to illegal and barbarous persecution is unlawful, these books contain nothing but the history of a rebellion; and all the devotion that runs through them, is but a cant; and instead of reading them as examples of life and instruction of manners, we ought to tear them out of our Bibles with detestation.*”*

This mode of tearing any books out of the Bible, which happened to clash with the views of the Reformers, would be indeed a *radical* method of proceeding. But how much more simple, plausible, and effective, is the putting of them on a level with Cicero’s *Offices*, or Plutarch’s *Lives*, by declaring that, though the Church doth read them for example of life and instruction of manners, “*yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine.*”† Thus by striking the Maccabees out of the canon of Scripture, “the distinguishing badge and character of the Church of England” became “clearly established by divers texts” in the remainder of the sacred volume. Would that all Englishmen would seriously consider this simple circumstance. The canon of Scripture—“the only rule of faith,” mutilated by a body of royal officials, to make their employer an uncontrollable despot, and their followers besotted slaves!

In an early number we propose to consider the effects of the *Reformation* on the civil and political institutions of the realm, and analyse the beauties of “the glorious PROTESTANT Constitution.”

* Speech on Sacheverell’s trial. State Trials, vol. xv. p. 483.

† Fifth of Thirty-nine Articles.

- ART. II.—1. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Edited by Professor Napier. Seventh Edition. London. 1830—40.
2. *The Edinburgh Encyclopædia*. Conducted by David Brewster, LL.D. Edinburgh and London. 1830.
3. *The London Encyclopædia; an Universal Dictionary of Science, Art, Literature, and practical Mechanics*. Twenty-two volumes. London, Sydney, and Hobart Town. 1839.
4. *The Cabinet Cyclopædia*. Conducted by the Rev. Dionysius Lardner, LL.D. &c. &c., assisted by eminent Literary and Scientific men. London.
5. *The Family Library*. London.
6. *The Library of Useful Knowledge*. Published under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. London.
7. *Curiosities of Literature*. By J. D'Israeli, Esq. Tenth Edition. London. 1838.

PLUTARCH, in the preface of his fifth book, assigns as his reason for recording the infamous lives of Demetrius and Antony, “that we shall the more easily imitate the examples of the good, if we be not entirely unacquainted with the characters of the wicked.” It is under the influence of a feeling somewhat similar, that we enter, though with reluctance, upon the present subject. The search after truth may be assisted by a knowledge of the falsehood opposed to it; the true character of the Catholic Church may be gathered from an exposure of the false and distorted forms under which she is but too often represented.

To a sincere Catholic, the subject is one of extreme pain. Amid the recriminations of polemical warfare, it is difficult to preserve charity uninjured; it is still more difficult to restrain honest indignation within due bounds, under the galling consciousness of unjust and unworthy imputations. Abuse and invective may be borne,—declamation and denunciation lose their power to wound, as the excitement of the moment passes away,—but misrepresentation or calumny, the imputation of false principles, or the suppression of known and true vindications, is an insult to the understanding, as well as to the temper; provoking, the one by its malice, as much as by its unworthiness it calls up pity or contempt in the other.

Far from us, however, be feelings such as these. We write far more in sorrow than in anger—we seek not idle, not even necessary, recrimination—not to retort upon our adversaries,

but to justify ourselves—not to reflect upon those who have misrepresented our belief, but to remove, in all charity and peace, the effects of the misrepresentation. For ourselves and our fellow-Catholics, this is a task of supererogation. Every Catholic, who knows his religion as it really is, and as it is represented in the literature of England, is but too familiar with the justice of the title prefixed to these pages. But there are others who know our doctrines only from books, and whose only estimate is formed from the data which their own literature supplies. To these—our Protestant countrymen of every denomination—we would offer a few pages of commentary upon that voluminous text from which chiefly, if not exclusively, they have had opportunities of estimating our principles and our practice.

A stranger, judging from the nature of the constitution, and the principles of the religion of England, would pronounce, that in Britain public opinion—and especially as regards religion—should be free as the air we breathe,—free from prejudice,—free from passion,—free from every unworthy influence. It is not, as in a Catholic country, where the whole inquiry is narrowed into one comparatively easy question, which once decided, authority is the guide for all the rest. On the contrary,—rejecting all aid of authority, disregarding the opinions of any “uninspired man or body of men,”—guided solely by private judgment in the formation of a creed,—it is the glory of Protestant England to have shaken off the “unscriptural and unchristian yoke” of Rome, and to live and breathe in the free unfettered liberty of the Gospel. To guard this freedom from injury—to preserve it from every influence which could impede its exercise—to increase and extend it by every possible device—would appear to be the first duty of every consistent citizen of the Protestant commonwealth. Hence, to resist the growth of prejudices, to uproot those which, amid the anarchy of religious revolution, had interwoven themselves into the public mind; to place on a footing of the most perfect equality the rival claims of all the various religions which challenge inquiry,—these would seem obligations inseparable from the idea of Protestantism,—direct consequences of that grand principle which is the soul and essence of its being. For a stranger, this would be a natural, but alas! a sadly mistaken, impression. Prejudice, in some one or other of its forms, would appear to enter into the constitution of the human mind; and there are few, however enlightened, who can claim an exemption. England, with all

her boasted liberty, is the slave of prejudice; in her institutions, in her society, in her literature—prejudice of country—prejudice of religion. It is the growth of centuries, deepening in its dye as each year rolled on, becoming every day more inveterate in its hold upon the public mind. We need not say, that the fear and detestation of Popery is the great centre from which it emanates. Political antipathies and religious hate, mutually supporting and supported, combined to foster and perpetuate it; time and usage threw an air of venerableness over traditionary calumnies, which had originated in interested falsehood and ignorant credulity; abhorrence of Popery was made the test of orthodoxy in politics, as well as religion; and prejudice the most servile, bigotry the most blind, warped themselves into the very essence of public opinion in free, Protestant England! Justice was forgotten,—fair play was flung to the winds,—or, if they were remembered, it was the justice proclaimed by Cromwell's troopers in Ireland, "What is yours is mine; what is mine is my own;"—it was the fair play of the poor plebeian in Juvenal,—

“ ———— ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum !”

It would be tedious to trace the causes which contributed to maintain and foster this unnatural state of things—causes, positive, as well as negative—to be found as well in the untiring exertions of the enemies of Catholicity, as in the constrained inactivity of its followers and friends. A glance through the history of the Catholics under Elizabeth, James, and the succeeding reigns, will show that the policy of the ascendant party, originating in fear, real or pretended, was the mainspring of all their operations. Under Elizabeth, the claims of her royal cousin of Scotland, and the universal sympathy called forth by her unjust and heartless persecution, demanded no small activity on the part of the enemies of Mary and her religion, in order to render both sufficiently unpopular for the security of Elizabeth and of Protestantism. The skill with which the Babington conspiracy was improved for this purpose, and the fatal account to which it was turned by the minister, (who, if he did not originate, at least encouraged and suffered it to ripen), were a lesson of Machiavellian policy, destined to serve many a black and bloody purpose in our history; the bugbear of Popery and its horrors, so successfully employed by Cecil and Walsingham, has been a ready instrument for their successors on many a subsequent occasion. It is impossible to suppress a shudder

for human nature, while we contemplate the fearful success with which it was used to excite the terrors of the nation, and flatter the silly vanity of the monarch, in the horrid tragedy of the gunpowder-treason,—the industrious malevolence with which all the details of this cruel exhibition were prepared and arranged by the crafty minister, and the treacherous duplicity with which, in the after-working of the plot, (his own doings,) the excesses into which a few fiery and weak-minded youths had been seduced, were traced to the imputed principles of the common faith professed by the Catholic body. Even amid the civil strife of the unhappy reign of Charles I and of the Commonwealth, the contending parties did not forget their common hatred of Catholicity. In the succeeding reign, the apprehension of a Popish successor was industriously employed to fan the no-popery flame; it was one series of calumnies on the Catholics, each more absurd and atrocious than its predecessor. The fire of London, which the “tall bully” lyingly commemorated as a Popish treason—the ill-digested fabrications of the ruffian Oates—and the still more extravagant inventions of Fitzharris—each served the purpose for a day, keeping the public mind in a perpetual ferment, and the anti-Catholic feeling in full activity; and its last great outbreak, in the riots of 1780, may serve as an index of the intensity with which, even while concealed, it never ceased to burn.

From the political relations of the Catholics, the transition was easy to the superstitions of their creed. The press and the pulpit overflowed with misrepresentation. Nonconformity brought with it the charge of disaffection—recusancy was construed into idolatry—disloyalty was represented as the necessary consequence of the belief of the Pope’s temporal power,—and the disregard of faith with heretics, the absurdity of transubstantiation, the worship of the saints, and the adoration of relics and images, were thrown in to heighten the picture: and even when better times, and a less credulous spirit, brought an amelioration of the laws which thus originated, the structure and wording of the test and allegiance oaths may furnish some idea of the inveteracy with which the extravagant and revolting calumnies had fixed themselves in the minds of the people.

Added to all this, and completing the work thus but half accomplished, was the sedulous care with which all opportunity of self-justification was denied to the accused. It was impossible, except by stealth, to introduce or publish in Eng-

land any vindication of Catholic principles; nor have the declaimers against the inquisitorial policy of Rome ever conceived any prohibition of heretical books more vigorous than that which, in free England, under Protestant Elizabeth, excluded all Catholic works from the realm. With so much strictness was it enforced, that an especial license of the Archbishop of Canterbury was necessary, in order to import any "Popish book or pamphlet published beyond the seas." In Strype's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, one of these licenses is preserved, which may show the motive of the prohibition, and the rigid exactness with which it was executed. The archbishop permits a bookseller, Ascanio de Renialme, to bring into England a few volumes, yet "upon this condition only, that any of them be not dispersed or showed abroad; but first brought to him, or some of her majesty's privy council, that so they be delivered, or directed to be delivered, forth unto such persons only, as by them, or some of them, shall be thought most meet persons, upon good considerations and purposes, to have the reading of them."* This, one might suppose, would be deemed sufficient caution. Yet even this permission, limited, and almost negatived as it is by the restriction, drew a torrent of obloquy upon the primate, from which Whitgift thinks it necessary to vindicate him.†

The prohibition was renewed under fines in the following reign;‡ and even so late as the middle of the last century, Dr. Alban Butler's valuable library having been sent by mistake to the palace of the bishop of Norwich, his lordship felt himself justified, in defiance of the courtesy due to an eminent brother clergyman, in retaining the books in his own possession under shelter of the existing law. Fortunately for the humble priest, he had a protector in the Duke of Cumberland, who remembered with gratitude his services to the English prisoners after the battle of Fontenay. An order from the duke quieted the holy scruples of the uncourteous bishop; and relieved him from the disagreeable charge of this Popish library.§

Nor was it the importation alone which was proscribed; the statute of James prohibited the sale, under the same penalty; and the laws regulating the general censorship of the press, as long as they continued in force, were such as effectually to prevent the publication within the realm. It was ordained that no book or pamphlet be printed with-

* Strype's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*. London, 1718, pp. 268, 269.

† *Ibid.* p. 269.

‡ *III. Jac. I.*, cap. v. § 25.

§ *Life of Dr. Alban Butler*, p. 16.

out the license of the archbishop of Canterbury or the bishop of London*—a very effectual check, it may be believed, upon the operations of the Popish press; and the Court of High Commission took cognizance of all publications to the detriment of the Church of England. These restrictions of the freedom of printing, though removed towards the close of Charles the First's reign, were subsequently revived by the Long Parliament; nor was it till the year 1694, that they were entirely removed. To this combination of severe and unjust restrictions, add the oppressed and powerless position of the Catholic party, and it will be easy to account, in the perfect impunity and probable security from contradiction which the state of the law afforded, for the origin of every calumny, however monstrous, and the growth and continuance of every prejudice, however groundless or extravagant.

Unhappily, also, there is but too much reason to believe, that, with a very large section of the influential opponents of Catholic principles and Catholic claims, but little regard was paid to the vindication of the one, or the arguments advanced in support of the other. There seems to have been at all times a great deal of that feeling which Luther manifested in his early controversy;—that seeking of arguments, not for the love of truth, but in the lust of triumph—not to convince the gainsayer, but “to annoy the Pope.” The same principle was transferred to other controversies. Not only was the evidence of Catholic truth not sought, but it was carefully pushed aside, if, under all these disadvantages, it forced itself into notice. Calumnies, whose falsehood was all but evident, and whose refutation was more than notorious, were asserted and re-asserted, as if the truth had never been called in question. The well-known fable of Pope Joan is a remarkable example of this dishonourable spirit. The story is told by Bayle, in his life of Blondel. David Blondel, though a Calvinist minister, and a bitter enemy of Catholicity, had devoted his learning to the examination of this fable, long current with the fanatics of his party. In 1647, he published at Amsterdam,† a most learned and masterly refutation, demonstrating its utter want, not only of probability, but, in the history of the period, even possibility. Immediately a storm was raised on all sides‡ against the

* See Dublin Review, vol. vii. p. 522. See also Blackstone, book iv. cap. xi. § 13. Note.

† He gave a second edition in Latin, much enlarged, in 1657. The first is in French. Bayle, Art. Blondel, T. I. p. 610, 11.

‡ “Non sine offensione *omnium* Protestantium.”

daring and impolitic innovator. "Some," says Courcelles, whose words are cited by Bayle, "condemned him at first sight, without considering the matter at all:—indignant at the loss of the occasion of insulting the Catholics, and taunting them with their *Papess*." Others, while they admitted the solidity of the refutation, condemned him, a minister of the reform, for abusing his leisure on such a subject—he should leave to the Papists, they said, the labour of clearing away their own filth—he should not devote his learning to the refutation of a fable which it was the interest of Protestantism to perpetuate: "*fabula quam pro verâ haberi historiâ Protestantium intersit*."* What a testimony to their belief in the merits of Protestantism!

Under all these unfavourable circumstances, we have occasionally found some honest enough to advocate our cause. But the boon was embittered by the air of patronizing pity with which it was accorded. The whole tone and manner was rather a palliation than a defence. It seemed to say thus much and no more—that "after all, we were not as bad as people believed; and that the wonder was we were not worse." The obligation too which this act of kindness conferred upon the friendless party, was occasionally construed into the privilege of abusing us at will; and the indignation with which some of these condescending patrons repel the charges of less privileged assailants, while, at the same time, they themselves indulge in sarcasm and ridicule, reminds us of an anecdote related of Henry II, by Fitz-Stephens. The bishop of Worcester, the king's cousin, had offended him by neglecting to attend the coronation of the young prince. Henry, with his usual intemperance, called him 'traitor,' and loaded him with every species of abuse. "One of the courtiers who were present, thinking to please the king, sharply took up the bishop; and after him another abused him with opprobrious language. But the king, changing the object of his anger, said to this latter nobleman; 'Worst of wretches, dost thou think that because *I say what I please to my cousin and bishop*, it may be allowed *thee, or any other person*, to abuse or threaten him? I am scarce able to restrain my hands from thy eyes!'"

Among the many varieties of works directed against the Catholic religion, during this long period of what may be almost called literary impunity, the least dangerous class is that which makes a direct profession of that object. If the lan-

* Prefat. Apologetica, apud Mares, p. 312.

guage of a book be coarse, and its general tone full of bitterness and rancour—if, as not unfrequently occurs, the very title be a sufficient index of its temper, it can hardly be that suspicion is not at once awakened: even prejudice, provided it be honest, will, despite itself, receive a shock. Few, we should think, will adopt without limitation the statistics of a *Black Book of Rome*: few will receive with implicit credence the fanciful theories of an *Alliance of Popery and Heathenism*; or regard as a true and faithful portraiture *The Apostacy and the Pope—the Man of Sin, and the Child of Perdition*. If we had but these, and such as these, to deal with, our labour would be easy, if not unnecessary; the bane contains and carries with it its own antidote. But if a tone of friendliness, or even indifference, be assumed—if all that is coarse be scrupulously avoided—if the hackneyed calumnies be discarded, and insidious representation be substituted for direct attack, it will require something more than ordinary penetration to withstand the ordeal. How much more, if the mode and the occasion be selected with such judgment, that the subject itself, as well as the manner in which it is discussed, may be both brought to bear upon the mind! When a work devoted to literature or science, for example, is skilfully diverted from its legitimate province; and used as an instrument of sneering invective or plausible misrepresentation against the religious opinions of any particular community, the judgment of the reader, unprepared and unsuspecting, has to struggle against a variety of influences, each distinct from the other, yet all of a subtle and dangerous tendency. The attention drawn away from religious topics by the engrossing nature of the study—the faculties perhaps unbent in the seductive pursuits of lighter literature—suspicion lulled by the soft and kindly tone in which the appeal is made—the judgment seduced into silence by its honied sophistry; and the fancy dazzled by the brilliant imagery flung like a transparent veil around,—concealing its true proportions, and softening its harsher outlines—the spell is absolutely resistless! Alas! for the judgment which is passed under its magic influence—alas! if, as in the case of religion—with its rigid impartiality be wound up the best and highest hopes of the individual!

Now it is a melancholy, but indisputable fact, that there is not a single department in the literature or science of England, which has not, by this unnatural perversion, been pressed into the anti-Catholic service. It would seem, in truth, as if the writers of England had acted under a sort of necessity or fate:

as if their pen, like Anacreon's lyre, had a will of its own, independent and uncontrolled by the writer, and,—like its classic prototype, which, despite the poet's

θελω λεγειν Ατρειδας,

gave forth its voice but to a single theme,—turned, by a hidden instinct, to the one subject; and made all others subservient to it alone! We question whether, among the most intemperate of the party-pamphlets produced, even in the most excited period—stripping them of the coarseness which personal or local feeling may have imparted—there could be found anything more deeply malevolent, more grossly calumnious, than we meet every day in works of a literary, or scientific, or miscellaneous character, bearing not the most distant relation to any subject connected with the Catholic religion! Productions such as these, it is true, are the exceptions; but truth and candour compel us to state, notwithstanding, that they are so numerous, even among the recent and popular publications, as almost to form a rule for themselves. Few—few, indeed, if any—are the subjects upon which the student may turn to the volumes of his English library—secure, if he be a Catholic, from insult; if a Protestant—from gross error and misconception!

If he take up a book of travels for amusement, he finds the usages of Catholic countries misrepresented—the language of devotion distorted and perverted*—the ceremonies of religion turned into profane and unfeeling ridicule! If he open a dictionary of reference, let it be of the most liberal character, he reads of the religious orders “practising every species of pious fraud with unblushing effrontery;”† he finds them described as “*Fruges consumere nati*—a class of beings who have peopled the monasteries of Christendom since their commencement.”‡ If he be a lover of art, he cannot even consult a dictionary of painting, without being taunted with an invidious comparison of “the favourable effects of the Reformation on the exercise of the human intellect, and the general cause of freedom.”§ The classical student is taught to trace to the vestal virgins of Rome, the conventual institu-

* A very remarkable example of this is, at this moment, under our eye. Mr. Semple (*Travels in Spain, Italy and Naples*, vol. i. p. 54) rendering the title of the B. Virgin *Deipara*, (mother of God,—the θεοτοκος of the council of Ephesus), translates it, EQUAL TO GOD! and draws the worst conclusions from the translation. Let us hope it was nothing more disreputable than ignorance which suggested the blunder.

† Gorton's Biographical Dictionary, i. 789.

‡ Ibid. ii. 38.

§ Pilkington's Diet. of Painters, pref. ix.

tions of Catholicity.* The rhetorician, as a specimen of humour,† applaudingly selects a coarse extract about

“Crosses, relics, crucifixes,
Beads, pictures, rosaries and pixes :
The tools of working out salvation
By mere mechanic operation ;”

or, as an example of metaphor, “the *polluted* stream of Romish tradition !”‡ Open a treatise of logic, you find some misconceived or mis-stated doctrine of popery put forward as an exemplification of sophism ; you are warned against some ridiculous ambiguity, “which has greatly favoured the Church of Rome.”§ History, poetry, biography, statistics, all are closed against you. Nay, if in despair of all else beside, you fly to the secluded halls of the law for security, the same spectre still haunts your steps ;—you read, even here, of “the importation from Rome, of the whole farrago of superstitious novelties engendered by the blindness and corruption of the monks—transubstantiation, communion in one kind, the worship of saints and images.”|| “New fangled theories,” you learn, “were then invented, and indulgences were sold to the wealthy for *liberty to sin without danger* ;”¶ “penance was enjoined *pro salute animæ* : and that penance was commuted for money ;”*** “men were taught to believe, that founding a monastery a little before death, would atone for a life of incontinence, disorder, and bloodshed.”††

It may appear that these monstrous examples have been industriously selected, and are not a fair specimen of the classes which they purpose to represent. On this subject, we shall satisfy the reader before we close. Anomalous as it may seem in the literature of a people, whose leading religious principle requires perfect freedom from prejudice, and whose professions, at least, secure a fair and equal discussion to the claims of all the rival religions which they are bound to examine ; it is nevertheless certain, whether it arise from ignorance or bigotry, that there are few—very few writers, whose statements, when the Catholic religion is concerned, we can be safe in receiving without suspicion. “I am persuaded,” says the Rev. Mr. Nightingale, in the preface to his *Portraiture of Catholicity*, “that no Protestant writer has done justice to the

* D’Israeli’s *Curiosities of Literature*, p. 149.

† Campbell’s *Rhetoric*, p. 39. The extract is from *Hudibras*, part. iii. canto 1.

‡ Whately’s *Rhetoric*, p. 122.

§ Whately’s *Logic*, 305.

|| Blackstone, B. iv. c. 33, vol. iv. p. 419.

¶ Ibid. iv. 106.

*** Ibid. p. 106.

†† Ibid. p. 108.

subject ;" and M. Alberti, a learned and honest German Protestant, declares, that "every unprejudiced and right-minded man proclaims, unreservedly and aloud, his disgust at the unworthy language which the enemies of Catholicity, blinded by hate and carried away by passion, launch against its doctrines."*

Every sincere lover of truth must deplore a state of things so unjust and so unnatural. It is a subject in which all are interested, the Protestant even more than the Catholic. In order to examine it practically, it may be well, in an inquiry apparently so boundless, to fix, before we commence, the limits within which we shall confine ourselves. From the foregoing remarks, therefore, it may be gathered that no work of a theological or polemical character comes within our plan ; and as we have already had frequent opportunities of considering travels, novels, and romances, we deem it more satisfactory to exclude all works of this class from the "popular literature," which has been chosen as the title of these pages. Among such a host of authors, even thus limited, it is difficult to choose ; nor perhaps could any selection of individual writers, however numerous, be fairly taken as a representative of the entire. It would be easy to fill a volume with extracts, without at the same time supplying materials from which any general estimate could be formed. We shall rather seek out those works which are of standard authority ; which are the production not of an individual, but of a number of the most distinguished writers of all ranks and of every party—the received arbiters of public taste ; and in fact, the national depositories of literary and scientific knowledge. Such may justly be considered the standard Dictionaries of reference, the Encyclopædias, 'Libraries,' 'Miscellanies,' &c. These, it will be allowed, may be safely taken as embodying and representing the general spirit of the national literature.

To begin with the Encyclopædias.—Of this very influential class, the work entitled *Chambers' Encyclopædia*, though almost superseded by its more modern rivals, may be considered as the foundation. Since the date of its first appearance, many important changes have taken place. With the progress of knowledge, a more liberal spirit has been introduced. We are naturally less surprised, therefore, at the display of bigotry in a publication of that period, than we should be in one of the present day. At the same time, it is difficult to avoid sus-

* Alberti's Theobald, 1828, s. 75.

pecting something worse than the prejudice of the time, in many of the articles of "Chambers' Encyclopædia." If the writer had been content to speak in his own person, we might make allowance for the colouring which party bias seldom fails to impart. But he professes to advance nothing, except on Catholic authority. The article "Popery," he tells us, "is drawn up chiefly from the decrees of the council of Trent, and the creed of Pius V." Now, among the doctrines specified in this *authorized summary*, we find "the worship of images,—to justify which the papists often leave out the second commandment of the decalogue;"—"the worship of sacred relics; by which they understand, not only the bodies, and parts of bodies of the saints; but also those things which belonged to them, and which they touched."* Indulgences are represented as having been "first invented by Gregory VII, in the eleventh century"—"happy period for sinners! their crimes were rated, and their remission set up to auction! the apostolic chamber taxed sins at a pretty reasonable rate: it cost but ninety livres and a few ducats, for crimes which people at this side the Alps punished with death!"† The popes, it is asserted as positively certain, did not possess in the fourth century, the jurisdiction which they afterwards acquired, and "which they employed every art and device, the most artful ambition could suggest, to render both despotic and universal."‡

Now we can easily imagine that there may have been persons so ignorant of our real doctrines, as to conceive that we hold what is here imputed to us: but that any one who had examined, as this writer professes, or even read, the decrees of the Council of Trent, or the Creed of Pius V, could in his heart believe the imputation of "image worship," or the "adoration of relics,"—could so far misconceive the doctrine of indulgences as this statement implies,—we cannot help considering as absurd and incredible as the pretence of authority on which the imputation rests.

This work, however, is but little known at present; and, though possessing great literary merit, is seldom consulted; we apprehend but little danger, therefore, from its mis-statements. But let us come to the compilations of more recent date.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* has often with pride been called a national work. To its literary eminence we willingly bear the most unqualified testimony. But in a moral point

* Chambers' Encyclopædia, Art, Popery.

+ Ibid. Art. Indulgences.

† Ibid. Art. Popes.

of view we look upon it as a representative which no honest Briton can acknowledge without shame; and many a cutting sarcasm has it drawn upon us from enlightened foreigners, even of the Protestant persuasion. To understand fully the injustice of the following passages, extracted from whole pages conceived in the same unworthy spirit, let the reader take into his hand any compendium of Catholic belief; as for example, *Bossuet's Exposition of the Catholic Faith*, or indeed any of the catechisms in ordinary use. He must see the "papist represented," in order to understand fully the grossness of the misrepresentation. We transcribe, without a syllable of comment, from the article entitled "History." The second section is dignified with the name "Ecclesiastical History;" but it is in reality nothing more than an ill-digested tirade against the Catholicism of the middle age,—not pretending to furnish even the most meagre outline of the ecclesiastical annals of the period.

"All this time the powers of superstition reigned triumphant over those remains of Christianity which had escaped the corruption of the first four centuries. In the fifth century began the invocation of the happy souls of departed saints. The images of those, who, during life had enjoyed the reputation of uncommon sanctity, were now honoured with particular worship in several places; and many imagined, that this drew into the images the propitious presence of the saints, or celestial beings they were supposed to represent. The famous pagan doctrine of the purification of departed souls by means of a certain fire, that is purgatory, was also confirmed and explained more fully than it hitherto had been, and every one knows of how much importance this absurd doctrine has been to the wealth and power of the Romish clergy."—vol. viii. p. 587.

"Transubstantiation—that arch legerdemain trick of the Romish priests, in converting the sacramental bread into the Deity."—p. 604.

"In the succeeding century, the Roman pontiffs continued to increase their power by every kind of fraud and artifice which can dishonour the heart of man."—p. 586.

"In the seventh century, religion seemed to be altogether buried under a heap of superstitious ceremonies. *The worship of the true God was exchanged for the worship of bones, bits of wood (said to be of the true cross) and the images of saints. The eternal state of misery threatened in Scripture to the wicked, was exchanged for the temporary pains of purgatory; and the expression of faith in Christ by an upright and virtuous conduct, for the augmentation of the riches of the clergy by donations to the Church, and the observance of a heap of idle ceremonies.*"

"Superstition, it would now seem, had reached its highest pitch; nor is it easy to conceive a degree of ignorance and degeneracy beyond what we have already mentioned. If anything can

be conceived more contrary to true religion, it is an opinion which prevailed in the eighth century, namely, that Christians might appease the offended Deity by voluntary acts of mortification, or by gifts and oblations lavished on the Church. The piety of this and some succeeding ages, consisted in building and embellishing churches and chapels; in endowing monasteries and basilics; hunting after the relics of saints, and treating them with an absurd and excessive veneration; in procuring the intercession of the saints by rich oblations and superstitious rites; in worshipping images; in pilgrimages to those places which were esteemed holy, especially to Palestine, &c. *The genuine religion of Jesus was utterly unknown both to the clergy and the people, if we except a few of its general doctrines retained in the creed.*—p. 588.

“That nothing might now be wanting to complete *that antichristian spirit which had overspread all Europe*, in the eleventh century it was decreed, that the divine worship should be performed in the Latin tongue, though now unknown through the whole continent.”—p. 588.

“Such was the origin of that respect for sacred relics, which afterwards was perverted into a formal worship of them.”—vol. xvi. p. 58.

We can scarcely trust ourselves to comment upon statements such as these, setting truth and justice at defiance, and outraging every feeling which our heart cherishes. It is not the coarseness of the language;—that we regard not a tittle: vehement and angry declamation, nay even invective, is to us indifferent; we have been long used to, and have learned to laugh at it with unconcern. No—we care not that our doctrines are called “antichristian,” and our practices “blasphemous” and “corrupt.” Titles such as these do not alter their nature: the justice of their application is still free to enquiry; nor are we afraid to trust the doctrines to their own merits, even under the disadvantages which such a prejudged character must imply. We care not that they are *called*—but we complain that they are *made* “antichristian.” It matters little that they are denounced as “blasphemous,” were it not that they are misrepresented, and distorted, and corrupted, so as to give colour to the charge. The first is insulting and offensive, if you will; the second is a grievous injustice. The phrases “preposterous,” “absurd,” “antichristian,” in themselves comparatively harmless, assume a very different character when the doctrines to which they are applied, are accommodated by the writer to the impression he wishes to convey. Who, for example, will not admit that the honour paid to relics is “preposterous,” when he is assured that it was “perverted into formal worship?” Who can refuse to believe that purgatory

is "absurd," when he learns that it is but a "a new form of the pagan purification?" Who will not turn with horror from that whole system as "antichristian," which, he is made to believe, "exchanged the worship of the true God, for the worship of bones, bits of wood, and images of saints"—for the "eternal misery threatened to the sinner in Scripture, substituted the temporary punishment of purgatory—for an upright and virtuous life, the augmentation of the clerical wealth, and the observance of a heap of idle ceremonies?" It is of this we complain—this, every honest man will join with us in denouncing.

These extracts, however, (copied from the edition of 1792) it may be imagined, have been retrenched in the subsequent impressions. We are sorry to say that the supposition is groundless. The work has passed through six editions: upwards of thirty thousand copies have been sold; "its popularity, instead of suffering diminution from rivalry, has continued steadily to increase, and never stood higher than at the present time."* A new edition is at present in course of publication, and nearly completed. In this, "extensive alterations have been made, to accommodate the work to the improved taste and advanced intelligence of the times;" it has been "remodelled in all its parts;" its list of contributors "contains the most distinguished names in the literary and scientific world;" many of the articles have been entirely or partially rewritten; and among the rest "history." Will it be believed, notwithstanding, that in the part which regards the Catholic religion there is no retraction or modification of the offensive paragraphs cited above. They are retained, without the alteration of a single important particular. But no—we are wrong—transubstantiation is no longer called *an arch legerdemain trick of the Romish priests*. This is an important admission! and we beg here, in the name of our Catholic countrymen, to record our gratitude to the editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "the most valuable digest of human knowledge that has ever appeared in Britain, in the convenient form of a dictionary!"

The *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* is next upon our list. Here, at least, the date of its publication, the character of its editor, the names of those whose contributions enrich its pages, may lead us to hope for a better spirit. Alas! no. Open, in the edition of 1830, the same article from which the above extracts of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* have been taken. This also is entitled "Ecclesiastical History." But it is conceived on the

* Prospectus and Advertisement of Vol. xix. Part ii.

same plan; and possesses as little claim to this title as its predecessor. In vain will the reader look even for a skeleton of the history; the article does not contain so much as a list of the popes, an outline of the rise or decline of heresies, or of the councils which condemned them. In truth, it does not possess one single character on which the name "history" might be grounded. It would appear indeed, as if, in the ardour of his zeal against Catholicity, the writer had forgotten or lost sight of the object he proposed; and instead of referring to history for an account of the annals, and to authentic records for the doctrines, of the period he describes, was content to draw upon his own imagination for the one, and consult his prejudices for a coloured and distorted view of the other. Let the reader judge from the very few specimens which the press of matter will suffer us to submit.

"In this melancholy period (755—1545) *the religion of Jesus seems to be nearly extinct, and imposture and fanaticism are dignified with its name.*"—vol. viii. p. 311.

"The doctrine which relates to absolution and indulgences must be mentioned in the third place. These two *varieties of imposture* have been classed together by ecclesiastical historians; and with sufficient reason: for the tendency of both was to produce in the minds of men one great and pernicious effect; namely, that of substituting the pope in the room of Almighty God, and establishing our *claim to the happiness of heaven without the cultivation of personal virtue.* While such doctrines degrade the understanding, by subjecting it to the will of an individual, they at the same time relax all the ties of moral obligation."—p. 316.

"It is more proper to observe that the power of absolution was exercised in its most presumptuous and blasphemous extent during the period of the crusades. In the course of these expeditions, few sins were left unpardoned: *simply to enrol the name* in the lists of the sanctified soldiery *was held sufficient to secure the high blessing of unlimited forgiveness.* The gates of heaven were opened wide to receive the consecrated battalions. The warriors of the cross were washed and cleansed by indult of the pope from all their iniquities."—p. 316.

"The doctrine with regard to this branch of the imposture (indulgences), seems to be merely an extension of that which relates to penance. An additional import was given to the word; and the remission of penance prepared the way for the remission of sin. If the individual were exempted from all penance in the former case, in the latter he was exempted from all punishment whatsoever; *and if the indulgence were plenary, he might transgress with impunity every statute of the decalogue, and every ordinance of the Church. To this favoured individual, purgatory and even hell itself was di-*

vested of their terrors; in the prospect of the last judgment, he stood already acquitted. Nor were arguments wanting to support the doctrines and practices which we have thus cursorily described. Indulgences were purchased: the error was lucrative; and a lucrative error never fails to find its champions in the schools.”—p. 316.

* * * * * “From the tumult of the crusades, *the blasphemous impiety of absolution, and the corruption of morals arising from indulgences*, let us turn for a moment to the abodes of learning and the retreats of philosophy.”

We should not have believed this possible, had we not read it, did we not see it at this moment under our eye. There is no Catholic, however uneducated, who could not by the simple explanation of his catechism, demonstrate the utter absurdity of this vile, but shallow, attempt to misrepresent our doctrine of good works and penance; and the influence which it exercises on morality. Every Catholic knows; aye—for it is folly to mince it—and every honest Protestant knows, that the Church never sanctioned, that she has always reprobated, the blasphemous doctrine of establishing our claim, through penance or indulgences, to the happiness of heaven, without the cultivation of personal virtue. There is not a catechism—not a book of devotion, in which it is not asserted and reasserted, that, without this, neither penance nor indulgence can aught avail, except to increase and deepen our condemnation. But it is folly to combat such a writer as this: we cannot credit that any man, who had given the most ordinary attention to the doctrines which he professes to describe, could have believed, what this flippant and ignorant writer asserts without even an attempt at qualification, that “*if the indulgence were plenary the individual might violate every statute of the decalogue and every ordinance of the Church.*” It is only the ignorance he displays in matters of the most ordinary kind, which enables us, even in charity, to abstain from imputing it to a cause far more disgraceful than ignorance.

But it is not enough to mis-state the doctrine; he conceives himself bound to give a version of the arguments by which it is supported. We need scarcely say, that this is a matter in which candour is, if it were possible, even of more strict necessity than in the statement of the doctrine,—any fraud in this particular shutting out from the enquirer the last hope of escaping error, by extinguishing the last spark of suspicion which lay smouldering in his mind. Never was there so unfair, so ridiculously—absurdly—unfair—an attempt, as that which the reader will find in page 316, to detail “the argu-

ments by which purgatory is maintained," as also those advanced in favour of indulgences. It consists but of a single solitary observation from natural reason; without one reference to Scripture, to the fathers, to the practice of the Church, or even to the Catholic authorities in which the reader might himself find them at greater detail! And yet this is put forward, garbled and imperfect as it is, with the pompous announcement, "the following are the arguments by which purgatory is maintained!"—p. 312.

These extracts, which might be multiplied a hundred-fold, may be considered as a sufficient specimen of the anti-Catholic spirit of the most popular encyclopædias in the language. There is one other, however, so remarkable, so unquestionably entitled to the bad eminence among them all, that we could not pass it by without some, even though it must be a hurried, notice; we mean the *London Encyclopædia*. This voluminous work, as well as the *Britannica*, has passed through several editions. We quote from that which bears the date 1839; being published at Sydney and Hobart Town, as well as London. We beg attention to the single article "Roman Catholicism," as a specimen of the temper in which the work is conceived. We shall confine ourselves to this one article. The title would seem to augur well, and the reason assigned for its adoption still better. In consideration for the feelings of our body, the offensive words "Popery," "Papists," &c. are avoided; we are called by a name supposed to be less offensive, "Roman Catholics;" and our creed, "Roman Catholicism."

This is, no doubt, a great sacrifice; and, when we remember how ancient and venerable the former phraseology had grown, how intimately it was interwoven with all the prejudices of past and present generations, we should feel ourselves indeed ungrateful, if we did not humbly acknowledge the boon. When we are better acquainted with the views and habits of the writer of the article, we shall be able to appreciate the difficulty of the sacrifice in his particular case. Seriously, however, it is perfectly ludicrous to witness such hollow and heartless mockery,—to see men hesitate and shrink from applying a name to our creed, "because it may offend the feelings of their Catholic fellow-countrymen;" and in the same breath distort and misrepresent the creed itself,—vilify and calumniate the principles of those whom they treat with this affected delicacy. We have said ludicrous, because we are unwilling to suppose worse; we are unwilling to ascribe

to the writer the baseness of intending the effect, which his language will produce on those who are weak enough to be deceived by the shallow pretence,—to win more implicit credence for the statements put forward under cover of this affected moderation. But let this pass. This editor, so tender of the feelings of his Catholic countrymen, sends out, under the sanction of his name, an abridgment of the history of the Catholic Church; of which the following extracts, disgustingly slanderous as they are, can scarcely give an idea. Our reader will pardon us that, in the discharge of a necessary though painful duty, we bring under his eye matter so offensive in its tone, so false and calumnious in its spirit. It is but a bold and insolent repetition of the old and oft-told tale, which for centuries has served the same unworthy purpose:—

“De l'empia Babilonia, ond' è fuggita
Ogni vergogna—ond' ogni bene è fuori.”

“One of the earliest corruptions of the Church grew out of the reverence which now began to be paid to the memory of departed saints. Hence there arose a train of error and fraud, which *ended in the grossest creature-worship*. . . . Thus an enormous train of different superstitions were gradually substituted for true religion and genuine piety. . . . Perhaps, however, this odious revolution was owing to a variety of causes. A ridiculous precipitation in receiving new opinions, a preposterous desire of imitating pagan rites, and that idle propensity which the generality of mankind have towards a gaudy and ostentatious religion, all contributed to establish the reign of superstition on the ruins of Christianity. . . . The public processions and supplications, by which the Pagans endeavoured to appease their Gods, were now adopted into the Christian worship; the virtues which had formerly been attributed to the heathen temples, to their lustrations, and the statues of their gods and heroes, were now attributed to Christian churches, to water consecrated by certain forms of prayer, and to images of holy men; and the same privileges that the former enjoyed under the darkness of Paganism, were conferred upon the latter under the light of the gospel: or rather, under that cloud of superstition which was obscuring its glory. It is true, that as yet images were not very common, nor were there any statues at all. *But it is at the same time as undoubtedly certain, as it is extravagant and monstrous, that the worship of the martyrs was gradually modelled according to the religious services paid to the Gods before the coming of Christ*. . . . A whole volume would be necessary to contain an enumeration of the various frauds, which artful knaves practised with success, to delude the ignorant, while *true religion was almost entirely superseded by horrid superstition*.”—*London Encyclopædia*, vol. xviii. pp. 647-8.

In astonishment at the cool insolence with which this tissue of falsehood is put forward, without even a pretence of argument, we almost lose sight of its gross and manifest injustice. It is not difficult to acquire the command of harsh and offensive language. It is easy to talk of "horrid superstition," to weep over "the ruins of Christianity." To assert, that "the reverence of the saints was perverted into the grossest creature-worship," is but to repeat an old and worn-out calumny;—to say, that "the worship of the martyrs was modelled according to the service of the heathen Gods before the coming of Christ," is to condense into a single sentence, what more laborious bigots have employed volumes to prove. But to expect that all this will be believed, without a single authority,—without even a single reference to any authority,—on the unsupported testimony of a writer, whose every sentence demonstrates that he neither read nor understood his subject, while his language proves him incapable of doing either with impartiality; this argues far more than an ordinary degree of presumptuous effrontery on the part of the author, and unlimited confidence in the credulity of those for whom he writes. We will not, we cannot, believe, that there is any one weak enough to be deceived by the insolent attempt. If there be, his credulity will be tasked still further.

"All persons, however, could not perform pilgrimages. The Romish Church, in its benevolence, considered this; and sold the indulgences, making the act of purchasing them, and thus contributing to its wants, a merit of *itself sufficient* to deserve so inestimable a reward. Thus were men taught to put their trust in riches; their wealth, being thus invested, became available beyond the grave: and, whatever sins they indulged, provided they observed the proper forms, they might purchase a free passage through purgatory; or, at least, a mitigation of its torments. But purgatory was not the only invisible world over which the authority of the Church extended; for to the pope, as representative of St. Peter, it was pretended that the keys of heaven and hell were given: a portion of this power was delegated to every priest, and they inculcated that the soul which departed without confession and absolution, bore with it the weight of its deadly sins, to sink it to perdition. Of all the practices of the Romish Church, this is the one which has proved most injurious to religion and morality. . . . Tables were actually set forth by authority, in which the rate of absolution for every imaginable sin was fixed; and the *most atrocious might be committed with impunity for a few shillings*. The Church of Rome appears to have delighted in insulting, as well as abusing, human credulity; and to have pleased herself with discovering how far it was possible to subdue and degrade the human intellect; as an eastern despot measures his own greatness by the servile prostrations

of his subjects. If any further proof of this were wanting, it would be found in the prodigious doctrine of transubstantiation. Strange as it may appear, this doctrine had become popular with the people for its very extravagance; with the clergy, because they grounded on it their loftiest pretensions. . . . The priest, when he performed this stupendous function of his ministry, held in his hands, and had before his eyes, the Maker of heaven and earth; and the inference which they deduced from so blasphemous an assumption was, that the clergy were not to be subject to any secular authority, since they could create God the Creator! Let it not be supposed, that this statement is in the *slightest part exaggerated* (!!) It is delivered faithfully, and in their own words."—p. 438.

This is absurd and extravagant enough. But there is yet more; nor is the writer content to confine himself within the region of imagination: he ventures into the province of history. Will it be credited, that an editor of the present day, could so far forget the responsibility of his office, as to give to the world, in the sober guise of historic truth, the following long-exploded fable?—

"It is here we may place with propriety an event which is said to have interrupted the much-vaunted succession of regular bishops in the see of Rome, from the first foundation of that see to the present time. Between the pontificates of Leo IV and that of Benedict III, a certain woman, who artfully disguised her sex for a considerable time, is said, by learning, genius, and dexterity, to have made good her way to the papal chair, and to have governed the Church with the title and dignity of pontiff for two years."—p. 653.

The nursery-tale of Pope Joan seriously introduced into a grave publication of 1839! and that publication "an Universal Dictionary of Science, Art, and Literature!" If the reader doubt,—and we should easily pardon the scepticism,—let him turn to page 653, vol. xviii. of the *London Encyclopædia*! There is a degree of imposing plausibility, too, in the minuteness of the narrative. The period is so well defined—the pope to whom she succeeded,—the name of her successor,—the period during which she enjoyed the honours of the pontificate,—are all related with so much gravity, and such unhesitating confidence, that it is difficult to withstand an array of evidence so circumstantial. Who, reading, without previous information, this triumphant paragraph, could suppose that the history of Pope Joan had ever been called in question? Who could, by possibility, guess at the real circumstances? Who (but we need not ask it) could for a moment conceive it possible, that the tale thus undoubtingly related, had been abandoned even by the grovelling dotards of the anti-papal party? that it could not number a respectable writer among its

defenders? that Protestants, as well as Catholics—Bayle, no less than Bellarmine—Blondel, as well as Leo Allatius—had long united in laughing the absurdity to scorn? And this is the man who manifests such concern for our feelings, that he abstains from using the offensive epithet “Papists,” because we object to its application!

But to proceed—

“Even this monstrous proposition was advanced, that although the Catholic faith teaches all virtue to be good, and all vice evil; nevertheless, *if the pope, through error, should enjoin vices to be committed, and prohibit virtue, the Church would be bound to believe that vices were good, and virtues evil*, and would sin in conscience were it to believe otherwise. He could change the nature of things, and make just unjust. Nor was it possible, that he could be amenable to any secular power, for he had been called God by Constantine, and God was not to be judged by men; under God, the salvation of all the faithful depended on him; and commentators gave him the blasphemous appellation “Our Lord God the Pope!” It was disputed in the schools, whether he could not abrogate that which the apostles had enjoined, determine an opinion contrary to theirs, and add a new article to the creed; *whether he did not, as God, participate both natures with Christ; and whether he were not more merciful than Christ*, as he delivered souls from purgatory, whereas we do not read that this was ever done by our Lord. Lastly, it was affirmed, that he could do things unlawful, and thus could *do more than God*. All this was CERTAIN, because the Church was infallible. No one acquainted with ecclesiastical history will consider this view of the morals and condition of the Romish Church as *exaggerated or incorrect*”!!—p. 439.

To submit any further extracts, would be to trifle with the feelings, as well as the understanding, of the reader.* To repeat these plain and palpable perversions of Catholic truth—to tax us, over and over again, with doctrines which we have a thousand times repudiated—repudiated with horror and upon our oath—to put forward, without a word of doubt or qualification, as unquestioned principles of our creed, calumnies which have been refuted ages ago, not only by ourselves, but by the honest members of the Protestant communion, betrays a degree of ignorance, or worse than ignorance, with which it would be idle to argue; we have undertaken the unenviable task of placing these things before the public, not with the

* The editor has some misgivings lest to some of his readers this picture of “Roman Catholicism” may appear too highly coloured. He appends, therefore, the “Declaration of the British Catholic Bishops,” made in 1836. Far from considering this as an atonement, we regard it as but adding to the insult, by acknowledging its gratuitousness.

view of entering into the question of their injustice, for this is evident; but in the hope of awaking suspicion in matters where the falsehood is more skilfully disguised; upon this portion of the subject, therefore, it is not necessary to dwell longer—we leave it to produce its own, its necessary effect.

Next to the Encyclopædias, and perhaps scarcely second to them in influence upon public taste, comes a more recent class of publications, issued in periodical volumes from the press—series of literary and scientific works, each distinct from the other, yet all connected, so as to comprise, in a popular form, the whole circle of literature and the sciences. In selecting from among them, as a specimen of the entire class, *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia*, *Murray's Family Library*, and the *Library of Useful Knowledge*, we are guided at once by the nature of the subjects which they treat, the high rank which they hold in their several departments, and still more by the extensive circulation which, each and all, they have enjoyed and continue to enjoy.

Upon all these grounds, the first rank may justly be assigned to the *Cabinet Cyclopædia*. It may boast among its contributors some of the highest literary and scientific names of England; and, considered in this light, many of its volumes well bear out the high characters of their respective authors. With its literary merits, however, we have at present no concern. Perhaps, indeed, its excellence in this particular, while it increases the pain of pointing out the want of candour which sullies some of its pages, lends additional weight to the false impressions which the representations of such a work, however unfair and uncandid, must necessarily produce.

We shall for the present confine ourselves to the department of "History." And although its general tone be decidedly better than that of many less recent compilations, which it was intended to replace, yet we cannot hesitate to say, that in point of candour and liberality many of its volumes are eminently unworthy of the enlightened names which the list of authors comprises.*

The *State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, by Mr. Dunham, may be taken as a remarkable example, scarcely exceeded in virulence, and certainly very inferior in point of learning and research, to the plausible dissertation prefixed to Robert-

* The plan of the present article excludes from this notice the histories of the Church and of the Reformation, by the Rev. Mr. Stebbing, which are bigoted and uncandid in the extreme. The former, for example, uses every artifice to give colour to the fable of Pope Joan. See vol. ii. pp. 104-6.

son's *Charles the Fifth*. We have protested, more than once, our indifference to the coarse and scurrilous declamation which with some writers supplies the defect of solid argument. In this very questionable accomplishment, it would be impossible to gainsay Mr. Dunham's high proficiency. Few can compete with him in the calling hard names and stringing together opprobrious epithets. Among the class of readers with whom this passes current, we doubt not that he has his admirers; nor should we think it necessary to disturb his laurels, if he had confined himself to this very harmless, though far from reputable, walk. But he has done more; he has falsified—unconsciously we are bound to suppose—the doctrines against which he declaims; he has calumniated the men whom he sought to depreciate. Let any man of ordinary good feeling turn to the second chapter of the first volume, "Religious and Intellectual State of Italy;" and, say whether this be not true. It was not enough to heap opprobrium of every kind on the various institutions of Catholic Italy—to denounce the whole monastic body as "*meddling, often profligate vagabonds*, (vol. i. p. 225); to storm with virtuous indignation against intolerant popes and "*hellish friars*;" (p. 228); to include all in one general, though negative, declaration, that "of the various orders of friars called into existence from the thirteenth century downwards, it is impossible to speak in terms of sufficient reprobation." (p. 224). From these general assertions he comes to charges more specific in their object, but equally vague and undefined in their character. He tells us that the members of these different orders (p. 224) "duped the living, and wheedled or terrified the dying, into considerable bequests;" that "the bed of the dying rich man was beset, and his conscience terrified." (p. 179). These he describes as practices universal among the monks of that period; and yet he does not produce a single instance, nor afford the reader one solitary opportunity of testing, in a particular case, the justice of this sweeping accusation in which all are involved. There is the same vagueness, and, unfortunately, the same bigotry, in the pages which he devotes to the remarkable religious personages of the period. In the estimate of character he belongs to the philosophic school; and with the *Middle Ages* before us we cannot doubt, that he avails himself to the fullest extent of the license which it sanctions. His characters of St. Benedict, St. Bonaventure, St. Francis, but above all of St. Catherine of Sienna, even if they were perfectly true and well founded, are unworthy of any enlightened historian; for they are drawn up on principles repugnant to the truth

and justice of history. A few isolated facts, misconceived and misunderstood, taken with the conjectural motives which his own bigoted imagination supplies, are made the basis of the most crude, and at the same time offensive, speculations; which, notwithstanding, are offered to the reader as historic truth. Nor is this philosophizing tendency confined to the department of history; he conceives himself at liberty to extend it to our tenets also; attributing to the Catholic religion principles which it abhors, with as much unconcern as to its most distinguished followers he imputes motives of action which there is neither evidence, nor even presumption, in history, to warrant. He does not hesitate to adopt the threadbare calumny of the "worship of relics and images;" (p. 225; see also p. 178); and the undue reliance on external works of penance, to the exclusion of internal sorrow and change of heart. "The austerities which were practised were regarded as stores of merit compensating for *the absence of the active virtues, and even of internal sentiment*. Superstition, by shedding its baneful influence over everything, by teaching that *the worship of relics and images was to be rewarded like the worship of the Great Unknown*, by inculcating a belief in revelations, apparitions of the dead, and puerile miracles, deformed the whole face of society. It is perfectly marvellous to see with what rapidity imposture on the side of the few, childish credulity on the part of the many, were propagated from the sixteenth century downwards."—pp. 178-9.

It is this repeated and unmodified imputation of doctrines, which the most ordinary acquaintance with the elements of our creed would show we do not admit—this habitual disregard of our own public and authoritative professions—it is of this we complain; still more of the untiring activity with which opportunities are seized and sought, of dragging it perpetually forward, of forcing it into every subject, and repeating it in every form of which it is, or can possibly be made, susceptible. That these speculations on religion may occasionally come within the province of the civil historian, we do not deny; that they come within the range of "Europe in the Middle Ages," is sufficiently evident; but, when the historian thinks himself warranted in quitting his more peculiar sphere of history, he is not therefore at liberty to wander at will through the regions of fancy: when he undertakes to speak of any particular religion, he should take the trouble of learning its first principles,—at least he should not substitute conjecture, and bigoted conjecture, for formal statements; nor draw upon his own prejudices, for that which can only

be decided by reference to the legitimate and recognized authorities.

To the same class, though not in the same degree, belongs the "History of the Italian Republics," by M. de Sismondi, author of the larger work (in sixteen volumes) upon the same subject. To condense into the compass of a single volume the annals of so long and so involved a period, was a work of considerable difficulty; and no doubt deprived the author of the opportunity of expatiating, in lengthened disquisitions, on those offensive topics with which his larger history abounds, and through which he has been followed so well and successfully, by the masterly pen of Manzoni. The "History of the Italian Republics" in *Lardner's Cyclopædia*, can be regarded but as an abridgment, or indeed an outline, of the former work. But the working of the same spirit may be recognized: it has left its traces even on the meagre skeleton. Never was a contrast more striking than between the history of the papal and imperial contests, as detailed by the pen of De Sismondi, and those of Ranke, Hurter, and Voigt—equally Protestant—ininitely more learned! Never was attempt more unskilful—never failure more signal and complete, than that of M. de Sismondi to explain the process by which was accomplished, what he calls the "subjugation of the whole world to the sacerdotal power!" Boundless indeed must be the credulity—blind and indiscriminating the prejudice, which could believe that men, with human passions and human hearts, could be induced, by a single unaided individual "of the most obscure parentage," to submit tamely to an usurpation so daring and frontless as the following.

"Hildebrand conceived in his solitude, the plan of revolution, by which he proposed to himself the subjugation of the world to the sacerdotal power. In the universe he saw but God, the priest his sole minister, and mankind obedient. He designed that the priesthood should be moved by one single will, should know but one passion—that of establishing the power of heaven, Finally, concentrating all the power of the Church in the pope, he taught the priests to consider him as an unerring being, who became holy by his election—who could alone name and depose bishops—assemble, preside over, and dissolve councils; he was, he said, in short, a God upon earth—absolute master of all princes, who were bound to kiss his feet, and whom he could depose at will by releasing their subjects from their oaths of fidelity. Hildebrand accomplished at least for a time, the immense revolution which he had undertaken; he changed the spirit of the popedom, the clergy and the people; and he enslaved kings."—*Hist. of Ital. Republics*, pp. 19-20.

Unfortunately, even the most liberal names among the contributors to *Lardner's Cyclopædia*, cannot be held immaculate. Sir James Macintosh, high as stood his character for liberality, far as in many particulars he advanced beyond the prejudices of his literary contemporaries, was yet unable to shake himself entirely free from their trammels. His history of ethical philosophy, his review of Dugald Stuart's dissertation on the progress of mental philosophy, display a mind capable of appreciating excellence even in the uncouth forms of scholastic learning, and acknowledging merit in the repulsive person of a monk of the middle age. His History of England, too, is in many things distinguished by the same exemption from the more vulgar class of existing prejudices. But it is still far—very far, from the true standard of historic impartiality; and the Protestant who would form from its pages his notions of the early Catholicity of England, could bring to the examination of Catholic doctrine but little of that unbiassed disengagement of mind, without which “his private judgment” is but a shadow of a name.

This, however, is more perceptible in the general tone, than in the particular statements; although these, too, are not unfrequently objectionable. For example, in describing the remorse of prince Henry, the rebellious son of Henry II, he lends, or appears to lend himself, to that misrepresentation of Catholic belief regarding penitential austerities, which we have already had occasion to notice in Mr. Dunham, that, “as they were unhappily regarded as a sufficient atonement, they served rather as an allurements to the perpetration of crime, than to deter from it.” (Vol. i. p. 161). His narrative of Henry's quarrel with the martyred archbishop, though free from the gross and open misrepresentations of other historians, is yet extremely partial. In him too, the imputation of unworthy motives is less excusable; for he gives up many facts which less scrupulous bigots were wont to advance in order to give it colour. Thus, while in describing the humiliations and austerities to which, after his elevation to the primacy, St. Thomas systematically subjected himself, he admits that “extraordinary changes often manifest themselves, especially in lofty and susceptible minds like those of Becket;” that “in a merely human point of view of the subject, personal honour might have revived the sense of professional decorum, and led rapidly to the simple conclusion, that the only sure way of appearing to be good, is to be so in truth;” yet, though he thus acknowledges the want of evidence, he feels himself

bound to say, that "religion, in his mind, was so alloyed by worldly passions, that it is impossible for us to trust on any occasion to the purity of his motives." The real grounds of the quarrel, too, are imperfectly and inaccurately stated: many important facts, brought to light by the masterly history of Dr. Lingard, are passed over, or scarcely alluded to; and while the firmness of the primate is, in most instances, set down to the account of arrogance and obstinacy, the notorious imperiousness—the almost savage intemperance, of the king, are unaccountably slurred over without a word of notice. Thus also, in the history of St. Dunstan, may be traced the same lurking jealousy of his fame, the same anxiety to attribute all to human, and indeed unworthy, motives; and—will it be believed—the same admission, that these imputations are perfectly gratuitous, unsupported by the history! "There is no reason," he acknowledges, "to doubt his sincerity," (vol. i. p. 51); and yet, with this admission staring him in the face—with what consistency it is not easy to conceive—the very same sentence proceeds to declare, that "the extension of his own power and that of his order doubtless mingled itself with zeal for the service of God: and the secret enjoyments of pride and ambition soothed the irritation which the renunciation of pleasures, more openly immoral, is apt to beget in passionate natures!" How shall we understand, how explain this? can it be that Sir James, with all his enlightenment, was unable to forget that Dunstan was a saint, and a saint of the unhappy middle age?

The disquisitions upon the institutions of those early times are tinged with the same spirit. In a dissertation upon clerical celibacy from the pen of a political economist, (vol. i. 44-7) we were prepared to find much misconception of the spirit, which, in the Catholic Church, animates and ennobles this severe but invaluable institution. But we must own our surprise to find it roundly stated to be a duty "beyond the boundaries of nature," to hear its eulogy pronounced "irreconcilable with reason;" and above all, to find the grounds on which its practice was recommended by the apostles so completely misconceived. Is it possible that any man who reads St. Paul, (1 Cor. vii.) could seriously resolve all the high and holy motives by which he enforces its observance, into the humble and almost human inducement, "in order to forbear giving such hostages as wives and children to their heartless persecutors"? These, however, are matters in which it is difficult to curb the liberty of a Protestant pen; nor should we complain, if it were con-

fined to this : but the picture which he draws of the consequences flowing from this "unwise and unnatural restraint"—of the excesses to which "the compulsory celibacy of the clergy" led, is as unjust and overcharged, as the evidence on which it is made to rest, is destitute of all foundation. "The manners and morals of the European clergy," writes Sir James, "may be in some measure estimated from the state of Rome in the ninth and tenth centuries, under a succession of popes, *either pageants or monsters, who commonly owed their rise or downfall to crime.*"

Now when a learned, and so-called liberal, historian thinks right to desert his own subject, and obtrude upon his readers gratuitous assertions with which it is not at all connected, it would be but fair that he should take the pains to inform himself of their truth. It is difficult to grapple with a general assertion such as this; and, where it carries with it all the weight of Sir James' deservedly high literary character, it will be received by ninety-nine of every hundred readers without enquiry; nor will it be easy even for the hundredth to find an opportunity of examining fully the grounds of his incredulity. Now it unfortunately happens that this is the most ordinary weapon employed by our adversaries—with the unenquiring mass, but too successfully. It may be useful, taking this as a sample, to examine what degree of credit may with safety be placed in them, even when they occur, as here, in the page of an author of high literary repute. Although, therefore, it may interrupt the continuity of this notice, we shall take a rapid view of the succession of popes during the period in question; and examine how far sober history bears out this declamatory assertion.

The list of popes during the ninth and tenth centuries includes forty-four; beginning with Leo III, one of the wisest and most politic princes of his age; and ending with the illustrious Sylvester II;—that Gerbert with whose distinguished name every literary man is familiar. These men, the historian, gravely, and without excepting even one, assures his reader, were "*either pageants or monsters, who commonly owed their rise or downfall to crime!*" To establish this fact, would be to furnish, unconsciously, what some would deem a strong moral argument for the divine institution of the Church over which they so unworthily presided; for what, save the power of God, could preserve the allegiance of the people to pastors whose lives were such monstrous examples of crime,—to a faith, thus outraged and practically disowned by its ministers? But let us come to the facts, and

test, by history, the value of this confident assertion. We shall take them from the most unfavourable quarter; we shall not look to a single Catholic historian; but rest the case altogether on the showing of those who are confessedly devoted to the antipapal interest. Even further, we shall not look beyond the "History of the Church" contained in the *Cyclopædia* itself. It is from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Stebbing, a patron of the story of pope Joan;—assuredly, therefore, no partial apologist of the Holy See.

To go through the series in the order of time.

Leo III was elected in 795. His pontificate extended to the sixteenth year of the ninth century. The history of his reign will be found, p. 97-101.* There is not even an insinuation from which the most bigoted could believe him to have been either "a pageant or a monster."

His successor was Stephen V (in some catalogues IV). "He took the oath of allegiance together with the whole people," writes Mr. Stebbing, "as soon as he ascended the throne; and announced to the monarch by his legates, that he would attend him at whatever place he might appoint. But the *Christian meekness of the Pontiff* was exceeded by that of the sovereign." (p. 101-2).

The popes intervening between Stephen (817) and Leo IV (847), are dismissed in a single page, some without even the mention of their names. Not a syllable of scandal is breathed against any of them. Assuredly the silence of such a writer as Mr. Stebbing, is no equivocal testimony to the merits of Paschal, Eugenius II, Valentine, Gregory IV, and Sergius II. (p. 102).

Of the next pontiff, St. Leo IV, (847-55), we find something more decisive even than the negative testimony of silence:—"In electing Leo, they provided themselves with a skilful counsellor and energetic leader. Leo was as successful in the other acts of his pontificate, as in this noble defence of his capital; and, as he added to his skilful conduct of affairs of difficulty, *great benevolence and liberality, and a piety ever ready to show itself in the manner best calculated to win the admiration of his contemporaries, and powers of mind equal to his activity*, he placed the Church in a position to take advantage of the agitations of the period." (p. 103-4.)

Between the pontificates of Leo and his successor Benedict III, has been placed the fabled reign of pope Joan. Mr. Stebbing uses his best exertions to lend an air of probability to

* History of the Christian Church, by the Rev. H. Stebbing. 2 vols.

it. We shall not enter into the question here; it will be enough to say, that even Gibbon himself treats the matter as an idle fable, and that the interval between the death of Leo and the election of Benedict has been satisfactorily demonstrated to have been exactly *five days*, while the legend makes Joan's pontificate occupy *two years and a half*!

The character of Benedict III (855-8) is of the highest order: "the people, of whom he was the favourite, delivered him from this danger, and during the two years and a half that he occupied the papal chair, *his piety and devout attention to the customs of the Church* secured for him a continuation of his popularity." (p. 104).

Nicholas I, elected on the death of Benedict, (858-67) was distinguished by his piety and learning. "He was still more strongly encouraged in the same sentiments by the unfeigned and substantial respect, which his *charity and the prudence of his counsels* won from the people. So much was he esteemed on account of the wisdom which he displayed on occasions of difficulty, that persons are said to have come from the most distant parts, to take advantage of his discourse and profit by the example of his measures." (p. 107-8).

For the two succeeding popes, Adrian II (867-72) and John VIII (872-82), there is the same negative argument in Mr. Stebbing's silence. So also for the remaining popes of the ninth century,—Martin II, Adrian III, Stephen VII, Formosus, Romanus, Theodorus II, and John IX, with the exception of Stephen VII, who is described as having disinterred and treated with indignity the remains of Formosus, on the ground that, in his election, the canon which prohibited translation from one see to another, had been violated. "In the history of the popes, who, in rapid succession, governed the Church to the termination of the century, little is to be found of importance to the general illustration of the narrative." (p. 109.) Let it be remembered, that it would be materially illustrated in Mr. Stebbing's view, had it been possible to produce a few "monsters" among the number.

Benedict IV (900-3) and Leo V (903-5), are passed over without a word of censure. At this period, Mr. Stebbing introduces Christophilus; but he is not commonly admitted in the legitimate series of pontiffs.

From this venerable and saintly line we now find one solitary exception. Sergius III is described as a turbulent intriguer and a wicked man. But his reign was forgotten in the pious and useful pontificate of his successor, Anastasius III, (911-21). Mr. S. acknowledges that "during his pontificate

of ten years, he acquired the *noble praise of piety and benevolence.*" (p. 161.)

John X is represented as a weak bad man ; the early portion of his reign was the scene of many scandals ; but the sufferings and remorse of his later life went far to repair the evil. His immediate successors were Leo VI, and Stephen VIII ; of " whose short pontificates nothing of importance is recorded." (p. 162.)

John XI (931-6) was remarkable only for his misfortunes and the patient resignation with which he bore them. He was succeeded by Leo VII. (936-9). " The new pope, Leo VII," says Mr. Stebbing, "*was a man of piety and honourable name.*" (p. 162.)

His successor, Stephen IX, (939-43) is described as unpopular with the Romans on account of his German origin ; but no crime is laid to his charge. (p. 163.) " He died in the year 943, and was followed by Marinus or Martinus II, [more commonly III] whose pontificate lasted about the same time as that of his predecessor, and was characterized more by *works of piety and benevolence* than by any acts of general importance."

" *The same may be said of his successor, Agapetus II.*" (946-56). (p. 163.)

The following pontificate, that of John XIII, it is admitted, was dishonoured by the worst excesses. It is one of the few dark spots on the brilliant page of pontifical history ; but the very fact adduced by Mr. S. against the memory of John is the best refutation of the general charge of Sir James Macintosh. The citizens of Rome, indignant at the profanation of the holy office, drew up a solemn protest against him, which they submitted to the emperor. Far from including, like Sir James, the whole line of his predecessors in his infamy, they make the worst charge against him consist in the contrast with the holy men to whom he had succeeded ; accusing him of having disgraced " the Vatican palace *formerly the habitation of saints.*" (p. 163.)

Leo VIII (964) is described as inflexible in the discharge of his duty (p. 167). He was succeeded by Benedict V, "*a man of great learning and piety.*" (p. 168.) John XIII (965-72) is admitted to have made " some efforts to evangelize the north ;" and although he draws on himself Mr. Stebbing's indignation by the superstitious rite of blessing bells intended for Divine worship, yet no worse crime than superstition is laid to his account.

The reigns of Benedict VI and Domnus II, were of short

duration. The former was strangled in prison by order of the antipope, Boniface, whom, like Christophilus on a former occasion, Mr. Stebbing has improperly introduced into the canonical series. Benedict VII, who succeeded (975-84), was a man of great prudence and piety, and possessed great authority with the people. "The influence which he exercised put an end to the threatened disorder." (p. 190.) John XIV was even more beloved and respected; the indignities with which the people treated the memory of his cruel persecutor, the antipope Boniface, may be taken as an index of their veneration for his own person. John XV (986-96) is passed over by the author almost in silence. "Little of importance occurred during the ten years occupied by the pontificate of John XV." (p. 171). He was succeeded by Gregory V, a mild and benevolent man, as his conduct to the seditious party excited against him establishes. "On entering Rome," says Mr. S., "the emperor undertook measures for their expulsion; but was prevented from putting them in execution, by the persuasions of his nephew, Bruno, who had assumed the appellation of Gregory V. The clemency of the pontiff was ill rewarded." (p. 171.)

We have now reached the end of our list, or rather Mr. Stebbing's, of "monsters." The closing name is most appropriate to such a charge—Sylvester II. Few among our readers, we should suppose, are unacquainted with the fame of Gerbert, whose admirable life by Dr. Hock is one of the most valuable additions to the history of the Middle Age, which the present generation, rich in this lore, has produced. Born of low parentage, and educated in the obscure town of Aurillac, the humble Benedictine, for (Gerbert entered that order), rose by unaided merit to the abbacy of Bobbio. The fame of his learning drew around him at Rheims a numerous assemblage of pupils, among whom was Robert, son of Hugh Capet, and afterwards *Robert le Sage*, king of France. By the same merit he rose, through the successive steps of the see of Rheims and the archbishopric of Ravenna, to the papal tiara, which he bore with equal honour to himself, and advantage to the Church. His character for learning was far beyond his age. He was versed not only in the sacred literature of his profession, but also in the most abstruse departments of philosophy, and is by some believed the author of several important mechanical inventions. His mathematical works, according to Mabilion,* display great solidity; and we have still extant his life

* *Analecta*, Tom. ii. p. 215. See "Dublin Review," vol. vi. p. 290 and seq.

of St. Adalbert and a hundred and forty-nine epistles. We shall give his literary character in Mr. Stebbing's words:—"The palm of scholarship has been awarded to Gerbert, who ascended the pontifical throne as Sylvester II. Both as a mathematician and a classic, he carried his investigations beyond the generality of his most enlightened contemporaries." (p. 176.)

Such is the history of the popes who flourished in the ninth and tenth centuries, from the pen of a Protestant clergyman—the ecclesiastical historian of *Lardner's Cyclopædia*. How far it bears out Sir James' wholesale charge, let the reader judge. For our present purpose we shall be content with this negative refutation, nor push the inquiry further. It would be easy to show, that they were, as a body, characterized by virtue and piety of a high order. But we shall be content with the partial statement which Mr. Stebbing has supplied. Among the whole forty-four, then, who are represented without exception "*as pageants or monsters*," it appears that there are—the one-half?—the one-fourth?—one-tenth?—no, exactly three, to whom, even taking the showing of a Protestant and an undisguised bigot, the character could by possibility be applied! And even of these three, the charges against the first, Sergius III, rest on the doubtful authority of Luitprand—according to Mr. Stebbing himself meagre and unsatisfactory—with whom the more accurate Flodoard is at direct variance: the second expiated by penance the scandals of his earlier days: and the third, elected by intrigue, and sustained in his place by treachery and faction, was an exception among the virtuous men by whom he was surrounded; "dishonouring," as the citizens declared, "the Vatican palace, before him the habitation of saints." And is it not almost a moral miracle, that, in a period of faction and anarchy at Rome, the sacred robes were not more frequently sullied by the intrusion of wicked or ambitious men? that, in the period selected in preference by the antipapal declaimers, the remaining forty pontiffs not only have received the negative testimony of silence as to their demerits, but are for the most part represented as men of "great benevolence, liberality, and ever-ready piety," distinguished by "Christian meekness," "prudent in counsel," "meriting the noble praise of piety and benevolence"? These are testimonies not lightly showered upon the heads of the Catholic Church by professed enemies of its authority.

So much then for Sir James Macintosh's bold assertion! "*the succession of popes in the ninth and tenth centuries, either pageants or monsters, who commonly owed their rise or downfall to crimes!*" so much for the evidence "by which

the manners and morals of the European clergy are to be estimated !”

The *Family Library* is published by Mr. Murray of Albemarle-street, and, in the extent of its circulation has perhaps exceeded the *Cabinet Cyclopædia*. Its plan, however, is quite different, being almost exclusively historical and literary; and scarcely partaking of the scientific character. Many of its volumes, being occupied by biography or devoted to miscellaneous instruction or amusement, can scarcely afford room or opportunity for religious disquisition. But in the few where the nature of the subject is such as to admit or require the expression of sectarian feeling, although the tone is unquestionably more moderate, and the purpose less nakedly avowed, yet the spirit is no less decidedly hostile than in the publication which we have just left. The *Universal History* by Mr. Tytler; Palgrave's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, and *Sketches of Venetian History*, (though the last not in so remarkable degree) will at once occur to the reader of the *Family Library*, as but too fully exemplifying the “prejudices of our popular literature.” What for instance could be more unjust than the following?

“One great source of the corruption of its (Popery) doctrines, was an attempt to reconcile them to or intermingle them with the notions of the heathen philosophers. This intermixture is the true source from which the impolitic and destructive system of monachism took its rise.”—*Tytler's Univ. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 151.

Thus again, in the same spirit, he calls those who followed St. Antony into his holy retirement, “madmen like himself,” (p. 153). His view of the moral and religious state of the middle age too, is substantially the same as that in the *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, though there is less recklessness of the feelings of a Catholic or liberal reader, and more apparent caution in avoiding wanton and gratuitous offence. Some of the volumes of the *Family Library* are intended more for amusement than solid or systematic instruction; as Sir Walter Scott's *Demonology and Witchcraft: Sketches of Imposture, Deception and Credulity*; Sir David Brewster's *Natural Magic*, &c. These, at least, might have been kept free from the eternal jarring of religious prejudices and sectarian strife. A few pages might have been reserved for the peace of the evening fireside, for the confiding harmony of the domestic circle, where, for a time at least, the bow of religious discord may unbend, and the heart, warmed by the nearer and more touching relations of kindred, expand in universal benevolence, towards all, how-

ever erring, members of the one great family. It is melancholy to find this kindly feeling even here forgotten—to find these very volumes filled with the most insulting allusions to Catholic doctrines or practices of devotion. The *Sketches of Imposture* are crowded with anecdotes of a most offensive character. Even the *Natural Magic*, from the distinguished pen of Sir David Brewster, has not escaped the universal contagion.

“After the establishment of Christianity, the Catholic sanctuary was often the seat of those unhallowed machinations. Nor was it merely the low and cunning priest, who thus sought to extort money and respect from the most ignorant of his flock. Bishops and pontiffs themselves wielded the magician’s wand over the diadem of kings and emperors; and, by the pretended exhibition of supernatural power, made the potentates of Europe tremble on their thrones!”—*Letters on Natural Magic*, p. 57.

The *Library* published by the “Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,” on the contrary, is almost exclusively scientific, and the few volumes which are of a more popular character can admit from their nature but little reference to religion. We have already had occasion to speak at some length of one of its publications, Mr. Drinkwater’s *Life of Galileo*; in which, upon a subject purely literary, is displayed, in a very remarkable degree, the spirit which we seek to deprecate.* Among its other volumes we shall only notice one, *Dr. Waddington’s History of the Christian Church*. Of the degree of popularity which this work has attained, or may be likely to attain, we are unable to offer any opinion; but we feel ourselves bound to declare, that it is unworthy of the name under which it is given to the public; and that the benefits which may have accrued to literature and science, from the labours of the Society, are far—far more than outweighed by the wretched consequences to charity and peace—to put truth altogether out of view—which the dissemination of such a work must necessarily produce. There are some matters, it is true, in which the author of the *History of the Christian Church* displays a certain independence of the most vulgar class of historical prejudices. He is not always led away by the traditional voice of Protestantism in the estimate of character; he claims, and not unfrequently exercises, the privilege of judging for himself, and setting aside the verdict of his predecessors. He admits, for example, the want of foundation for the charge

* See Dub. Rev. No. IX, Art. Galileo.

against St. Gregory, of having, in detestation of classic learning, burnt the Palatine Library. But on the general questions of Catholic belief, and the history and progress of Catholic usages of devotion, he is as intemperate, and, we may add, as coarse, as the most fanatical among them all. Should not good taste have drawn the pen over expressions such as these, even if prejudice, in its first excitement, had committed them to paper?

"In this age and from this cause arose *the stupid veneration of bones and relics*: it was inculcated and believed, that prayer was never so efficacious as when offered at the tomb of some saint or holy person. The number of such tombs was thus multiplied, and *the spirit of the gospel was forgotten in the practice of forbidden ceremonies and the belief of impious fables.*"—*Hist. of the Christian Church*, p. 115.

Nor is he content to confine his observations within the limits heretofore sacred to bigotry—the superstition and darkness of the middle age: the Fathers themselves are not secure from his pen; and the most ancient usages are discussed and condemned with true Protestant liberty, unawed by that vulgar reverence, with which more ordinary minds are wont to regard them. The work of the corruption of religion is traced back to the very earliest times.

"During the progress of the fourth and fifth centuries, many new concessions on various and important points were made to the popular genius of the old superstition So completely was the spirit of the old worship transferred into that system which succeeded it, that the very miracles which the Christian writers of these days related concerning those saints and martyrs, were, in many instances, only ungraceful copies of the long-exploded fables of heathenism. But in no respect was its malice so *lastingly pernicious as when it fastened on Christianity the badge of its own character, by the communication of idol-worship!*"—p. 213.

Again,

"Here, then, we discover the root of some of the abuses of the papacy But the lasting result has been to darken and disfigure the features of Christianity, not for one race only, or for one age, but through a period, of which fourteen centuries have already been accomplished, and of which we cannot yet foresee the termination."—p. 116.

These extracts, selected almost at random, may give the reader some idea of the general disposition of the author with reference to the doctrines of Catholicity. Unwilling to multiply, without absolute necessity, examples so little calculated to promote the great cause of charity, we shall merely

refer to the second section of the twenty-eighth chapter (pp. 687-702). We are satisfied no right-minded man will look upon its contents as in any way deserving the title, imposing as it is—of “useful knowledge.”

So far we have confined ourselves to works of literature. These, or such as these, however slight their connexion with religion, are yet pliant enough to be moulded into any form which prejudice may seek to communicate. It requires more ingenuity to convert to a similar use the less ductile materials of elementary treatises of science or art. Few would expect to find reflections on controversy mixed up with the principles of the one, or the disputed topics of religion employed to illustrate the rules of the other. Yet the ingenuity of our English literati has effected this, and more!

It has not been forgotten that a very silly sophism of Crou-saz' *Logic*,* by shaking Gibbon's belief of transubstantiation, cast off the last hold of faith's saving anchor, and turned his great, but too proud mind adrift upon the stormy waters of unbelief; nor has the precedent been without its effect. Dugald Stewart could see, in the system of philosophy which he supposes to have been introduced by the Reformation, nothing more than “a return to common sense, and to the common spirit of Christianity from the dogmas imposed on the credulity of mankind by an ambitious priesthood.”† Those who have come after him think it necessary to enliven the dulness of technical detail by occasional allusions to these eternal dogmas: popery is to them, like whiggism and toryism to Cobbett in his odd, but valuable English Grammar—an exhaustless storehouse from which they may draw at pleasure. They love to speak of “crosses, relics, beads, pictures, and *other such trum-perry*,”‡ of “*the idiot gewgaws of superstition*,”§ to talk solemnly of “the worst errors of Romanism.”|| What is worst of all, they will not allow us to speak for ourselves, to explain the meaning or tendency of our own doctrines. They must themselves accommodate them to the views which they seek to illustrate. Any writer, rather than a Catholic—the most frontless calumniator—even the audacious Blanco White,¶ is held an authority, in opposition to our public formularies and professions of faith! We do not understand our own doctrines! “Romanists flatter themselves that they are free from ido-

* Gibbon's *Miscel. Works*, T. i. p. 58.

† *Dissertat. on Progress of Mental and Moral Philosophy*, p. 20.

‡ Campbell's *Rhetoric*, p. 39.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Whately's *Logic*, p. 329.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 305.

latry, because they distinctly admit the truth, that God alone is to be served, viz. with 'Latria;' though they allow adoration ('hyperdulia' and 'dulia') to the Virgin and other saints, to images, and to relics; to which it has been justly replied, that, supposing the distinction correct in itself, it would soon be in practice nugatory; since the mass of the people must soon, (as experience proves), lose sight of it in their habitual devotions."* It is amusing, too, to observe the anxiety with which every avenue is closed against the arguments for Catholic doctrine. The logical tyro must be armed at every point—he must watch and sift every ambiguity, "for this has greatly favoured the cause of Romanism!"

Now all this may in itself be correct enough and in the opinion of some even praise-worthy. It may be very wise to prepare the young mind, by precautionary training, against the most ordinary fallacies which it will be called to combat. We will even admit that in a purely scientific treatise, as that of logic, it is not always misplaced. But, if such a thing as good feeling is to be preserved between the disputants, surely it should preside over these cool and deliberate counsels; surely the imputed insecurity of tradition may be explained without dragging it into an offensive metaphor; the dangers of the Church of Rome may be pointed out without pronouncing her "unsound and corrupt;" nor will these prejudged conclusions with reference to Catholicity be the safest guides for the youthful Protestant logician in that fair discussion which his principles oblige him to allow to its asserted claims upon his belief. Surely, above all—if there be such a thing as justice in religious controversy, it may be done without forcing upon us, in our own despite, doctrines which we abhor and repudiate, and assuring us, in the face of our recorded protestations, that, however we may flatter ourselves to the contrary, "experience proves us idolators in our habitual devotions!"

There is one other work which we feel ourselves bound to notice before we close,—D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*. Few books have enjoyed greater popularity, or more extensive sale—we quote from the tenth edition: few have supplied to the second-hand retailers of miscellaneous learning, a more copious or varied assortment of shreds of learning ready to the hand. It is a publication of a completely nondescript character—a repository of all sorts of scraps, odds and ends of learning—a kind of literary old-clothes'-shop, containing

‡ Whately's Logic, p. 329.

second-hand articles of every class and description, from the sober gown of the professor, to the spangled jacket of the harlequin or buffoon. They are hung together, too, without order or arrangement, and often without any label by which to ascertain the original owner. With that class of readers and writers, therefore, who are too poor, or too indolent, to provide themselves more reputably by their own industry, the *Curiosities of Literature* has ever been a favourite resort; and many a ragged coxcomb has arrayed himself in a gold-lace suit within the purlieus of its motley storehouse!

In a merely literary point of view, we know no book, especially for young readers, of a more dangerous tendency. Wo to the yet pliant mind which forms itself upon such a model! The desultory turn of reading and reflecting thus necessarily caught up—the habit of dogmatizing upon slight, often dubious, or perhaps worthless, authority—the devotion to useless inquiries for the mere sake of their *curiosity*—and the fatal love of paradox which this tendency, once habitually indulged, naturally engenders—these may be the ruin of any mind, however strong; but, if there be any weakness inherent in the constitution, it must infallibly develop itself under such a culture. If the taste and judgment be not utterly ruined, their powers will be directed into a wrong channel—the mind loses all enjoyment of solid and well-regulated inquiry—the precocious coxcomb in youth, grows into a mere literary dangler in more advanced age.

But these are not our present objections to this very popular work. We would call the attention of its admirers to the flagrant injustice—often outraging not only truth, but probability—with which its pages overflow. It would seem to be a huge *panagron*—gathering together of every kind of fish—placing together before the reader, without order or discrimination, all that the author had discovered in the course of his extensive, but ill-regulated reading. If he had taken the pains to note his authorities as he read, it would, at least, be in the reader's power to decide what degree of credit might be attached to the several statements,—balancing the motives, character, prejudices, and general credibility of the writer. He might take into account the extent to which national antipathy, or religious prejudice, may have biassed his judgment, or warped his veracity. This, however, Mr. D'Israeli seldom does; and when he does, it is in a manner so vague and undefined, as to be almost useless for the purposes of reference. Hence all, or almost all, is resolved into the question of his

own individual authority ; an authority which, in a work displaying so much erudition, and, as its title implies, on subjects removed from the more trodden walks of literature, cannot fail to produce a strong impression. We regret to say, that Mr. D'Israeli has, in many instances, grossly abused this factitious authority ; perverting, or borrowing at second-hand from those who had perverted the plainest principles, the most public and easily-ascertained practices of the Catholic religion. The two series into which the work is divided, were published at a very considerable interval from each other ; and it is but justice to say, that this observation principally regards the earlier of the two. It may be, that in the light of increased knowledge his earlier prejudices had disappeared. However, it is but reasonable to suppose, that if the silence of his later publication had been dictated by a better spirit, he would have cancelled, what maturer thought, and better-directed research, had taught him to discover. Unfortunately for the author's fame, it remains unretracted and unmodified through ten successive editions !

Be this, however, as it may ; the *Curiosities of Literature*, as it stands, in many respects, does but little credit to the author's reading, still less to his good feeling and good taste. Without going into details, which indeed are incompatible with our limits, already but too much extended, we shall merely refer to the heads, "Relics," "Legends," "Religious Nouvellettes," "Virginity," and more perhaps than all, "Popes." There is no one who, after he has read these, or any of these, will not feel that we have not censured without foundation. What honest man will believe the following coarse and impious statement, put forward without a single authority or reference to substantiate it?—

"The worship paid to the Virgin Mary in Spain and Italy exceeds that which is given to the Son, or the Father. When they pray to Mary, their imagination pictures to them a beautiful woman, and they really feel a *passion* ; while Jesus is only regarded as a *bambino*, or infant at the breast, and the Father is hardly ever recollected : but the Madonna, La Senhora, La Maria Santa, while she inspires their religious inclinations, is a mistress to those who have none."—*Curiosities of Literature*, p. 133.

We can assure the reader that this is not a solitary passage ; it is but a portion of a lengthened dissertation, all conceived in the same laughable, if it were not revolting, spirit : crowded with extravagancies of the most ridiculous character, set down without a single expression of doubt as to their authenticity

and truth. It is difficult, even with the solemnity of the following passage before one, to believe that it was penned in sober seriousness:—

“The most licentious philosophy seems not more dangerous than a religion, whose votaries believe that the accumulation of crimes can be dissipated by a few orisons; and which, considering a venal priest ‘to occupy the place of God,’ can traffic with the Divine power at a very moderate price.”—p. 171.

It is not easy to reconcile in a person of such extended and varied reading as this compilation supposes, the learning which is evident, with the good faith which charity would fain suppose. However there are some passages which display ignorance of the very first points in Catholic controversy, so gross as perhaps to save the integrity of the writer,—though certainly at the expense of his candour and discretion,—in insolently putting forward statements of the most injurious kind, without taking ordinary pains to examine their accuracy. Read the following pointless, contemptible paragraph—

“Concerning the acknowledged infallibility of the popes, it appears, that Gregory VII, in council, decreed that the Church of Rome neither had erred, and never should err. It was thus the prerogative of his holiness became received, till 1313, when John XXII abrogated decrees made by three popes, his predecessors, and declared that what was done amiss by one pope or council, might be corrected by another; and Gregory XI, in his will, deprecates *si quid in Catholica fide errasset*. The University of Vienna protested against it, calling it a contempt of God, and an idolatry, if any one, in matters of faith, should appeal from the council to the pope; that is from God, who presides in councils, to man. But the infallibility was at length established by Leo X, especially after Luther’s opposition, because they despaired of defending their indulgences, bulls, &c., by any other method.”—p. 202.

One other short extract, and we have done with the *Curiosities of Literature*:—

“At length the day arrived when one of the popes, whose name does not occur to me, said, ‘that it was safer to quarrel with a prince than with a friar.’ Henry VI, being at the feet of Pope Celestine, his holiness thought fit to kick the crown off his head; which ludicrous and disgraceful action Baronius has highly praised. Jortin observes on this great cardinal and advocate of the Roman see, that he breathes nothing but fire and brimstone, and accounts kings and emperors to be mere catchpolls and constables, bound to execute, with implicit faith, all the commands of insolent ecclesiastics. Bellarmine was made a cardinal for his efforts and devotion to the papal cause, and for maintaining this monstrous paradox—that,

if the pope forbid the exercise of virtue, and command that of vice, the Roman Church, under pain of a sin, was bound to abandon virtue for vice, if it would not sin against conscience."—p. 202.

This from the pen of a man of learning and research;—a writer, as he proudly calls himself, "of nearly half-a-century's standing!" And yet, during this "half century," he has never found leisure or will to examine injurious statements like these; whose very absurdity might, even without inquiry, have supplied a sufficient refutation. Now, for the first of these confident assertions,—the story of Celestine's kicking off the crown of Henry VI,—the reader may judge its probability from the fact, that Voltaire himself treats it as a mere fable.* For the second, will it be believed, that Bellarmine, far from advancing the impious and revolting doctrine thus unhesitatingly laid to his charge, actually uses it as an argument *ex absurdo*!—*an absurd and monstrous consequence which would follow from the rejection of his thesis.* With equal justice, and we may add, with equal candour, from any of Euclid's demonstrations *ex impossibili*, might it be concluded, that he believed "a part equal to the whole," or "things equal to the same, are not equal to one another!"

The unworthy allusions contained in the above extract remind us of Mr. Rogers' enchanting volume *Italy*; of which it is not without pain we write a syllable of censure. We know not, within the whole range of English poetry, anything more delightful—exhibiting in the vast variety of subjects which it sketches, specimens of the highest order of poetic talent in all. There are few pictures, even in the charmed volume of the *Pilgrim*, which we should place before the noble lines beginning, "I am in Rome!" Tenderness, beauty, simplicity, breathe through his pages; the simplicity of truth, the beauty and tenderness of nature.

It is painful—nay, humiliating—to turn to the moral defects which mar all this natural beauty;—to think, that in a production so exquisite, there wants that without which tenderness, sublimity, sweetness, nature, all are as nought—charity! It is humiliating to turn from the bold and life-like painting of the "Foscari," or the calm, soothing tenderness of the "Fire-fly," to the gloomy and fanatical visions of the "Roman Pontiffs;" to remember, that in the midst of all that can elevate the mind, and soften the heart—where the glories of the past, mournfully shadowed out in the fallen misery of the present,

* Sur les Mœurs, chap. xlix.

all the touching recollections of the things which have been, combine to steal the mind away from those that are, and make it forget the petty cares and jealousies which they bring;—that, even here, the fatal spirit of bigotry can find a home; that, even while the poet discusses and repudiates the influence of “national prejudices,” he yields unconsciously to their power! Why does Mr. Rogers stigmatize the religion of Italy as “a gross and barbarous superstition?”* Has he ever taken the pains to learn or examine its principles? If so, grievously has he misconceived its spirit! sadly has he misread its history! Let the following splendid, but dark and bigoted, lines attest—

“THE ROMAN PONTIFFS.”

“Those ancient men, what were they, who achieved
A sway beyond the greatest conquerors:
Setting their feet upon the necks of kings,
And, through the world, subduing, chaining down,
The free, immortal spirit? Were they not
Mighty magicians? theirs a wondrous spell,
Where true and false were with infernal art
Close interwoven; where together met
Blessings and curses, threats and promises.
And with the terrors of futurity,
Mingled whate’er enchants and fascinates;
Music, and painting, sculpture, rhetoric,
And dazzling light, and darkness visible,
And architectural pomp; such as none else.
What in his day the SYRACUSAN sought,
Another world to plant his engines on—
They had, and having it, like Gods, not men,
Moved this world at their pleasure. Ere they came,
Their shadows, stretching far and wide, were known;
And two, that looked beyond the visible sphere,
Gave notice of their coming—he who saw*
The Apocalypse; and he of elder time,
Who, in an awful vision of the night,
Saw the Four Kingdoms, distant as they were,
Those holy men, well might they faint with fear.”

Rogers’ Italy, pp. 167-8.

And yet Mr. Rogers is among the most liberal of our poets. Alas! well may he exclaim, “Candour, generosity, how rare are they in this world! and how much is to be deplored the want of them!”

* Page 160. It is not a little remarkable, that the chapter is headed “National Prejudices.”

† “An allusion to the prophecies concerning Antichrist.”—*Note by the author.*

Such, as regards us, is the spirit of the literature of England; such has it been ever since it deserved the name;—seizing every opportunity of vilifying our religion—using every art of warfare, honourable and dishonourable, to weaken its influence—clinging to every fable, though a thousand times disproved—spurning, with dogged incredulity, every attempt of ours at explanation or defence. It would be wrong, in estimating the influences by which this spirit has been fostered, to overlook the authority exercised by the periodical censors of the press,—resisting every effort to introduce a more kindly feeling, and guarding, with dragon-like vigilance, the sacred enclosures of prejudice; lacerating, with unsparing ferocity, every generous adventurer, who, with honourable chivalry, dared to violate its gloomy precincts. But the length to which these observations have already extended, renders it impossible for us to pursue the inquiry into this almost interminable region. We shall offer but a few words upon the periodical literature; selecting from each of the great parties, liberal and illiberal, into which it is divided, one publication which may fairly be taken as embodying the feelings of the entire. It is scarcely necessary to add, that periodicals purely, or principally, polemical are beyond the plan which we have proposed to ourselves.

At the head of this class stand, and long have stood, the rival *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*; opposed in politics, divided on many of the leading principles of criticism, and on the merits of the several schools, as well in poetry as in politics, which have been formed in England since the establishment of these rival literary autocracies.

Of the latter, it is scarcely necessary for us to speak; its principles are well known,—its character has long been in the hands of the public. The untiring opponent of our civil rights—the unyielding foe of our religion—it has left no means untried to withhold the one, and oppose the onward progress of the other. Argument, invective, ridicule, calumny, have ever stood ready in its well-stored armoury; and, in season and out of season, have been wielded by zealous, and it cannot be denied, by stalwart, hands. If a writer, especially a Protestant, ventured to use the liberty of thinking for himself with regard to our claims—to look with a tolerant eye upon the detested tenets of Popery—if he dared to doubt any of those hereditary prejudices which long and undisturbed prescription had rendered venerable—the war-whoop was forthwith raised—the daring innovator was assailed with every

weapon which the immense resources of party could supply;—and, unless he possessed courage beyond that of ordinary men, he was crushed, beyond the will to rise again—his bloody scalp serving to scare all future adventurers from the perilous field. In vain the denial of doctrines imputed,—in vain the appeal to authentic declarations of Catholic faith. An utter disregard of all this has been the maxim of that party which the *Quarterly Review* represents; the fundamental law of that system of tactics which it has been its peculiar calling to perpetuate.

It would be folly to attempt anything like a specimen of a publication so voluminous. Perhaps the best illustration of its spirit, may be a negative one; the best test how anti-Catholic it is, will be a specimen of what is not sufficiently anti-Catholic for its taste. Mr. Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, is denounced without mercy, as blindly favourable to the Catholic party, and “coldly inclined to the Reformation itself.”* Now, we must confess we should have thought there were few whom the following picture of Catholic doctrine might not satisfy to the fullest amount of their prejudice:—

“But this change in ceremonial and outward show was trifling when compared with that in the objects of worship, and the forms in which they are addressed. Those who have visited some Catholic temples, and attended to the current language of devotion, must have perceived, what the writings or apologists of councils will never enable them to discover, that *the saints, but more especially the Virgin, are, almost exclusively the popular Deities of that religion. All this POLYTHEISM was swept away by the Reformers.* In this may be deemed to consist the specific difference of the two systems. Nor did they spare the belief in purgatory—that unknown land, which the hierarchy swayed with so absolute a rule, and to which earth had been rendered a tributary province.”—*Hallam's Constit. Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 93.

This is not enough for the bigots of the *Quarterly Review*! Without stopping to extract any of the abuse and invective which they heap on us so liberally, we shall merely give, from the same Number, one sample of their style of argument as directed against our doctrines. The writer is accounting for the small progress of the Reformation in Italy:—

“In the first place, the system of the Roman-Catholic religion was more difficult of eradication in Italy than in any other quarter of the world. It had taken advantage of all the most ancient sympathies

* *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxvii. p. 213.

of the country, and the long-established practices of the Pagan times. The people had been made to slide out of a Gentile, into what stood for a Christian ritual; as little violence as might be was done to their previous prejudices, and as many of these as possible, and more than were innocent, were spared and cherished. The temples were turned into churches; the altars of *the old Gods served for the new saints*; the curtains with which they were shrouded, the finery with which they were bedecked, the incense burnt before them, and the votive tablets suspended in their honour, all continued as they had been. The garlands over the doors had withered, and were replaced; the aquaminiarium, which held the water of purification, held it still; the bell was still rung, to excite the worshippers, or expel the demon; and the sacrifice, which had been offered, was offered as before; and its well-known name of 'hostia,' or host, retained. In earthquakes, pestilence, or drought, the succour of either of these classes of superior beings was successively resorted to, and in precisely the same way. They were entreated, they were scolded, they were threatened, in terms not distinguishable; processions were made for them; and tapers, music, tapestry, fraternities, and a box of relics, propitiated them alike. Hills and fountains were the asylums of either; and the votaries of the saint were exhorted to say their orisons at the one, or crawl upon their knees to the other, as it had been the practice to do by the Gods in the days of their ancestors; a figure of St. Peter relieved guard at the gate for Mercury or Cardea; the niche in the parlour, or bed-room, was occupied by St. Roque, or St. Sebastian, instead of the Phrygian penates; your person was protected by a St. Vitalis next your skin, in the room of an Æsculapius, or an Apollo: pollution was averted from your walls, by a frowning St. Benedict, instead of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Twelve Gods; and you set sail in a ship, whose sign was St. Nicholas, and with about the same chance of skill, presence of mind, and self-confidence in the crew, as if her sign had still continued Castor and Pollux. But this system of accommodation, whereby sentiments of loyalty to the old religion were to be enlisted for the new, is yet more apparent in another particular. The religion of our Lord and his apostles afforded no plausible pretence for the worship of those nymphs and goddesses to which the Italians had been used. What was to become of the devotion that had thus been paid to the softer sex? Where was this to be directed? The Virgin was thought of as fittest to stand in the gap, and to the Virgin were the honours transferred; she became practically the Cybele of a former generation; she had her title, *Deipara*; cakes were offered to her, as the queen of heaven; beggars asked an alms, '*per la Madonna*,' as they had heretofore done, by legal permission, '*pro Matre Deum*;' and the festival of the Idæan Mother was no other than *Lady-day*. Inferior female saints now took the places, in their turn, of the inferior goddesses. * * *

Thus were Romans surprised into Roman Catholics; and the vulgar,

at least, without being conscious of having undergone any very sensible mutation, were assured that all was right, and that by some means or other changed they were *intus et in cute*."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxvii. p. 81.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not complain, that opinions such as these should be held up to public detestation and abhorrence. The indignant reviewer could not detest them more fervently than we do ourselves. But why, we ask again and again, are we to be taunted, day after day, year after year, with doctrines which we have a thousand times formally and distinctly repudiated? Why is the taunt repeated without even an allusion to the defence? What good purpose is attained by this levity of tone—this cold, sneering ridicule—which, while it perverts and scoffs at the holiest institutions of one religion, undermines, by a slow, but certain, process, the very foundations of all.

The *Edinburgh Review*, on the contrary, has been, from its commencement, the unchanging advocate of our rights,—both political and national,—and the foe of intolerance in all its forms. Its pages are not sullied by that vulgar intemperance, which bigotry ever has the more ready, in proportion as its dye is deeper, and its habit more inveterate. There is a scholar-like and gentlemanly concern for the feelings of the Catholic body, and a careful abstinence from all wanton offence. The writers, unlike their rivals of the *Quarterly*, would seem to have some objects beyond those of insulting and wounding the feelings of an adversary; to propose to themselves something more elevated than the indulgence of party spleen, and the gratification of sectarian animosity.

But they have drawn—and faithfully have they observed it—a broad line between the civil rights of the Catholic and his religious opinions. Unhappily, all their liberality is confined to one side of this formal division; nor do they, when our creed is concerned, manifest scarcely a particle more of genuine liberality than their more blustering contemporaries. There is a perpetual effort to drag forward what is deemed the irrational constitution of our creed—to represent it as placing reason in abeyance, as debasing the mind, and fettering its energies—as inconsistent with that free, unshackled exercise of thought, which is the natural birthright of man. We are perpetually reminded, that "the Popery of the present day is a very different sort of thing from what it formerly was;" that it has been "modified and improved by the colli-

sion with the doctrines of the Reform ;”* and that, while its great leading doctrines are not inconsistent with the common spirit of Christianity, the system is yet deformed by many and debasing superstitions. Even where there is a word of defence or palliation thrown in, it is done with that same patronizing air of which we have spoken before; and the frank concession of admitted right is converted into a gratuitous, and therefore thankless, act of eleemosynary toleration. As illustrating these observations, we would refer to volume xi. 40; xx. 4, xxi. 271.† We can afford room but for a single extract,—a general profession of the principles on which their defence of Catholics proceeds :—

“The Catholic religion, among other causes, contributes to the backwardness and barbarism of Ireland. Its debasing superstitions, childish ceremonies, and the profound submission to the priesthood which it teaches, all tend to darken men’s minds, to impede the progress of knowledge and inquiry, and to prevent Ireland from becoming as free, as powerful, and as rich, as the sister kingdom. Though sincere friends to Catholic emancipation, we are no advocates for the Catholic religion.”—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxiv. p. 335.

But it is time to draw to a close, and leave the reader to revolve at his leisure the general results of the inquiry. We could not hope to present, in the compass of a single article, a full and satisfactory picture of the intolerant and anti-Catholic spirit, even of the most neutral portion of our literature; and our main object is, but to excite a spirit of inquiry into a subject hitherto regarded with singular indifference. We shall have done all that we purpose, if we induce the virtuous and right-minded among our separated brethren, to pursue, in honest sincerity, the toilsome, but necessary, investigation. We seek not to excite the public mind against the venal party who have so long prostituted head and heart to the service of bigotry. We care not to enlist the public sympathy by ostentatious parade of our wrong. Our object is higher, more useful, and, we will hope, less visionary. We would excite a spirit of inquiry, create a salutary distrust of impressions mechanically imbibed in boyhood—confirmed by the earliest lessons of youth—per-

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xx. p. 5.

† Art. “Pius VI.” This, perhaps, exceeds all the rest in its virulence. A passage or two will display its spirit :—“Fortunately for incapacity and corruption, it is a settled maxim at Rome, that to impeach any of the high functionaries of that government would be to impeach the infallibility which is known to belong to its great head, and would consequently throw discredit on the inspired wisdom of all the successors of St. Peter.” (p. 272.) Again, the writer is uncandid enough to assert, that Pius “was forced, in a moment of imminent peril, to beatify a lay capuchin, who had lately died, and to order him to be adored before the altars.” (p. 289.)

manently fixed by the more serious studies of maturer age. We would force back the mind upon the sources of its knowledge, induce it to reconsider the process by which its religious convictions were formed, and, with a more matured knowledge of the conclusion, re-investigate the premises on which it is grounded.

“Che smarrit' ha la strada torni indietro !”

Let it not be said, that it is now too late; that the question has been long decided in the national mind. An easy examination will satisfy any sincere inquirer, that the Catholic Church is very different from the absurd and revolting system so long held up to the abhorrence and execration of England. The elders have borne evidence of her shame. Let not the voice of the stripling be disregarded, if he dare to gainsay their truth. Let it be echoed even to the ends of the land, “RETURN TO JUDGMENT, FOR THEY HAVE BORNE FALSE WITNESS AGAINST HER.” (*Dan.* xiii. 49.)

ART. III.—1. *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, carefully revised and occasionally corrected from the Arabic. To which is added, a Selection of New Tales. By Jonathan Scott, LL.D., in 6 vols. 12mo. London: 1811.

2. *Contes inédits des Mille et une Nuits*, extraits de l'original Arabe. Par M. J. de Hammer. Traduits en Français, par M. G. S. Trébutien, 3 tomes, 8vo. Paris: 1828.

3. *Tausend und eine Nacht Arabisch*. Herausgegeben von Dr. Maximilian Habicht. 8vo. Breslau: 1825.

4. *The Alif Laila, or, Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*, in the original Arabic; edited from an Egyptian MS. By W. R. Macnaghten, Esq. Vol. 1, 4to. Calcutta & London: 1839.

5. *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night*, from the Arabic of the Egyptian MS., done into English by H. Torrens, B.C.S. B.A. Vol. I, 8vo. Calcutta & Lond. 1838.

6. *A new Translation of the Tales of a Thousand and One Nights*; known in England as the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; with copious notes. By Edward William Lane, author of “The Modern Egyptians.” London: 1838.

AMONGST the changes which the last sixty years have brought about in the literature of Europe, one of the most important is the increased amount of interest excited in

the literature and languages of the East. Had we the making of terms, we might be willing perhaps to substitute for this geographical division a more particular as well as more philosophical one; for the term *oriental*, as it is at present used, comprehends classes of languages, and national modes of thinking, differing among themselves as widely as the German differs from the Arab, or the Italian from the Hindu. Our present concern is chiefly with the Arabic literature, or more properly speaking, that of Mohammedan countries. Mohammedanism has always carried with it the use of Arabic as its learned language; and the natural consequence of this has been, that considerable amalgamation both of ideas and words has taken place between the conquerors and the conquered.

To give an instance of what we have just advanced: the three great nations speaking popularly different languages, and connected by the common profession of Islam, and the common use of Arabic as a written language, are the Arabs, the Persians, and the Turks. The language of Persia, as at present spoken and written, contains about one truly Persian word for every eight of Arabic; and the Turkish, a piebald mixture of Arabic and Persian with Tartar, does not probably derive more than one-eighth of its vocabulary from the last named dialect. The Arabic words in each of the subsidiary languages (the Persian and Turkish) stand very much in the same predicament as the words of Latin derivation in our own language;—they are used more profusely, that is to say, in didactic, scientific, and laboured composition, and more sparingly in popular discourse and in writing meant for the popular eye;—whilst the Arabic has borrowed few *words* from the other two dialects, it has been more indebted to them for ideas. The machinery both of Persian and Turkish fiction has been employed in the composition of stories written in the Arabic language, producing in some cases a mixed and in others a peculiar character; a circumstance which accounts for the varying texture of such oriental stories or collections of stories as have as yet been placed within reach of the European reader. In the *Arabian Nights*, a work which we select for illustration, as being now a part of our popular literature, as well as from its standing at the head of this article, the stories of the Merchant and the Genius (Scott, vol. i. p. 36); the Porter and the Ladies of Zobayde, (vol. i. p. 146); the maimed youth whose thumbs had been cut off for eating garlic (vol. ii. p. 221); the Two Visiers of Egypt and Basra, and their mutual agreement for the intermarriage of their children (vol. ii. p. 115); the Hunchback, with the included

tales (vol. ii. p. 205), are instances, out of many others, of the Arabic style of composition, and machinery. The tales of the *Kalendars*, (vol. i. p. 185), of *Sindbad* (vol. ii. p. 1), and many others of a similar kind, distinguished more by variety of incident than by splendour of description, seem to be from Persian sources; they may possibly have formed part of those fictions brought among the children of the Desert by the Persian merchants, of which Mohammed complained so bitterly, as withdrawing the attention of his disciples from the doctrines of the Koran; and which the same disciples did not hesitate in some instances openly to prefer to that *chef-d'œuvre* of Musulman eloquence. One story, not found in the popular translations, and which Mr. Lane dismisses with a slight remark in his notes, (note 1, p. 604), seems to have been written under Turkish domination, as it contains some curious descriptions of warfare with the Greek emperors, and incursions into their country. We shall notice this story, (the Tale of *Sharrakan*), more fully in the sequel.

The ideas of Eastern fiction entertained by those who have formed their judgment solely upon European materials, seeing, so to speak, the east through western spectacles, are naturally enough limited, and as naturally often inaccurate. And as this class of readers comprehends by much the larger portion of the reading and criticizing body, both in England and on the Continent, it follows that this charming section of the fairy land of fiction is as yet very imperfectly known. The times are still recent when Galland's version of the *Thousand and One Nights* first intoxicated the imagination of Europe—and still more recent are the days when the authenticity of a professed translation of another work of fiction,* was a vexed question even amongst men of some pretence to scholarship. It is amusing enough *now* to see how a former generation of authors “turned a Persian tale for half a crown,” as like to their professed object of imitation, as the figures of Mexican-picture writing to the frescos of Herculaneum and Pompeii: yet, even at this day, a full account of the machinery of such stories, as written by eastern hands and told to eastern ears, would contain many points of information new and interesting to the most diligent student of the Oriental languages and literature. Some general sketch, however, of Arabic and Persian superstitions will not perhaps be thought an unapt introduction to remarks upon the proper subject of this article.

* The *Bahari Danish*, translated by Colonel Dow, and subsequently by Jonathan Scott.

The Arabic mythology appears to be very similar to that of the Jewish fables of the Talmud, and other works including specimens of imaginative writing; and much of it has probably been *redeemed* from the systems of Pagan Arabia;—we say *redeemed*, because the present system forms a legitimate part of the creed of the true Moslem, who believes in Ginns, Ghoules, and Afrits, as he does in Mohammed and the Koran. Iblis himself, or Satan, the Mohammedans hold to be a fallen angel; and they explain his fall as resulting from pride. He was taken they say by the Almighty to see the body of Adam whilst it was yet only unanimated clay, undergoing its forty years' period of hardening in a valley near Mecca, and was required by his Lord to do obeisance to it. This, they say the proud spirit refused, and manifested his rebellion by spurning the image with his foot till it rang again. Iblis appears occasionally in Mohammedan fictions, but by no means so frequently as his subjects, the rebellious spirits of lower grade. The Ginns are beings created from fire, and possessing, by virtue of this primal material, a more pure and subtle organisation than man, who is formed of the dust of the earth. Like the men of this world, they are divided into believers (in the Mohammedan religion, that is) and infidels: they are governed by kings, who are represented as ruling by visiers, and gathering tribute, making war and peace, giving and receiving in marriage, and performing in short all the duties devolving upon their royal brethren of the earth.

The residence of the innumerable beings included under the common name of Ginns, is described as being in the mountains of Kaf,—seven immense ranges, which, including each the other, form as many concentric circles of huge hills surrounding the globe. Their stature, their powers, their numbers, extent of territory, and the magnificence of their sovereigns, are all described as being immense; and not unfrequently the tinsel tissue of an eastern story brightens into something like the pure gold of a poetical imagination, in the description of the doings of these exalted beings. One instance among others seemed to us, when we found it, almost as magnificent as anything Milton could have imagined. Two armies of ginns are described as conflicting—and the author leaves all painting of incidents, to tell us, that the field looked “like the breakers of a sea of fire.” In general, however, in these writings, true sublimity as well as true pathos are overwhelmed under a cloud of words—by no means “winged” ones.

The Afrit is another supernatural being, of a rank below that of the Ginn; a sort of hewer of wood and drawer of water to his more fiery fellows. These beings are generally described as frightful in shape, and enormous in stature; and are usually employed as the immediate agents when a "son of Adam" is to receive help from superior beings. At one time, they are the ready horses who carry the true believer over a six months' journey in the space of one night; at another, a disguised prince is provided with a cortège of them, metamorphosed into camels, to complete his equipment as a merchant. It is by their agency, that magic palaces are built, as in the story of Aladdin; or offenders cast into the sea, as in the tale of Zobaydah and her sisters. Labouring perforce under the commands of beings superior to themselves, they are generally represented as doing so without anything like good-will, and taking advantage of any informality in the performance of the necessary ceremonies by their temporary human masters, to indulge their spleen against them. Thus in one story the hero is told, that he will be carried by the Afrit so high that he will see the stars in their courses, each carrying a spear in his hand, and all of them singing the praises of God;—but he is bidden to beware of joining in their hymns, and thereby intermitting the prayer his protector has taught him, the continual repetition of which alone can save him from the malignity of his grisly bearer. Forgetting this advice, he is instantly dismounted, and suffers a fall as portentous as the classical descent of Vulcan into Lemnos.

The Ghoule is altogether a meaner object of fear; a very earthy kind of spirit, who feeds upon dead bodies, and sometimes upon living ones; is often of gigantic stature, and always of monstrous shape. These creatures, say the voracious Moslems, inhabit desert places and old ruins, and make prey of unwary travellers. We have fancied this order of supernatural beings to be allied to the Sanscrit Vétála—a creature which, besides answering very much to the above description, animates also at times a dead body, thus forming a counterpart to the frightful European fiction the vampire. This tracing of analogies, however, is a precarious labour; and has been carried, we cannot help thinking, abundantly further than just principles of investigation can warrant. We shall crave permission, however, in the course of this dissertation, to recur to some ascertained analogies between the Arabic and Sanscrit fictions, and to others which are presumed to be such.

The Persian mythology, as far as its nature can be ascertained from the wrecks of it, which subsist in the modern language and literature, bore some resemblance to the system which we have just been describing. The Dív is a being something like the Ginn—capable, like him, of belief and unbelief in the mission of Mohammed, (who, according to his disciples, was sent for the benefit of all rational beings,) but leaning more in his nature to the devil than to the angel. They are mentioned continually in the Sháh Námeḥ of Ferdúsi,* as the opponents of the Persian heroes; and certain acute guessers have suggested, that under their uncouth semblance are depicted the northern or Tartar tribes, whose incursions vexed the earlier Persian monarchs. The conjecture is ingenious, and may be in some measure true; but this superstition is probably a branch of an ancient and extended system, of which the remains are better preserved in India, than in the country west of the Indus. To Persian superstition belong the elegant Peris,—a name which is apt to suggest the European terms of *fairy*, *fée*, and *fata*. The Peris are not exclusively female, as some writers on this subject have asserted; though such as come into play in the machinery of a popular story are usually of the gentle sex. A frequent and elegantly-imagined incident in these stories, is told somewhat after the following fashion. A young man is fêted in a splendid palace, and with all the delights of flowers and wine, jewels surpassing the treasures of all the monarchs of the earth, and damsels fairer than the moon. His host is called away, to do homage perhaps to a superior in a distant region of the kaf we have just mentioned, and leaves his guest with the fatal charge to abstain from opening the door of one certain pavilion. This door, according to the strain of similar European fictions, he, of course, unlocks, generally on the last day of his term of probation; and finds gardens and bowers more beautiful than all he has hitherto known. Before his waking eyes glance forms, or his sleeping ear is moved by voices, of peri damsels, disporting themselves under the figure of birds; and at length putting off their plumage, and appearing in their natural forms, human in shape, but far more than human in loveliness.

* Copies of this work—an immense fabulous chronicle of Persia, consisting of about sixty thousand couplets—are not uncommon. There are several, richly illuminated with drawings and other ornaments, in the library of the East India Company, as well as in that of the British Museum; and from these drawings there is ample opportunity of forming a conception of the Dîvs above-mentioned, as well as of many other things “in heaven and earth” which the wildest philosophy of the West never dreamt of.

Whilst the peri damsels are bathing, he seizes the feather garments of one of them, usually the youngest, and by right of her birth the most beautiful, and thus retains possession of the owner. Then the pair are described as living happily and lovingly together, till the wife by some accident discovers the hidden masquerade dress, the loss of which first subjected her to the power of a mortal. Re-assuming, with the investiture of this disguise, her original feelings, and her old affections awakening, she seeks her paternal seat, and the disconsolate husband finds a deserted hearth. Sometimes he is described as going in search of, and braving all manner of danger to find her—or we are told, that he pines away to a hopeless old age for her loss—and the narrator, in one instance using the very words of an old English story of royal sorrow, declares that he “never smiled again.” The prohibition to unlock a certain chamber may remind the reader of Bluebeard’s chamber of horrors—the idea of a supernatural being retained by a mortal possessing part of her dress, we have somewhere seen, as forming part of an Irish popular story : the bride was a sea-maiden, if we remember rightly. The story we have sketched may be found in the *Mille et une Nuits*, translated into French by Trébutien (vol. ii. p. 182), from a German translation of a French version, of some additional stories, made from the Arabic by Von Hammer : and which French version was lost on its passage to England, as the second French translator explains in his preface. An analysis of a similar story is given in the *Asiatic Journal* (No. cxii. p. 259), with copious extracts; and there is yet another version of it in the *Char Durwish*, or *Tales of Four Dervishes*, of which an English translation has been printed at Calcutta.

The famous Rokh of the story of Sindbad, claims some attention in a review of the machinery of the oriental fictions. He seems nearly related to a certain volatile—the monarch of the feathered tribes, more commonly known by the name of the 'Anka in Arabic, and by that of the Simorg in Persian. In manuscripts of the latter language, he is represented very much like a cock, with most magnificent tail plumage, and of enormous size. Arabic manuscripts are seldom found with any other embellishments than arabesques, so that we cannot refer to any authority for an Arabic portrait. The Simorg is represented in a Persian story* as undertaking to thwart the decrees of Divine predestination, as declared by King

* Manuscript in the East India Company's library, No. 1255.

Solomon with regard to two infants, who, he declared, in process of time should be united in marriage. The story is long and amusing; but the result is, that the two lovers are brought together by the very precautions of the 'Anka to separate them, and the latter is put to shame before all the court of King Solomon by the most demonstrative evidence of his failure. The manuscript is curiously illuminated, and in many respects worth attention.

This same imagination of the 'Anka furnishes another instance of an apparent derivation from Indian sources. It has been supposed, as we think with great probability, that this enormous bird is no other than the gigantic Garuda, the *vahan*, or vehicle, of Vishnu, as the eagle is the messenger of the Grecian Jupiter; but before whom all the terrors of his classical rival fade into insignificance. Garuda, say the Indian mythologists, was born from one of two eggs produced by Vinátá, the wife of the sage Casyapa; from the other was hatched Aruna, the beautiful but maimed charioteer of the sun. Garuda, from his birth, was the inveterate and dreaded enemy of the serpents—he is king of all flying things—and is sometimes represented as a beautiful youth, having the beak and wings of an eagle. In one episode of the *Mahábárata*, he is represented as taking up in one claw a tortoise, and in the other an elephant, each of them eight miles long, and devouring them both as soon as he could find a mountain large enough to rest upon. The Arabs have disfigured the splendour of this stolen image (supposing it to be stolen), as they have certainly done in other instances where the theft is more apparent.

The oriental notions of magic are curious, but simple; as far, at least, as they can be collected from their fictions. The power of a malignant magician is usually represented as being shown in transforming the object of his malice into some mean or unclean animal; of this we need not quote instances, as every one who has read the *Arabian Nights* must remember many. Sometimes, but more rarely, a branch of the art is alluded to, similar to the *glamour* of the old Scottish superstition, or the *máyá* of the Indian creed;—the power of causing one object to impress the senses with the idea of another, without being actually changed in its proper substance. There is also a sort of *white* or lawful magic, practised for benevolent purposes; a distinction which the European superstitions also acknowledge. This is often represented as being practised by a true believer—very frequently a woman—but the darker art is usually the employment of a Guebre, or fire-

worshipper—a Christian, or a Jew. It is worth noticing, that the villainous parts of a story are very frequently *cast* for one of the two latter obnoxious creeds. In the romance of *Hatim Tai*, a magician is mentioned, who had made for himself a fictitious world underground, and an imitative heaven,—the spheres of which, by the power of his art, were made to move in the same manner as those of the natural world. The end of all these meddlers with unlawful science is usually the same. They are slain by some chivalrous hero, whose road they have crossed; and the narrator dismisses them with the most emphatic form of the usual execration upon a slain Christian, or Jew,—“God sped his soul into the fire.” Some further peculiarities in the machinery of the stories we are considering, which cannot very properly be brought under the head of superstitions, will be noticed in speaking of the *Arabian Nights*, to which it is now full time for us to return.

The first European version of these stories, we need hardly inform our readers, was the French one by Galland; this version it has become of late years very fashionable to decry, as being incorrect and defective. Defective it certainly is, if by that term it be meant that it does not contain *all* the stories passing under the name of the Thousand and One Nights; but this is a defect which probably no translator of this day *could* remove if he would, or *would* if he could. The eastern *raconteur* does not tell his tales either for boys or virgins; at least, if he did, neither class of his auditors would be benefited by his narrations. Much picking of steps is necessary in making way through these otherwise delightful fictions; and many a story have we met with in manuscript collections, which no alteration or suppression could render fit to appear in print at all. This results naturally enough from the character and circumstances of the people of the East. They are men of violent passions—of little refinement—and, above all, their *women* are not generally able to read. We are, perhaps, but little aware of the salutary influence which the silent and passive censorship of the more delicate sex exercises over our literature. Galland generally omits also the verses, which are scattered, “thick as leaves in Vallombrosa,” in the original; but this we would count as a point rather in his favour than against him. Prose renderings of verse, from Macpherson’s *Ossian* down to the *ordo* of a Latin poet, seem to us always to have something essential wanting to them. Rhythm is not poetry, it is true; but it has been so long wedded to it, that the separation is too like a divorce to

please us. Mr. Torrens, of whose recent translation one volume has reached England, has translated the poetry of his text into elegant English verse, and the effect in improving his version is great. We could forgive him many faults in consideration of it; and one great one, we think, there is to be forgiven:—but we shall come to him in time—*commençons par le commencement.*

Several English versions have appeared since the translation by Galland, most of them being founded upon his text. None of these claim any great attention, till we come to the version of Dr. Scott, which was not altogether made from the French, but corrected immediately from the Arabic, and which contains, beside five volumes in octavo of the old stories, a sixth composed entirely of new ones, selected from a large MS. which is now, we believe, in the Bodleian library at Oxford. Dr. Scott gives as his reason for supplying so small an addition to the existing translation, the impossibility of putting many of the new stories into a readable form.

During the time of the occupation of Egypt by the French army under Buonaparte, the German orientalist, Von Hammer, (since that time author and translator of many works of importance connected with eastern literature), made the acquisition of a copy of the *Arabian Nights*, more extensive than any which had hitherto served as the basis of a European version. From this he translated a great number of additional stories, which, on his return from Egypt, he despatched to be printed in London. By some mischance, this package was lost,* so that we have nothing of this learned scholar's work but a translation into French, by M. Trébutien, made, as it would appear, from a German version of Von Hammer's French translation. This forms three good-sized octavo volumes, and the stories are many of them exceedingly interesting, differing considerably in character, as well as in incident, from those of the old translation. Some incidents and plots in these additional stories we may perhaps be forgiven for quoting, especially as this may fall into the hands of readers who have never been tempted to open Trébutien's volumes.

One of the most remarkable of these tales, for the wildness of imagination displayed in it, and the *bizarrerie* of many of the incidents, is that entitled *The Story of Jamasp,† and the*

* Trébutien, Avertissement, Pref. p. iv.

† We shall alter the French spelling of Oriental names to the English standard throughout this article. This is mentioned to avoid confusion in referring to the original. It has long been the crying sin of English writers on Eastern biography, &c.—that they have taken the spelling of proper names as they found them,

Queen of the Serpents. The prophet Daniel, says this story, (Trébutien, vol. i. p. 142) was learned in all sciences, natural and occult, and had made a digest of his knowledge in a book which was one day struck from his hands by the angel Gabriel, while he was reading it on the banks of the Jihon. The whole perished in the waters except five leaves, which Daniel left at his death to his son Jamasp. The young man, as it appeared, inherited nothing else of his father's wisdom; and for a long time supported his mother by cutting and selling wood; till one day he discovers a sort of tank, covered by a stone and full of honey; of this he and his companions make prize, and having sold the whole, they leave him shut up in the cavity, lest he should claim his part of the proceeds. In this dungeon, he finds a hole whence a scorpion had dropped on his clothes; and enlarging this with his wood-cutter's axe, makes his way at last into an immense hall, the splendour of which dazzles his eyes, and which is set round with thrones, each occupied by an immense serpent. One of the innumerable crowd of these reptiles comes towards Jamasp, bearing on his head a dish, in which is a smaller serpent; and this latter, who has the face of a beautiful woman, is the queen of the serpents. By her, Jamasp is hospitably entertained, but to his great dismay he is told, that he is many years' journey distant from his home. How he came so far by making a hole in the rock with his axe, we are not told. The whole tale is one too purely imaginative to admit of being deteriorated by calculation.

In compassion to the distress of her guest, the queen proposes to entertain him with a story, and tells him the adventures of a certain Beloukia, who living before the times of Mohammed, and having heard of his future coming, is seized with a longing desire to see his face: for the Mohammedans hold that their prophet was pre-existent to the creation of the world, and that for his sake it was mainly created. The dangers and escapes of Beloukia, in some of which the queen herself has been involved, are varied and marvellous, but the chief point of interest to a western reader is, that this story, and that of Jamasp, of which it forms a part, admirably illustrate the Moslem ideas of the unseen world. Jamasp himself, who has testified during the queen's narration an impatience which does no honour either to his taste for the marvellous or his

whether in French, Italian, German, or Spanish works. Thus we find the epithet of the famous Haroun Al Rashid, spelt Rachid, Raxid, Raschid, and Rascid. An hour's study of the orthoepic systems of the languages we have mentioned, would do much towards removing this blot on our English literature.

gallantry, is at length suffered to depart, though not without great reluctance on the part of his hostess, who prophecies evil to herself from his return; and after passing through as many and strange adventures as the above-named Beloukia, he returns to his home. Here he finds that the king of the country is afflicted with an obstinate disease, and the visir learning that he has seen the queen of the serpents, and has the means of bringing her upon the earth, requires of him to do so. The unhappy queen, thus brought into the hands of the visir, informs Jamasp, privately, that he will be required by him to slay her and cut her in pieces; but this he is to refuse, and leave it to be done by his adviser: the latter will then, she tells him, boil her flesh, and fill two cups with the liquids, giving him (Jamasp) the first to drink: he is to change this adroitly for the second, and to give the first to the visir: when all this has been done, the visir, drinking the first cup, falls down dead, and his body swells to an enormous size. Jamasp drinks the second with some hesitation, and finds himself inspired with the knowledge of all *lawful* sciences,* and discovers that the leaves left him by his father contain an abstract of these sciences, and that the lost leaves included an abridgment of the vain and occult acquirements, which puff up mankind without making them truly learned, and whose fatal effect had been typified by the perdition of the visir. The king is cured by eating of the flesh.

Next to this story we would place that of *Ajib and Gharib* (Trébutien, vol. i. p. 318), not because, according to our author, it contains a bitter satire upon the Mohammedan religion, and the summary process employed by its votaries in making converts;—for extravagant as the incidents of this kind are, they by no means surpass others which are told in graver works, and with evident good faith. The real curiosity of this story consists in its being almost a counterpart of the chivalresque romances of the Italian language, of which the *Orlando Furioso* is so charming a specimen. Ajib is a tyrant prince,

* This incident is evidently founded on a magian *myth*, quoted by Anquetil du Perron (*Zendavesta*, Tome premier, seconde partie, p. 40).—The king Gushtasp promises to Zoroaster to embrace his religion, if the prophet will procure for him the accomplishment of four wishes—that he shall see his future abode in paradise—that his body shall be invulnerable—that he may have the knowledge of the future, and know exactly the state of the universe—and that his soul may rest in his body till the day of resurrection.—These wishes are granted, but to different persons—Gushtasp is indulged with the vision of paradise—his son Pashútan is made immortal—his minister Jamasp receives the knowledge of all sciences and of the future by drinking the milk of a sacrifice—and his son Espendiar or Isfendiyar becomes invulnerable; he is known in Persian romance by the name of *Rouin tan*, or brazen-body.

who has ordered his mother to be slain, to obviate the consequences of a dream, which was interpreted to mean that he should himself be slain by his younger brother, as yet unborn; the queen, however, is saved, to give birth to a son, Gharib, the future hero of the story; who being converted to Islam, goes about like a knight-errant in a western story, conquering, and slaying, and triumphing over all opposition. To render the parallel we have just been making more striking, he conquers and converts a giant, who afterwards constantly accompanies him, and is of the greatest assistance to him in his wars—another version, in short, of *Morgante Maggiore*, immortalized by Pulci. The young hero encounters host after host of pagans; the giant meets armies single-handed and (we are sorry to say it for the sake of his new religion) roasts and eats his prisoners; the soldiers of Gharib increase in fame and the terror which they inspire; until at length the young hero and his companion are caught up by two Máreds (rebellious Ginns) and carried into Ginnistán, the land of these supernatural enemies. Some of these our hero converts to the true faith; others he fights and vanquishes by the assistance of a sword of “mickle fame;” the weapon of Yafeth, son of Nouh, (Japhet, son of Noah,) which like the sword of Michael, is “so tempered—that neither keen nor solid may resist its edge.” At length, having conquered all his enemies, slain his unnatural brother, and carried the fame of his prowess beyond the world of mortals,—instead of weeping, like Alexander, that there were no more worlds to conquer (he had indeed less need to do so)—he takes the sage advice of Alexander’s minstrel, and

“As the world was worth his winning
Deigns to think it worth enjoying.”—

He marries three princesses, who have been successively happy enough to attract his affection, and lives out with them a long and prosperous term of life. This story, as well as that of Jamasp, is sometimes found in a separate form,* and we suspect they are both of them special favourites with oriental readers and listeners.

The story of the *Brazen City* (Trébutien, vol. i. p. 258), is another of these chosen favourites, and occurs also in a separate form in the Rich collection. The leading incident is similar to that of the fisherman’s tale in the old version,—the finding of jars in which are sealed up the spirits who rebelled against the prophet Solomon. An incident in the fabulous life of Virgil, as

* History of the prophet Daniel and Jamasp; additional MSS. in the British Museum, No. 7412.

current in the middle ages, similar to that of the enlargement and recapture of the Ginn in the fisherman's story, is familiar to most readers, from its quotation by Sir Walter Scott in the notes to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*.*

The story of *Ali the Jeweller and his son Hassan*, (Trébutien, i. p. 69), is a tale of a man passing a night in an enchanted house, and coming thereby at the knowledge of a hidden treasure. There is a popular German story very much in the same style. In the Arabic, the destined finder is discovered by his bidding the spirits come up to him, when bidden by the spirits to come down to them: in the German, the watcher has his beard and head shaved, and comprehends that he is to perform the same service for his ghostly barber. The tale of *Sittal Badour and Ibn al Mansour*, (Trébutien, vol. i. p. 30), is a pretty story of jealousy between two lovers, more delicately told than most narrations of a similar kind that we have happened to meet with. A fragment of this story occurs in a MS. in the Hon. East India Company's library (No. 444, fol. 126). *Alishár and Smaragdine* (Trébutien, vol. i. p. 1) is an account of two lovers separated by the machinations of three Christians. Smaragdine, the lady, disguised as a man, passes through many adventures, and at last is made king of a certain country, in accordance with a resolution taken by the inhabitants, that they will elect the first man they meet upon a certain road. In this capacity, she takes measures for recovering her husband, Alishár, in which she is finally successful, but not until she has laid hands upon each of the three Christian traitors, flayed them alive, and nailed up their skins at a public feast; after which, says our honest chronicler—if indeed the words be not his translator's only—"they fell upon the feast with an excellent appetite." One of the Arabic words for an executioner (jellád) certainly means "the flayer," from which we may conclude, that this horrible punishment is not unknown or even unusual in Mohammedan countries. *Jouder*, (Trébutien, vol. i. p. 287), is a story of three Mogrebins, who dive in the lake of Karoun, in Egypt, for a talisman whereby they may obtain the seal of Solomon. There is an enchanted bag in this tale out, of which the possessor takes every thing he wishes for—a fellow-talisman to the purse of Fortunatus. Jouder, the fisherman who is employed by the successful Mogrebin to procure for him the seal of Solomon, meets with all sorts of phantoms, appealing at first to his fears and at last to his modesty and filial duty, but is at length successful. There is an escapade of the Khalif Haroun Al Rashid in the story of *Khalif the fisherman, and the Khalif fish-*

* Note 1, ante VI.

erman, (Trébutien, vol. ii. p. 285), in the course of which we have one item of Haroun's portrait—his mouth was small and his cheeks puffed out, for which reason the fisherman calls him "trumpeter." The story is not unlike the English ballad of "The King and the Tanner." The Arabic original is given in Habicht's edition of the *Nights*.

We have thus gone through what seem to us the most worthy of note amongst the stories of this translation. We should not omit to state, however, that there is a long and able critical preface, wherein, along with other matter, is discussed the question which has recently been revived—who was the author of the *Arabian Nights*? We think this question might have been put at rest at least, though not answered, by a comparison between two copies of the *Nights*—which may now be made by the English reader, as more than that number of translations now exist, (Trébutien's retranslation having been again translated).* He will find that, while the plots and general incidents of a tale in the two versions remain the same, the words continually differ, about in that degree of variance which might be expected if a narrative had been written down in small portions from memory. The Arabic student is well aware that the arrangement, the number, the nature and length of the stories, differ in different copies—that those made at Cairo exhibit the manners of the Egyptians, and those written at Bagdad, picture the customs of Mesopotamia and Syria;—that, in short, there is every mark that these tales have been considered a sort of public property, which might be altered, rearranged, or interpolated at will; and it is some proof how much these stories are adapted to eastern tastes, that the collections always contain certain stories unaltered in their general form. And now the question stands in a fit form to be answered by another. Who wrote Cinderella? Blue-beard? the exquisite popular stories (Volksmärchen) of the Germans? who, in short, wrote the national tales and superstitions of any nation, or who *could* write them? Have they not grown up gradually through the darkness of barbarism and the glimmering dawn of civilization, to be the delight of the most cultivated? like a coral reef rising by slow degrees through the "dark unfathomed" waters of the sea, till it forms a basis for a very garden of loveliness. Between both the *Arabian Nights* and the stories we have just alluded to, and others in the eastern and western languages, there is a broad line drawn, inasmuch as the first class exist in a variable and the second in a permanent form. Different copies of the *Tarikkhi Iskender* (History of

* New Arabian Nights, selected by J. von Hammer, and translated into English by the Rev. G. Lamb. 3 vols. 12mo. London: 1826.

Alexander), the romance of *Hatim Tai*; the wonderful adventures of *Antar*; the story of *Al-Hakim Bimrillah*, the *Four Derwishes*, and many other approved romances, vary little more (allowing for the difference of accuracy between the copyist and the printing press) than different editions of the *Novelle* of Boccaccio, the *Morte d'Arthur*, *The Seven Champions of Christendom*, or any other work of imagination of whatever grade of excellence referred to an acknowledged author. The case of *poetical* romances, in all languages, is a very different one. Whether they have been struck out at once, by the genius of a single author, or added to by degrees by unknown emendators, they carry with them their own embalming, by which all that is worth immortalizing is preserved for ever.

Of German, Italian, modern Greek, and other versions, we have said nothing, as they are generally avowed translations from the French. The partial editions of the original, form a subject of more interest, were it only as a proof of the increasing taste for the Arabic language in Europe. The Arabic students of the last and preceding century, seem to have thought anything in the shape of a tale too frivolous for their notice, unless indeed it was connected with some graver subject. Professor White, of Oxford, had at one time the idea of printing the *Nights*; but he appears not to have got beyond twenty pages. The amusing history of *Al Nashar, the Day-Dreamer*, was printed at the end of Richardson's *Arabic Grammar*, and similar portions in other works. In 1814, appeared the first volume of an edition of the whole at Calcutta, under the patronage of the College of Fort William: an institution to which English literature owes much for its patronage of the languages of the East. This edition shared the fate of several other works of a similar kind printed at the metropolis of British India. It was left incomplete, not having been carried beyond the second volume. These two volumes were admirably edited by the learned superior of the Arabic department of the college, Shuekh Ahmud Bin Moohummud, (as the name is quaintly spelt on the Indo-Arabo-Anglo system of *cacography*)—the Arabic is supplied with points in all cases where the simplest rules of writing and reading the language do not render them unnecessary; and there is but one fault to be found with the work, which we are sorry to say runs through almost all the Arabic and Persian printing of the Calcutta press—the bad spacing: even the splendid quarto edition just publishing, of which we shall have to notice one volume shortly, is not free from this defect—an eye-sore only

* Schnurrer Bibliotheca Arabica, § 420, p. 487.

to the more advanced student, but a heavy trouble to the learner, as we can well remember.

In 1825, Dr. Maximilian Habicht commenced the publication of an Arabic edition of the *Arabian Nights*, from an African manuscript, which was completed in eight volumes. This forms a neat work, and contains many new stories, but the style, say the critical, is vulgar. It certainly approaches closely to the colloquial, and there are some familiar abbreviations and phrases which would frighten a purist from his propriety. This however in one point of view is an advantage, as it furnishes good practice for the reader who may be required to exercise his talents upon the amenities of modern Arabic, as exemplified in letters of advice, orders for muskets, thanks from the Imám of Muscat for a pair of glass lustres, and so forth. In sober truth, the spoken, and the *familiarly* written, Arabic of the present day, differs so much from the classical style, that he who wrote only the one would be unintelligible to him who was acquainted only with the other. The story of *Sindbad* was published in a small pocket volume, along with another entitled the *Wiles of Women*, both of them with a French translation, by Caussin de Perceval;—and this brings us up to the last, and, in respect of extent at least, the best edition; of which one volume, and half a volume of translation was published in 1839—we mean that the translation reaches to about the middle of the Arabic volume. The Arabic contains the usual introduction—the Merchant and the Ginn, with the tales of the Three Old Men.—The story of the Fisherman, the Ginn in the jar, and the Enchanted subjects of the King of the Black Islands—the Porter and the Ladies, with the History of the Calenders and that of the Ladies and the Black Bitches—the Murdered Girl found in the Tigris—the Three Apples, and Ja'far's tale of the Vizirs of Cairo and Basrah—the story of the Hunchback, including those of the Christian, the Jew, the Devotee, the Barbar and his brothers—the story of Nureddin Ali and the Fair Persian—the history of Gánim Bin Ayúb—the story of Sharrakan and his Brother, including the tale of Taj ol Molúk, which is nearly the same as one in the translation of Trébutien,—some fables nearly resembling those translated by Mr. Lane—the story of Abul Hassan, and Ali Bin Bak-kár, with the Fair Shamsannihár—and the history of Kama-ralzamán and his two sons Amjad and As'ad, as far as the accusation of the two princes by their mothers. Mr. Torrens' version reaches into the beginning of the tale of Sharrakán, which is very long: thus he has, as yet, very little which

Again, this description of a bride—

“ She came apparelled in a vest of blue
That mocked the skies and shamed their azure hue,
I thought thus clad she burst upon my sight
Like summer sunshine on a wintry night.”—p. 217.

Here is a little variety—lines in praise of the speaker's native land, often a theme of tender and impassioned eloquence in Eastern stories—

“ Could I quit Egypt and her pleasant ways
What place could e'er I covet after it?
Or leave a home all foreign lands admit
Most sweet—whose very perfume speaks her praise.
How! while her loveliness a heaven displays
With pillowy banks spread wide and gardens exquisite:
She satiates heart and eye—for joys most fit
Are centred there, for grave alike or gay
Or brethren true united 'neath His sway,
Biding in bowers where all delights conjoin.
O men of Cairo, if I must away,
Confirm our bonds of love, our ties of union join,
But speak not of her to the winds, lest they
The odour of her groves for lands like her purloin.”

pp. 293-4.

The following exemplifies the extravagant ill wishes of a lover against a rival of his beloved.

“ The umpire would for her decide
Should Izzuh dare the sun's bright pride
In beauty to outstrip her.
The girls who'd ill of Izzuh speak
To me—heaven make those maidens' cheek
The soling of her slipper.”—p. 473.

One more quotation, in proof that the Arab poets are as skilful as those of the west, from Anacreon down to the last “ woful ballad to a mistress' eyebrow,” in minute and fanciful description of female beauty.

“ He from her neck, my rival bold,
Plucked pearls alternate set with gold,
Fruits of the collar's twisted fold.
Water o'er silver ingot shed
Her eyeballs are, and roses spread
O'er face of chrysolite their red.
The violet's hue will best supply
The liquid azure of her eye
Mix'd with the unguent's mineral dye.”—p. 474.

The “ unguent's mineral dye” is the kohl or impalpable

powder of antimony, used by ladies in the East to tinge the edge of the eye-lid, a process which is described as imparting to the countenance an indescribable mixture of piquancy and languid voluptuousness. This is what is meant in the account of the death of Jezebel, where we are told that she had "painted her face."

After poetry it is hardly fair to quote prose, especially as we have some quarrel with Mr. Torrens for a fault which appears too often in his unfettered numbers. This is a continual and needless imitation of the Arabic idiom—a little of which, perhaps, gives a certain pleasing quaintness to the style of such a work as the present—but which, carried out as it is into a close imitation of the peculiarities and poverties of Arabic, grows at length to be something more than wearisome. Thus "she sat upon the dais, and it was of cedar"—"the Jew's tale, and it is the story of the young man of Moussol." The translations are here so close, that, omitting the substantive verb in each case they might be rendered word by word into the original language; but are they better English therefore; or rather, are they English at all? We should wish to see the translator, who has clearly a masterly command of language, venturing to exert it a little more. After saying so much, it is fair our author should speak for himself. We select a passage curious enough for its singular resemblance to many in the chivalrous romances of Europe. Sharrakán, we should premise, is the hero of the story, the son of a king whose metropolis was at Baghdad; and is, at the time of the extract, on his return from a march into the Greek country, whither he had been allured with his army, with the purpose on the Greek king's part of destroying them wholly. From the consequences of this treachery he has been delivered by Abrízah, the daughter of the Frank king, who gives Sharrakán notice of her father's intended perfidy. They had been followed during their retreat by a body of Frankish horsemen.—p. 490.

"Now Shurkán took note of that horseman, and lo! the horseman was their leader, clad in a blue surcoat of satin, and his face as 'twere the moon were there when it rises; and upon him a mail shirt, narrow in the links, and on his hand a sword worked in hind;* and he was mounted on a sorrel steed, on his face a white spot like a dirhem, and that Frank had no budding hair upon his countenance. Now he pressed his steed with his heel, and went on to the middle of the field and signed to the Mooslims, and he kept saying in the Arabic

* *Indian*, or damask work.

tongue well spoken, 'Ho! Shurkán! oh! son of 'Oomr Bin Na-man! Ho! thou that lordest over the fortresses and wastest the cities! away with thee for the assault, and the fight, and attack; one hath halved the battle field with thee! for thou art chief of thy party, and I am chief of my party; so whosoever of us overcomes his fellow, let his fellow's party stay beneath his sway.' Now he had not done his speech, ere Shurkán attacked him, and his heart was full of fury, and he urged his steed until he neared the Frank on the field, and closed on him like the raging lion. And the Frank encountered him on the field with wariness and steadfastness, and met him with a meeting as warriors use. So the two took to thrusts and blows, and stinted not of onset, nor retreat, nor rally, nor retiring as 'twere two mountains clashed, or two oceans dashing together; and they ceased not the fight until the day turned to set, and the night came on with clouds of darkness. Then each of them parted from his fellow and returned to his party. Now when Shurkán foregathered with his comrades, he said unto them, 'I have not seen like to this horseman ever! Truly I see an excellent trick in him, I have not seen in any except him; and this is it, that though a deadly weapon shows about his foes, he reverses his own lance and smites him with its butt end; but truly, I know not what will be the issue 'twixt him and me; and 'tis my wish that there were his like in our army and the like of his comrades.' So Shurkán went to rest. Now when the morning dawned, the Frank came forth to him, and came down into the midst of the field, and Shurkán met him. So the two took to the fight, and were prodigal of attack, and of prowess; and men's necks were thrust forth to see them, and they stinted not in onset, and in strife, and thrusting with the lance, until the day turned back, and the night came on in clouds of darkness. Then parted the twain and returned to their troop, and each of them was relating to his comrades what befel him with his fellow. Then said the Frank to his comrades, 'To-morrow will be the decision of the strife;' and they rested that night till the dawn. So the twain mounted, and each bore down on the other, and stinted not the onset till half the day was past; then after that, the Frank contrived an artifice, and he urged his steed with the heel; then checked him with the rein, so that he stumbled with him and fell with him. Then Shurkán threw himself on him, and meant to smite him with the sword in dread lest the strife should be prolonged, and the Frank shouted to him and said, 'O, Shurkán, the knights use not after this fashion, for this is the deed of the vanquished by women!' now when Shurkán heard the words of that horseman, he turned his eye upon him and fixed his gaze on him; then found he him the queen Ubreezuh, with whom that had befallen him which befel him in the convent."

The story goes on (in the Arabic text, for we have been quoting from the last page but one of the English translation) to relate how this amazon staid at the court of Baghdad, for love of Sharrakán;—how, in the absence of the latter, she was

treacherously violated by his father, and—on her flight home, to hide her shame—murdered by one of her attendants. Her betrayer is slain by the grandmother of the princess,—an old lady, who enacts the very genius of mischief through the rest of the story. Sharrakán and his younger brother, Zúlmakán, make an incursion into the Greek country, in the intention of revenging their father's death; in the course of which, Sharrakán, after performing prodigies of valour, is slain by the hag just mentioned, Zát Addawáhi. Zúlmakán retires from the walls of Constantinople, having taken, however, a vow on his soul to return to the enterprize. He has a son, Kánmakán, who reappears, after a lapse of time briefly passed over, as his father's orphan heir, thrust from his inheritance by his treacherous guardian, the hájib, or confidential minister of his late father, and who had married his aunt. The young prince goes out into the desert; and his adventures there are so picturesque, that we regret the length of this article forbids us to make any translation from them. As a plunderer, following the example of his great forefather, the outcast son of Abraham, he is abundantly successful; and returning to Baghdad, takes advantage of the popular affection, and removes the usurper from his throne. On an expedition against Constantinople, he is taken, and condemned to death: but, fortunately, it is discovered that the king of Greece, the child of queen Abrízah, born in the hour of her murder, is the uncle of the young Kánmakán, being the son of his grandfather, 'Amr Annamán. The winding-up of the piece is distinguished by the punishment of the murderous Zát Addawáhi, who, with much regard to poetical justice, is impaled without the walls of Baghdad.

These two works—the Arabic original, and Mr. Torrens' translation—are an inestimable present to the Arabic student, especially to the tyro who is making his toilsome way through the voluminous rudiments of this charming language alone. To such a one they will supply an excellent text-book, and an ever-ready help in the case of a difficult construction, or an uncommon word. It would be unfair and absurd to bring this translation into comparison with that of Mr. Lane, which we now proceed to notice;—for, indeed, their merits, very great on both sides, are of different kinds. Mr. Lane has brought to the translation the requisites of a thorough acquaintance with the language of the original,—an elegant English style,—and a long familiarity with Arabic manners, as exhibited in a part of the world where they are seen to great advantage.

But one advantage this last-named translator has secured over all who have ever tried the same task, which it is no injustice to say will be appreciated by thousands who will not take the trouble to judge whether the translation is faithful, or the reverse:—we mean the splendid wood-cuts, sufficient of themselves to redeem even an indifferent translation, and all but telling the story without the aid of the letter-press. *Non cuivis contingit adire Corinthum*: it is not the lot of every man to see, as Mr. Lane has done, with his own eyes, the streets of Cairo,—to mingle in her feasts,—to walk side by side with the sacred camel,—and to marvel over an ocular inspection of the wonders of the “inky” magic. The illustrations to his beautiful book all but place the reality bodily before us, with a vividness and distinctness which all the description in the world could never reach; and thus they serve a much more important purpose than merely to render intelligible a series of tales;—no despicable service that, though, by the by. Much of the merit of these illustrations must rest, too, with the author of the translation: for if his own fingers did not trace the design, and carve the block, his own elegant and accurate taste, we take it, selected the illuminations whence these gems are copied and altered, from the rich and bewildering stores of our public libraries of oriental manuscripts;—the British Museum, for instance, and the India House. The plates, too, are scattered with no niggardly hand, but showered, as it were, in a rain of beauty throughout the whole work;—head-pieces, tail-pieces, and marginal illustrations. We cannot quote *them*; and we regret this the less, that few of our readers probably have not by this time turned over the leaves of the work.

The notes are notes after our own heart,—terse, clear, and judicious; such as may either be read for amusement in an idle mood, or referred to with advantage in a studious one. They are thickly interspersed, too, with anecdotes, and with allusions to the author's own personal experiences, which we need not say add greatly to their effect. We must make room for one extract from the text, both as a sample of the whole work, and as a whimsical story, which does not appear in the old translation. It is entitled “The Story of the Slave Kafoor.”

“Know, O my brothers, that I was at the commencement of my career a boy of eight years, and I used to tell one lie to the slave merchants every year, so that they fell out with each other in consequence; and the slave merchant, my aster, becoming impatient of

me, committed me to the broker, desiring him to cry, Who will buy this slave with his fault? He was therefore asked, What is his fault?—and answered, He telleth one lie every year. And a merchant approached the broker, and said to him, How much have they bidden for this slave with his fault? He answered, They have bidden six hundred pieces of silver. Then thou shalt have twenty for thyself, replied the merchant. So the broker introduced him to the slave merchant, who received from him the money; and the broker conveyed me to the dwelling of the merchant, and took his brokerage.

“The merchant clad me in a dress suitable to my condition, and I continued with him for the remainder of the year, until the new year commenced with prosperity. It was a blessed year, plenteous in the produce of the earth; and the merchants began to give entertainments, every day one taking his turn to do so, until it was my master's turn to give an entertainment in a garden within the city. So he went, and the other merchants also; and he took for them what they required of food and other provisions, and they sat eating, and drinking, and carousing till noon; when my master wanted something from the house, and said, O slave! mount the mule, and go to the house, and bring from thy mistress such a thing, and return quickly. I obeyed, therefore, and went to the house; but when I approached it I shrieked out, and shed tears; whereupon the people of the quarter assembled together, old and young; and my master's wife and daughters, hearing my cry, opened the door and asked me what was the matter. I answered them, My master was sitting beneath an old wall, he and his friends, and it fell upon them; and when I beheld what happened to them, I mounted the mule and came in haste to inform you. And when his children and wife heard these words, they shrieked, and tore their clothes, and slapped their faces, and the neighbours came to them. Then my master's wife overturned the furniture of the house, one thing upon another, and pulled down its shelves, and broke its shutters and its windows, and smeared its walls with mud and indigo, and said to me, Wo to thee, O Káfoor! come hither and help me, and demolish these cupboards, and smash these vessels and this China ware. So I went to her, and destroyed with her the shelves of the house and all that was upon them, and its cupboards and what they contained, and went about over the terraces and through every place until I had laid waste the whole, crying all the while, Oh my master! My mistress then went forth, with her face uncovered, and only with her head-veil, and the girls and boys went with her, saying to me, O Káfoor! walk on before us, and shew us the place where thy master lieth dead beneath the wall, that we may take him forth from under the ruins, and carry him in a bier, and bring him to the house, and convey his corpse in a handsome manner to the burial. So I walked before them, crying, Oh my master!—and they followed me, with their faces and heads uncovered, crying, Oh our misfortune!—Oh our calamity!—and there was none among the men, nor among the women, nor among the children, nor a

maiden, nor an old woman (in the quarter), who did not accompany us ; and all of them slapped themselves in the excess of their lamentation. Thus I went with them through the city ; and the people asking the news, they informed them of that which they had heard from me ; and the people exclaimed, There is no strength nor power but in God ! the High ! the Great ! We will go to the wálee, and acquaint him. And when they arrived before the wálee, they informed him ; and he mounted and took with him labourers with axes and baskets, and they followed my footsteps, accompanied by a crowd of people.

“ I preceded them, weeping and crying out, and throwing dust upon my head, and slapping my face ; and when I came to the party in the garden, and my master beheld me, I slapped my face, and exclaimed, O my mistress ! who will have pity upon me after my mistress ! would that I had been her sacrifice ! When my master therefore saw me he was confounded, his countenance became pale, and he said, What aileth thee, O Káfoor, and what is this predicament, and what is the news ? I answered him, When thou sentest me to the house to bring thee what thou wantedst, I went thither and entered the house, and found that the wall of the saloon had fallen, and that the whole saloon had tumbled down upon my mistress and her children. And did not thy mistress, said he, escape ? I answered No, not one of them escaped ; and the first of them that died was my mistress the elder. But did my youngest daughter escape ? he asked. I answered, No. And what, said he, hath become of the mule that I ride, is she safe ? No, O my master, I answered ; for the walls of the house, and the walls of the stable, tumbled down upon all that was in the house ; even upon the sheep, and the geese, and the hens, and all of them became a mass of flesh beneath the ruins, not one of them escaped. He then said to me, And thy master the elder ? I answered, No, not one of them escaped ; and now there remain neither house nor inhabitants, nor any trace of them ; and as to the sheep, and the geese, and the hens, the cats and dogs have now eaten them. And when my master heard my words, the light became darkness before his face, and he was no longer master of his senses, nor of his reason, and was unable to stand upon his feet ; he was paralyzed, and the strength of his back failed him ; and he rent his clothes, and plucked his beard, and threw his turban from his head, and ceased not to slap his face until the blood flowed from it ; and he began to cry, Ah ! oh, my children ! Ah ! oh, my wife ! Ah ! oh, my misfortune ! Unto whom hath happened the like of that which hath happened to me ! The merchants also, his companions, joined with him in cries and lamentations, and were moved with pity for his case, and rent their clothes ; and my master went forth from the garden, beating himself for the calamity that had [as he supposed] befallen him, and redoubled the blows upon his face, seeming as though he were drunk.

“ And as the party thus went out from the gate of the garden, they

beheld a great dust, and heard tumultuous cries, and looking in that direction saw the crowd approaching them. This crowd was the wálee and his attendants, and a concourse of people who had come to gratify their curiosity; with the merchant's family behind them, shrieking, and crying with violent lamentation and excessive grief; and the first who accosted my master were his wife and children. On beholding these he was confounded, and laughed, and said to them, How are ye; and what hath happened to you in the house, and what hath befallen you? And when they saw him they exclaimed, Praise be to God for thy safety! and they threw themselves upon him; and his children clung to him, crying out, Oh, our father! Praise be to God for thy safety, O our father! And his wife said to him, Praise be to God, who hath shown us thy face in safety. And she was stupified, and her reason fled from her at that which she beheld. She then said to him, How didst thou escape, with thy friends? And how, said he, were ye in the house? We were all well, they answered; in prosperity and health, and no evil hath befallen our house, save that thy slave Káfoor came to us with his head uncovered, and his clothes rent, crying out, Oh, my master! Oh, my master! And we said to him, What is the matter, O Káfoor? And he answered, My master was sitting under a wall in the garden, and it fell upon him, and he died. By Allah! replied my master, he came to me just now, crying, Oh, my mistress! Oh, the children of my mistress! and said, My mistress and her children are all dead! He then looked aside, and seeing me, with my turban falling from my head, while I still cried out and wept violently, and threw dust upon my head, he called out to me; so I approached him, and he said to me, Wo to thee, O malevolent slave! O misbegotten wretch! O thou of accursed race! What events hast thou brought about! But, by Allah! I will strip off thy skin from thy flesh, and cut thy flesh from thy bones. By Allah, replied I, thou canst not do to me anything; for thou boughtest me with my fault, on this condition, the witnesses testifying that thou boughtest me with my fault, thou knowing it, and it was, that I was accustomed to tell one lie every year: and this is but half a lie, and when the year is complete I will tell the other half of it, so it will be an entire lie. But upon this he cried out at me, O most accursed of slaves! is this but half a lie? Nay, it is an exceeding calamity! Depart from me, for thou art free. By Allah! I replied, if thou liberate me, I will not liberate thee until the year be complete, and I tell thee the remaining half of the lie; and when I have completed it, then take me to the market, and sell me as thou boughtest me, with my fault; and liberate me not, for I have no trade by means of which to procure my subsistence. This is a legal proposition that I have stated to you, laid down by the lawyers in the chapter of emancipation. While we were thus talking, the crowd approached, with the people of the quarter, women and men, come to mourn, and the wálee with his wálee, and I acquainted him with the case, and that this was but half a lie; and when the people

who were present heard this, they were astonished at this lie, and struck with the utmost wonder; and they cursed and reviled me, while I stood laughing and saying, How can my master kill me, when he bought me with this fault?

"So when my master went to the house, he found it in a state of ruin (and it was I who destroyed the greater part, and broke in it things worth a large sum of money); and his wife said to him, It was Káfoor who broke the vessels and chinaware. Upon this his rage increased, and he exclaimed, By Allah! in my life I have never seen such a misbegotten wretch as this slave; yet he calleth it half a lie! What then would have been the result had it been a whole lie? In that case, he had destroyed a city, or two cities. Then, in the excess of his rage, he went to the wálee, who inflicted upon me a severe beating, so that I became insensible, and swooned away; after which, my master contrived means of obtaining for me a high price, and I ceased not to excite disturbances in the places into which I was sold, and was transferred from emeer to emeer, and from grandee to grandee, by sale and purchase, until I entered the palace of the Prince of the Faithful; and now my spirit is broken, and my strength hath failed."

In Mr. Lane's translation, the verses of the Arabic are rendered into prose, but prose with a cadence and grace of expression which are very poetical, and scarcely leave us room to regret the absence of the usual adjuncts of poetical composition—rhyme and measure: for example:—

"I passed by an undistinguished tomb, in the midst of a garden, with seven anemonies upon it;

And I said, Whose tomb is this? The soil answered, Be respectful, for this is the resting place of a lover.

So I said, God keep thee, O victim of love, and lodge thee in the highest stage of Paradise!

How miserable are lovers among the creation, when even their tombs are covered with vile dust!

Were I able (O tomb) I would make of thee a garden, and water it with my streaming tears!"—p. 559.

If we have any single fault to find with the talented translator, it is that he too pertinaciously, as it seems to us, dwells upon a point which is, at best, doubtful—the age when the *Arabian Nights* were written. Having, in the former part of this article, hazarded an opinion, that they were not all written at any one time, or by any one writer, we are perhaps hardly fair judges of Mr. Lane's investigations; but we were very much startled at his recourse to internal evidence, to prove the *late* date of the composition. Surely he must have known, that copies of the *Nights* vary remarkably, and that this variety

tells against the value of any internal evidence derived from detached passages. Had he adduced similar evidence in proof of an *early* date, we should have allowed it greater weight; as a work is more likely to be corrupted, accidentally or designedly, to meet *existing* customs, &c., than to agree with *obsolete* circumstances. Our author seems to have contracted that love for Egypt so beautifully described in a former quotation from Mr. Torrens' version; and this tinges, more or less, most of his criticism. This may account for a somewhat strained attempt to prove the tales of the *Thousand Nights* to be of Egyptian origin. The notoriously frequent recurrence of the name of Harún Alraschid, khalif of Baghdad, or rather *at* Baghdad, would, according to Mr. Lane's own system of trust in internal evidence, be strong presumptive proof against this.

It is, perhaps, worth while to say a few words on the orthography of proper names employed in this translation; if only for the sake of defending it against the objections of a large portion of the periodical press. Much has been said (in a good-humoured way, it is true) of *jinnée* for genius, and *wuzeer* for vizier, without considering, that if the new spelling were correct, the old was very far wide of the truth. There is certainly some uncouthness in the first appearance of new combinations of letters, and, in some instances of new letters (the dotted ones for example); but if it is better to be right than wrong, we maintain that Mr. Lane has done the public good service by his attempt to reduce the orthography of oriental names to something like a system. The name most familiar to a European ear—Mahomet—has been spelt at various times, and by different nations, in at least six different ways. It is worth while to endure a strange-looking word, to be rid of this irregularity.

There are several manuscript copies of the *Arabian Nights* in public and private libraries in England; one we have mentioned in the Bodleian library, and there are two in the British Museum.* The most interesting of these is in three volumes, containing, amongst other stories, one on the plan of the *Forty Visirs*. A young prince is accused by his father's concubine, and defended by seven visirs, each of whom relates some story in proof of the faithlessness of women; while the accuser meets each with a counter proof of the wiles of men, or of the danger of hesitation in important matters—in a king's bow-stringing his son, to wit. The good cause is triumphant at

* Add. MSS. Nos. 7404-6, and No. 7407.

last ; but in the course of the debate many anecdotes are introduced, which we had always been accustomed to consider as of Western origin. For instance, there is a parallel to Schiller's story of *Fridolin*—a tale of a fountain which changed the sex of him or her who drank at it—the story of the woman who was entrusted by four men with a purse, giving it to one of them ; and when it was pleaded that she was bound to have kept it till the *four* came for it, offering to restore it to the four, knowing that the one cannot make his appearance. Some of them are taken from the *Hitopadēsa*, or book of salutary counsel, a Sanscrit work of fables, which has probably furnished materials for more volumes than any other book of its size ever written. It has been translated into English by Sir Charles Wilkins,* and the translation is well worth the attention of any one curious in tracing the parentage of fiction. Probably far more has been borrowed from the East than we have yet any suspicion of, though every year increases the list of our ascertained obligations to that part of the world. We were no little surprised to discover the other day, in a promiscuous collection of stories, an almost *fac simile* counterpart of *Fortunatus and the Wishing Cap*.† This story consists of incidents so numerous, and having so little necessary connexion, that the resemblance cannot be accidental. But we check our humour of parallelisms, lest it should be thought we purpose to pluck the borrowed feathers from the whole *Juvenile Library*. Fiction, however, even in its most puerile form, has a certain dignity, inasmuch as it is often the production of the human mind in its least sophisticated state ; and as it tends to point out, with some plausibility, the course of the great tide of language, knowledge, and civilization. A work on fiction, embracing that of all those nations, called, not very happily, the Indo-Germanic, would be a noble present to our literature, and one which might be read with as much interest by the child as the philosopher ; but the composition of it would require a vast expense of preparatory study, and of actual research. Whenever it appears, we venture to affirm that the mental constitution of man will be better known than many and weary metaphysical dissertations have contributed to render it.

* The *Heetopades* of Veeshnoo-Sarma, by C. Wilkins, LL.D. 8vo. Bath, 1787.

† MS. in the East India Company's library, No. 810 fol. 156 recto.

ART. IV.—*Life of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, Mother of King Henry the Seventh.* By Caroline A. Halsted. London: 1839.

AMONG small matters, there are few things more offensive to a Catholic (we leave our Protestant friends to speak for themselves) than to read the life of a pious or eminent Catholic, written by a person professing another creed. We do not speak of the malignant and ferocious among the dissenters from the Church, whose ravings excite little other emotion than that of calm pity for their diseased condition,—but the more mild and tolerant writers, who, with sense enough to discern true merit, even among those whom they dislike, are yet inevitably unable to enter fully into the spirit of a character framed after a Catholic model. In reading a biography written by such a person, one's feelings are constantly outraged by the imperfect sympathy of the author with his hero, by palliations and apologies for his virtues, by praise for his vices, by deprecatory excuses for the strong points of his character, and by admiration of his weaknesses and follies. Sometimes the Catholic character is deliberately, perhaps unintentionally, misunderstood; and the hero is eulogized as superior to his age, in the practice of virtues which have been characteristic of the Church, and never received perfect development without her pale: "virtues which are exclusively found in the garden of the Church, or which only as forced exotics can be seen elsewhere."* Sometimes, as in an instance which we recently laid before our readers, a desperate attempt is made to prove that the hero was superior to his age, by virtue of an approximation to some monstrous heresy, which, through judicious training, and the artificial forcing of a modern sceptical conservatory, might, it is hoped, have ripened into a perfect plant. Often, and more particularly where the writer indulges a vehement admiration for the person whose life he records, he cannot bring himself to develop fully the peculiarities which make up his individual character; and then, instead of a portrait, you have a stiff and tiresome eulogy, which wearies by its perpetual recurrence, and which depicts nothing, and displays nothing, but the writer's own enthusiastic veneration, and at the same time his most deplorable ignorance. But if any occurrence of the super-

* *Mores Catholici*, vol. ix. p. 158.

natural or miraculous order is encountered, and can by no artifice be kept back, then comes a struggle most truly painful and heart-rending. "Confusion then hath made its masterpiece." Then is the poor Protestant too often completely bewildered. If, indeed, he be one of the shallow sceptics of the Walpole breed, he relates it with a sneer and a laugh, and gaily passes on, with unruffled self-complacency, to more pleasing ground. But your true Protestant, who earnestly desires not to be esteemed an atheist, can by no means dismiss the matter so lightly. He introduces it, perhaps, with many apologies, sheltering himself behind some great name, and devoutly begging his reader to rescue him from the "imputation of favouring superstition, or of being guilty of levity." Or he carefully records his own want of belief in it, and sets himself to show how all the parties to it may have been deceived, and have acted with the most perfect good faith in the matter; to which end he indites a goodly disquisition on the strange freaks played on the unwary by the human imagination. Or, more Protestant-like still, he declares, as before, his firm conviction in the perfect integrity of all concerned; but at the same time suggests the possibility of some one of them having all the while, with "pious fraud," been duping every one around him. Or, to take the very nearest approach to common sense one must ever hope for in these cases, the writer manfully records his own private determination, not to quarrel irreconcilably with any one who should feel inclined to avow his belief in the existence of a miracle on the occasion in question.

This imperfect sympathy, which renders the biographer unable to plunge boldly into the stream of the life he is writing, and identify himself with the thoughts and feelings of the time, causes, as might be expected, the most part of our Protestant lives of Catholics to be traced with a timid and wavering hand. The outline is almost invariably indistinct. The author, writing from no definite and distinct conviction of his own, conveys no clear and firm impression to his reader. But if this be the case, as it is more or less, even with those stirring and active characters which are apt to speak for themselves, and to announce themselves, for the most part, in language hardly to be misunderstood, even without the biographer's help, what shall we say of those who, like her whom we are now about to consider, have lived retired and unobtrusively, and whose chief praise it is, that their pure and blameless course has been marked by entire conformity to a refined and

exalted Catholic ideal? In these cases it is obvious that the failure must be even more entire. It cannot be hoped that the copyist, at once clumsy and wavering, can give more than a passing glimpse of the delicate grace and symmetry which he aspires to delineate. A complete portrait cannot reasonably be expected.

The life of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, and mother of Henry the Seventh—a perusal of whose memoirs by her latest biographer, has suggested these reflections—has been laid before the world on several occasions, and in various forms. First of all comes her renowned confessor and spiritual director, the saintly and martyred Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, whose patroness she was, and who has, in his *Mornyng Remembrance, held at the Moneth Minde of the Noble Prynces Margarete, Countesse of Richmonde and Darbye, &c. &c.* (being the funeral sermon preached soon after her decease) brought together, in a short compass, all the material traits of her character. Later writers have added incidental facts; but her life, after all, is only a sketch; and we are not aware that the inevitable meagreness of the good old bishop's funeral sermon has been supplied in any important matter by more recent investigators. Moreover, Fisher being, like herself, a Catholic, has in simple and unaffected language, without apology or misgiving of any kind, chronicled her good deeds and described her habits of life; while his narrative receives an inexpressible charm and grace, from the affectionate earnestness with which he everywhere speaks of the lady whom he loved and honoured.

In the year 1708 this sermon was reprinted by Mr. Baker, and to it was prefixed an account, (compiled from motives of gratitude to so noble a benefactress,) of her collegiate foundations, and her numerous charitable works. But this publication—though it answers its purpose, by furnishing a more complete list of the charities instituted or encouraged by her—does not throw, and indeed was not intended to throw, any new light upon her life or character.

In the year 1752, Mr. Ballard published a volume in 4to. (reprinted in 8vo. in 1775) of *Memoirs of Celebrated British Ladies*. In this work is contained an interesting and unpretending sketch of the life of the Lady Margaret, with extracts from the Bishop's sermon, and an abridged account of her benefactions from Mr. Baker's preface, with some additions from other sources. From this little narrative, Horace Walpole, in his *Memoirs of Royal and Noble Authors*, has avowedly taken the

short and unsatisfactory notice of her which is to be found in that work. "History," says Mr. Lodge, "surely has treated her rather with complaisance, than with justice: but we have lost most of the positive evidence of her merits; and the careless wit of the most accomplished and popular recorder of biographical anecdotes that our day has produced, has yet further depreciated those merits by wanton and misplaced ridicule."

The memoir given by Mr. Lodge in his *Portraits* is a fair and temperate production; but, though it affects to comprise all that is now known of her, it is (though fully adequate to the scale of the work of which it forms a part) by no means complete; and Mr. Lodge, notwithstanding what we have quoted above, has himself laid the foundation of the most serious charge that has yet been made against her,—a charge to which we shall allude hereafter. It is founded on an obvious mistake, but has yet managed to deceive the learned and acute writer whom we are next to mention.

Hartley Coleridge, in his *Biographia Borealis, or Lives of Distinguished Northerns*, has allotted a few pages to the Countess of Richmond, in a very pleasing episode to the more extended memoir of her confessor and director, the Bishop of Rochester. This clever little narrative appears to be the production of a scholar and a gentleman; but it is flippant here and there,—is not free from unintentional injustice (as we have already hinted),—and, though full of respect for the genuine worth of the countess, it is, as the writer intended, conceived in a very different spirit from that which would have pervaded a Catholic memoir.*

Last of all, comes the work of Caroline A. Halsted, which we have placed at the head of this article; and we are constrained to say, however ungallant it may be, that the lady has by no means improved on the mode of treatment adopted by her predecessors. In the first place, we may remark that the former writers who have touched on this subject—with the exception of the bishop and Mr. Baker, the author of the preface to the reprint of the sermon—have treated it merely as a fragment of some larger work, and have comprised all the information they were able to collect in a few pages:—Miss Halsted has, without any material addition to what was known before, contrived to create a goodly octavo volume.

* We might have mentioned other works, such as "Fuller's Worthies," and "Church History," which have preserved sundry little incidents of her life; but those we have described in the text are the most deserving of notice.

Everything relevant to the subject in hand might have been comprehended in forty or fifty, or, with a very liberal allowance for *garnish*, a hundred pages; but our fair authoress has contrived to extend her labours to above two hundred and sixty. In short, to bring our criticism of this book to a very brief conclusion: it is a memoir written with a very favourable feeling towards the subject of it; but that favour has induced the writer to conceal every distinguishing Catholic feature in her character which it was possible to suppress. It has been written with a good deal of real industry; but in some instances with, we are inclined to think, more appearance than reality,—the authoress *appearing* occasionally (though not to a *very* culpable extent) to quote books and manuscripts which she knows only at second-hand. And, to return to the point we started from,—the information it contains has been so diluted with irrelevant, or only partially relevant, disquisitions, reflections, and narratives, that what might have been a very amusing and sprightly little *pamphlet*, has been worn down into a feeble and tedious *book*. Again and again do we sigh for the arrival of that era in our literature, which has been announced by a distinguished living writer as its approaching golden age, in which authors will be remunerated according to the quantity which they do *not* write.

As public attention has, however, been drawn again to the character and life of Lady Margaret, we think we shall not displease our readers, if we take advantage of the appearance of Miss Halsted's work, which comes before the world with all the dignity of an "Honorary Premium awarded by the Directors of the Gresham Commemoration,"—to lay before them a short sketch, founded on the Bishop's sermon, with the addition of such other information, as the works we have described, or our own researches, have supplied us with.

Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, was born in the year 1441, and, it is supposed, at Bletshoe in Hertfordshire;* the manor of her mother, Margaret, the grand-daughter and sole heir of Sir Roger de Beauchamp, Baron of Bletshoe. Her father was John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, the grandson of old John of Gaunt, by Katherine Swynford. John Beaufort became the second husband of Margaret of Beauchamp, the widow of Sir Oliver St. John, and the issue of the marriage was one daughter, the Margaret of whom we are about to speak. The Duke of Somerset was actively engaged in the

* Ballard. Lyson's Mag. Brit. vol. i. pp. 58-9.

French wars and negotiations, but being accused of some ill-management abroad, and forbidden the court, he put an end to his own life, in the year 1444,* leaving his title to his brother, but his vast estates to his only child, the future Countess of Richmond, then an infant of three years old. She was almost immediately placed by the king, Henry VI, in ward to the all-powerful Duke of Suffolk, and her mother was soon afterwards united to a third husband, Leo, Lord Welles, with whom she seems to have lived at Bletshoe in great state.† “In her tender age,” says Dr. Fisher, Margaret Beaufort, being

“Endued with great towardness of nature, and likelihood of inheritance, many sued to have had her to marriage. The Duke of Suffolk, [Duke of Buckingham, *Ms. Col. Jo.*] which then was a man of great experience, most diligently procured to have had her for his son and heir. Of the contrary part, King Henry the Sixth did make means for Edmund his brother,‡ then Earl of Richmond. She which as then was not fully nine years old, doubtful in her mind, what she was best to do, asked counsel of an old gentlewoman, whom she much loved and trusted, which did advise her to commend herself to St. Nicholas, the patron and helper of all true maidens, and to beseech him to put in her mind what she were best to do. This counsel she followed, and made her prayer so full often, but specially that night, when she should on the morrow after make answer of her mind determinately. A marvellous thing ! The same night, as I have heard her tell many a time, as she lay in prayer, calling upon St. Nicholas, whether sleeping or waking she could not assure, but about four of the clock in the morning, one appeared unto her, arrayed like a bishop, and naming unto her, Edmund, bade take him unto her husband. And so by this mean, she did incline her mind unto Edmund, the king's brother, and Earl of Richmond, by whom she was made mother of the king, [Henry the Seventh.] So what by lineage, what by affinity, she had thirty kings and queens within the four degrees of marriage unto her ; besides Earls, Marquesses, Dukes, and Princes.”

Moreover she was royal, not only by lineage and affinity, but by her inward disposition, for the good bishop assures us, that to her parents, she “was a very daughter in all noble manners.” She was bounteous and liberal, and much averse to avarice ; singularly easy to be spoken unto, and courteous to all that came unto her. Gentle and kind to all, but especially to her own, whom she trusted and loved most tenderly ; forgetful of no kindness done to her, “which is no little part of very nobleness ;” merciful and piteous to her enemies, and the poor and miserable. Her mother, with whom a great

* Contin. Croyl. Gale, vol. i. p. 519. + Lyson, vol. i. p. 59.

‡ Edmund Tudor, his half brother.

part of her life was spent, up to her middle age, was a woman of great piety, devotion, and zeal for religion,* and thus from her earliest days she was obedient and tractable to God and His Holy Church, searching His honour and pleasure full busily. Consciousness of her high lineage, made her carefully eschew everything dishonest or ignoble, and everything frivolous; but "she would not let for any pain or labour to take upon hand, any things of weight and substance by which she might profit." "These and many other such noble conditions," says the bishop, "left unto her by her ancestors, she kept, and increased therein with a great diligence."

She was very studious in books, both in English and French. The latter language she well understood. In Latin "she had a little perceiving, especially of the Rubric of the Ordinall, for the saying of her service, which she did well understand;" but in after years, she often complained that she had not "in her youth given her to the understanding of Latin." She was also very skilful in needlework, and there is yet preserved at Bletshoe, a carpet worked with "all the arms and matches" of the family of St. John;† the same we suppose as the work mentioned by Fuller, who tells us, that king James I, on his visit to Bletshoe, used always to desire to see it. "She had, in a manner, all that was praiseable in a woman either in soul or body. She was of singular wisdom, far passing the common rate of women. She was good in remembrance, and of holding memory; a ready wit she had also, to conceive all things, albeit they were right dark." And her princely mind was lodged in a no less princely body; for "in favour, in words, in gesture, in every demeanour of herself, so great nobleness did appear, that what she spake or did, it marvelously became her."

Such is the description given, by the Bishop of Rochester, of her nature, as already manifested at the period of her betrothal. In obedience to the vision granted to her devout innocence, she became, in 1445, in her fifteenth year, the wife of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond; by whom, on the feast of St. Anne, 1456, at Pembroke, at the crag-built castle of Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, (Richmond's brother,) she became the mother of her only son, afterwards Henry the Seventh. Within four months after this joyful event, her husband died; but she soon after connected herself, by a second marriage, with Sir Henry Stafford, son of Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, with whom she lived upwards of twenty years. How-

* Hist. Croyl. Continu. circ. 1464-5.

+ Camden by Gough, vol. ii. p. 50. Edit. 1806.

ever, say the chroniclers, "although she was maryed to Henry Stafforde, the Duke of Buckingham his sonne, and after that to the Earle of Darby, yet she never brought forthe a childe after, as thoughe she had done her parte, when she hadde borne a manne chylde, and the same a kynge of a realme ;"* or, in the words of Harpsfeld,—“*Effæta tamen et sterilis permansit, prorsus quasi decrevisset Deus, illum defectum abunde, in unico Henrico, quasi Phœnice orbis pensare.*”†

During the remainder of the troubled reign of Henry the Sixth, she seems to have remained in undisturbed tranquillity, devoting herself to the education of her son.‡ The young prince was sickly in his infancy, and was carried about from place to place in Wales, for the benefit of his health.§ From his earliest years, his mother surrounded him with the ablest instructors, whose labour was materially lightened, by the quickness and docility of their pupil ; and the zeal with which he read and listened to the divine office, is said to have led every one to conjecture the felicity of his future life. One of his preceptors, Andrew Scott, has left this testimony of him, that “he had never heard of a boy so quick in learning at his years.” (Ib.)

However, the triumph of the Yorkists, and the accession of Edward the Fourth, changed the aspect of affairs materially. The young Earl of Richmond was attainted, and stripped of his estates ; but his mother’s dower was saved to her, and she and her husband were also confirmed in the enjoyment of her hereditary possessions. But the castle and lordship of Pembroke, along with the custody of the mother and her son, were granted to Sir William Herbert, of Ragland, who removed thither with his family, until the troubles of 1468, when he was with his brother taken prisoner by the Lancastrians, at Banbury, and beheaded at Northampton.

Although under the *surveillance* of their political enemies, the situation of the countess and the young earl, seems not to have been one of very great hardship. Sir William Herbert fulfilled the part of a kind guardian to the boy : he was allowed to pursue his studies,|| and to the last, Sir William meditated a union between his ward and one of his own daughters.¶ After her husband’s execution, Lady Herbert continued to the young captive the same course of treatment, and he was

* Hardyng. Contin. by Grafton, p. 449. Hall, p. 287.

† Hist. Eccles. Anglic. p. 604.

‡ Bernard Andreas, c. 6.

§ Bernard Andreas, Cotton MSS. Dom. xviii. c. 4.

|| Bern. Andreas, c. 5.

¶ Dugd. Baron. vol. ii. p. 241:

by her "well and honourably educated, and in all kind of civility brought up."* It is doubtful whether even this gentle restraint extended to the Lady Margaret. In 1464, we find her mother, the widow of the Duke of Somerset, while staying at her manor of Maxay,† admitted, at her earnest solicitation, a member of the sisterhood at the Abbey of Croyland, (in the neighbourhood of which, she held, in dower, the manor of Depyng, part of the inheritance of her daughter;) and we are told, that on the same occasion, in the hope of establishing an intimate and friendly connexion between her daughter and the monastery, the Duchess of Somerset prevailed on the countess to join the same sisterhood, and obtain for herself a participation in the merit of their prayers and good works.‡

The temporary success of the Lancastrians in 1469, when Henry the Sixth for a short time resumed his regal office, caused another most important change in the condition of the future king, and his princely mother. Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, immediately hastened to recover possession of his domain, and taking his nephew from the custody of Lady Herbert, at his return brought him to London, and presented him to Henry the Sixth, at some great banquet,§ when surrounded by the princes and nobles of his party. The king was washing his hands when the young earl was brought before him,|| but after he "had beheld him, long holding his peace, and marvelling at the goodly wit of the child, said in this wise to the nobles that were at that time present, 'Lo, this is he, this is he, I say, to whom both we and our adversaries shall give place to in possession.'"

¶ The good king, driven to and fro among his warlike contemporaries, looked on the fearful game as a passive spectator, and, notwithstanding his own temporary triumph, saw too clearly that peace was not for the men of the generation then grown to manhood; "and so this holy man showed before the chance that should happen."** Accordingly, he advised that the earl, "ut hostium truculentas manus evaderet," should be sent secretly across the seas.†† "This prognostication," says Miss Halsted, "had a strong influence on Richmond's after life. It early fixed the eyes of the court upon him, and proves also the light in which he was considered, from his boyhood, by the Lancastrian leaders."

* Grafton vol. ii. p. 28. + In Northamptonshire, about nine miles from Croyland.

‡ Contin. Croyl. ubi supr.

§ At Eton College, Sandford Genealog. Hist. book vi. c. 10, p. 463.

|| Bern. Andr. c. 6.

¶ Grafton, contin. of Hardyng, p. 449.

** Hall. fol. 211.

†† Bern. Andreas, ubi. supr.

The Earl of Pembroke was hastening with his powers to the assistance of the Lancastrians, when he received news of the disastrous battle of Tewkesbury. He immediately returned to Chepstow, where he spent some time,—put to death Robert Vaughan, who was sent by Edward with a design to entrap him,—and then immediately shut himself up with the earl and his mother,* in his stronghold at Pembroke. Closely pursued by the king's friends, the Lady Margaret warmly advised him not to risk the safety of his precious charge, by trusting to his Welch fastnesses, reminded him of the advice of Henry, and exhorted him to adopt it as the least dangerous.† The earl followed her suggestions, and having suddenly provided men and vessels, with a small attendance, set sail with Richmond for France, but was driven by a storm on the coast of Brittany, where they were most favourably received by Francis, the reigning duke, to whom it seems the report of the old king's prediction had already arrived.‡

On the fortunes of the Earl of Richmond in Brittany, and his honourable captivity there, we shall not dwell. Miss Halsted (p. 87) is in doubt, as to whether the Lady Margaret accompanied her son in his flight, but the testimony of Bernard Andreas is express, (c. 6) as he praises her for her constancy in enduring so readily his being taken away from her. She undoubtedly remained in England, but in constant communication with her son, and by her letters and messages secured him from the schemes laid by Edward for getting him into his possession. (Ib. c. 13.) To add to her troubles, her husband, Sir Henry Stafford, died in the year 1481; but in the next year, she contracted a third marriage with Lord Stanley, afterwards the Earl of Derby, whose assistance at the critical moment on Bosworth field, placed her son on the throne. In all the actions of this lady, we see a high and princely magnanimity, constancy in bearing, and resolution in struggling against misfortunes; but at the same time evident traces of that wary and cool sagacity, by which her son was so pre-eminently distinguished, and which without being carried to excess in her, was, of all others, the quality to which she was the most indebted for extricating herself from the difficulties

* Bern. Andreas.

† Miss Halsted (p. 88) represents the countess as averse to this enterprise, and advising her brother rather to trust to the many "strongholds in Wales;" but Andreas states the facts as we have given them in the text, and takes occasion to praise her constancy and courage.

‡ Bern. Andreas, c. 9, Grafton, vol. ii. pp. 44-5.

of her situation. Thus there can be little doubt, that her second and third marriages, (her third more particularly,) were marriages of policy rather than affection,—marriages to secure the protection and countenance of powerful families for her son, rather than to promote her own domestic felicity. As to her third husband, we are told by Dr. Fisher, “that in her husband’s days, long time before that he died, she obtained of him licence and promised to live chaste, in the hands of the Reverend Father, my Lord of London, which promise she renewed after her husband’s death into my hands again.” During the life of her second, and, still more, during that of her third husband, we hear of her devoting herself to the well-being of her son, rather than to that of either of her lords. The kinswoman of thirty kings seems never wholly to merge the princess in the mere wife. Of her second husband, though she lived with him two or three-and-twenty years, we hear absolutely nothing; and during the period that elapsed between her third marriage and the death of Richard the Third, we constantly hear of her exertions for her son, and for a long time of her being a decided partizan against the reigning monarch, but never in such a manner as to compromise her husband. There was no want of fervour, as her ascetic devotion, and her disinterested zeal for her son, plainly testify; but withal there were great coolness, wisdom, and courage, in matters of worldly policy; a love for retirement and contemplation, in her own person, and so far as she was at liberty to indulge her own inclination; but where called out into active life for the sake of others, a quiet resolution and pertinacious courage, that strongly display the healthiness of her mind.

At the coronation of Richard the Third, the Lady Margaret bore a part in the ceremonial. The honour of supporting the queen’s train was allotted to her, and she occupied a place of distinction at the banquet which followed. Far from intriguing against the usurper, she seems to have had no other thought, than that of securing the safe return of her son from Brittany. For this purpose, she renewed to Richard a proposal, which had originated with Edward the Fourth,* and which she had then constantly opposed, as meant only for her son’s destruction, namely, that the earl should return to England, and marry the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward. But now, if it were Richard’s “pleasure so to do, she promised that the earl her son should marry one of King Edward’s daughters, at

* Grafton, ii. p. 65.

the commandment of the king, without anything to be taken or demanded for the said espousals, but only the king's favour." (Ib. 129.) Her son it should seem had now arrived at an age when such a proposal was no longer dangerous.

Lodge, and after him Mr. Hartley Coleridge, accuse Margaret of duplicity in her conduct towards Richard, but we think without a due consideration of all the circumstances. "She remained," says Lodge, "in retirement, affecting a perfect unconcern as to public affairs, and such good will and submission to Richard the Third, that she came to London purposely to hold up the train of his queen at their coronation. She besought him, with *seeming* frankness and simplicity, to receive her son into his presence and favour, &c. Meanwhile she treated secretly with the Duke of Buckingham, &c. and with the queen dowager for that marriage, and settled with them many of the preliminary steps to the great event which succeeded." With the same feeling, Mr. Coleridge says, (p. 352) "Her husband, and alas, she also, played a very treacherous part to Richard the Third. . . . Margaret held the train of Richard's queen at the coronation, and continually supplicated him, &c. while she was intriguing, &c. to supplant Richard, and set her son on the throne." To a certain extent these accusations are supported by the loose and inaccurate statement of Grafton, in his continuation of Hardyng, but they are by no means borne out by the more explicit narrative of Grafton's Chronicle.

Soon after the coronation, Margaret quitted London,* and† speedily proceeded on a pilgrimage, to our Lady of Worcester, to offer up, we doubt not, like a good mother, vows for her son's prosperity, to the blessed Mary, the help of Christians and the consoler of the afflicted; that star of the sea, "from the brightness of which, those who amidst the flood of this world, would escape being overwhelmed in the storm, should never avert their eyes."‡ And on this occasion, as on so many others, it was found, that him who honours her, she favours, and "whom she favours obtaineth what he would."§ For even before the pilgrimage performed, our gracious Lady, who delights to anticipate the wishes of those who love and honour

* "On the departure of the king and queen for York," says Miss Halsted, pp. 123-4, "it is probable that the Countess of Richmond quitted the Metropolis to visit her estates in the midland counties, for it is recorded, that whilst journeying between Worcester and Bridgnorth, she was met by the Duke of Buckingham on his mission." Not a word of the pilgrimage to our Lady of Worcester.

† Grafton, vol. ii. p. 128.

‡ St. Bernard, De Laudibus B.V.

§ Ibid.

her, prepared for her votary the means of obtaining her petition. As she journeyed on between Bridgnorth and Worcester, pondering we may imagine the hard fate of her son, "she met in the highway" the nephew* of her late husband, the Duke of Buckingham; who was then supposed to be all-powerful with Richard, but who had just then "with a merrie countenance and a dispitefull hart, humbly taken leave," at Gloucester, of the king, (then on a royal progress through the north,) and was pursuing his way to Shrewsbury, and thence to his castle at Brecon, at that time the prison of the wise and virtuous prelate, Morton, Bishop of Ely. The duke, when Margaret met him, was brooding over the "ungratitude and undeserved unkindnesses" of the king; the refusal of "his part of the Erle of Harforde's lands, and of the office of the High Constableness of England; the last sommer passed in the king's company, not without many fayre promises, but without any good deedes;" the "death of the two young innocents," of which, when he was credibly informed, "O Lord howe his vaynes panted, howe his body trembled, and howe his hart inwardly grudged," so that he must needs be fully revenged. In this "Melencolous disposition," the duke was wending his way towards "Shrewsberie," nursing "divers and sundry imaginations, how to deprive this unnaturall uncle and bloody butcher, from his royall seate and princely dignitie." He suddenly remembered his own descent by his mother from the Duke of Somerset and so from John of Gaunt, and this "encoraged his folish desire, insomuch that clearly he judged that he was the undoubted heire of the house of Lancaster." It was while he was "in a mase," whether or no he should conclude sodainely on this title, and set it open amongst "the common people," that Margaret, "who was as cleane out of his mind, as though he had never sene her," met him in the highway, and then it occurred to him, that she and her son, the Earl of Richmond, were "both bulwareke and port-colice between him and the gate, to enter into the majestie royall and getting of the crowne." Margaret interrupted his musings, by praying him "first, for kindred sake, secondarily, for the love that he bare to his grandfather, Duke Humphrey, which was sworne brother to her father, to move the king to be good to her sonne, Henry, Erle of Richemond, and to licence him with his favour, to returne agayne into Englande; and if it were his pleasure so to doe, shee promised that the

* Not *the father* as Mr. Coleridge tells us, p. 352.

erle her sonne, should marry one of king Edward's daughters, at the appointment of the king, without any thing to be taken or demanded for the sayde espousals, but onely the kinges favour." After they had "commoned a little," concerning this matter, the duke soon over-passed her request, gave her fair words, and so they parted,—he to "Shrewesberie," and she on her pilgrimage to our Lady of Worcester, to offer up vows and prayers, to Her who had already decreed to grant more than the mother had thought of asking. Her pilgrimage accomplished, she proceeded to join her husband, Lord Thomas Stanley, in Lancashire.*

By the time the duke had arrived at Brecon, he had "relinquished all his phantasticall imaginations concerning the obteyning of the crown," and after "circumspectly pondering" the words of the countess, he "fully adjudged that the Holy Ghost caused her to move a thing (thee ende whereof shee could not consider) both for the securietie of the realme, as also for the preferment of her childe, and the destruction and finall confusion of the common enemy; which thing, said the duke, she then thought not I am sure, as I by her words could make conjecture." For "deep-revolving witty Buckingham" had, out of the innocent words of Margaret, conceived a plot for marrying her son to the Princess Elizabeth, as she desired, and thus uniting the whole strength of the Lancastrians, and the discontented among the Yorkists, in one grand effort against the king. The sagacity of Morton was not slow to divine the temper of his noble jailor, nor wanting in address to stimulate his discontent and mould him to his wishes. The duke proposed to commence by enlisting Margaret in their enterprise.

" 'Sithe you will begin that way (sayde the bishop) I have an olde friend with the Countesse, a man sober, secret, and well witted, called Reignold Brey' [formerly Receiver-General to Sir H. Stafford, her second husband] 'whose prudent pollicie, I have knowen to have compassed thinges of great importance, for whome I shall secretly

* Miss Halsted, in her meagre narrative of these occurrences, refers often to Grafton, whose account (copied partly verbatim from Sir Thomas More, and almost entirely derived from Bishop Morton, a chief actor in the whole transaction) she has, nevertheless, either read very carelessly, (*if at all*) or very strangely despised. She represents (pp. 121-4) the meeting between Buckingham and Margaret as occurring *after* the compact between Morton and the Duke, and while the Duke was "on his mission" of finding out the Countess for the purpose of proposing to her a scheme already agreed upon between himself and the Bishop. Now it is sufficient to observe, that the entire scheme is represented by Grafton as arising out of this very interview, which appears to have been a chance meeting of a few moments in the high road.

sende, if it be your pleasure.' So with a little diligence the bishop wrote a letter to Reignold Brey, requiring him to come to Brecknocke with speede, for great and urgent causes touchyng his maistresse; and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire where Brey was, with the Countesse and Lorde Thomas Stanley her husband, and delivered the letter."

Brey returned with the messenger, and received from the duke and the bishop a full explanation of the plot, and was instructed to desire Margaret to procure the assent of Queen Elizabeth, the widow of Edward IV, and her daughter, and to convey the information to her son. With this message Brey quitted Brecon; and soon after, Morton, against the wishes of Buckingham, escaped and fled into Flanders, where he remained till after the death of Richard; and there by his secret intelligence and wise counsels, did good service to the Earl of Richmond.

On the return of Brey with his message, Margaret gladly assented, and "willing not to sleepe this matter," but to further it to the uttermost of her power and abilitie, "she broke her minde" to a certain Welshman, then in her family, "Lewys, lerned in phisicke, which for his gravity and experience was well knowne and much esteemed amongst great estates of the realme, with whom she used sometime liberally and familiarly to talke;" despatched him to Westminster where Queen Elizabeth was then in sanctuary, and required him to go "to her (with whom in his facultie he was of counsaile) not as a messenger, but as one that came friendly to visite and console her; and as tyme and place shoulde require, to make her priuie of this deuise, not as a thing concluded, but as a purpose by him imagined." That nothing might be wanting, Margaret at once followed him to London, and there "lodged at her husband's place within the citie."

"Mayster Lewys" was completely successful. The queen was overjoyed at the scheme, and exhorted him "with all diligent celeritie to resort to his mistress in the city, and assure her that all the friends and fautours of Kinge Edward her husbände, should assist and take parte with the Erle of Richmond her sonne, so that he would take a corporall othe after the kingdome obteyned, to espouse, and take to wyfe the Ladye Elizabeth her daughter, or else Ladye Cicile, if the eldest daughter were not then lyuing."

"Mayster Lewys," continues the Chronicle, "with all diligence so sped his businesse, that he made and concluded a finall ende and determination of thys enterprise betweene the two mothers, and be-

cause he was a phisitian and out of all suspition and misdeeming, he was the common curre[r] [runner] and daylie messenger betwene them. So the Lady Margaret made Reynold Brey her most faythfull servaunt, chiefe solicitor, and priuie procurer of thys conspiracie, geuyng him in charge secretly to enuegle and attract such persons of the nobility to joyne with her and take her part as he knew to be ingenious, faythful, diligent and of activitie. This Reynold Brey within a fewe dayes brought unto his lure (first of all taking of every person a solemne othe to be true and secret) Syr Giles Daubenei, Sir John Cheiney, knight, Richarde Guylforde and Thomas Raine, Esquiers, and divers other. The Countesse of Richemond was not so diligent for her part, but Queen Elizabeth was as vigilaunt on the other side. In the mean season, the Countesse of Richmond toke into her service, Christopher Urswike, an honest and a wise priest; and after an othe of him to be secret taken and sworne, she uttered to him all her minde and counsell, adhibityng to him the more confidence and truth, for that he all hys lyfe had fauored and taken part with king Henry the Sixt, and as a speciall jewell put to her seruice by Syr Lewys her phisitian. So the mother studious for the prosperitie of her sonne, appointed thys Christopher Urswike to sayle into Britayne to the Erle of Richemonde, and to declare and utter to him all factes and agreements betwene her and the queene agreed and concluded: But sodainely she remembring that the Duke of Buckyngham was one of the first inventers, and a secret founder of this enterprise, determined to send some personage of more estimation than her chaplaine, and so elected for a messenger, Hugh Conway, Esq. and sent him into Britayne with a great somme of money to her sonne, geuyng him in charge to declare to the Erle, the great loue and especiall fanour that the most part of the nobilitie of the realme bare toward him, the louing hearts of the commonalty, and exhorting him not to lose the present opportunity, but to come over immediately to Wales, "where he should not doubt to find both aide, comfort and friends."*

In addition to these messages and intrigues she also used her credit as far as possible to supply her son with the sinews of war, by making "chevisances of great sums of money as well within the city of London as in other places of this realm."†

We have been particular in relating these circumstances somewhat minutely, because this is one of the most important incidents of Margaret's life; they have not been accurately stated by Miss Halsted; and Mr. Lodge and Mr. Coleridge have found in them ground for reproaching her with treachery. This charge seems to originate in the very inaccurate way in which these facts are told by Grafton in his continuation of Hardyng. We are there informed, that the scheme for de-throning Richard came from Margaret, and had been enter-

* Grafton, vol. ii. pp. 128-132.

† Rot. Parl. vol. vi. p. 250.

tained by her even while soliciting the king's favour for her son, and permission for his return and marriage;—that Buckingham and Margaret had been in communication on this very matter before the conversation of Morton and Buckingham at Brecon,—an assertion expressly contradicted by Grafton in his Chronicle. Besides, the obvious inaccuracies of the former account in matters of detail, and the great circumstantiality of the latter version of the story by the same author, together with the source from which it apparently proceeds, render the continuation of Hardyng an exceedingly unsafe guide on this point. The continuator of Hardyng, evidently speaking of Urswick, calls him “one Christopher,” takes no notice of his being a priest, and says that the “aforesaid Lewes had promoted him into the service” of the *Queen Elizabeth*. He speaks also of the *queen* sending out Hugh Conway. In the account of Bray, there is a manifest inconsistency. It is said, that Bray was despatched to Brecon, and “the dukes mind thoroughly perceived and known, with great speed returned to the said Margaret;” after relating the negotiation between Margaret and the Queen, (which had been suggested by Buckingham through Bray), we are told that then “*the Lady Margaret brake this matter unto Reynolde Bray,*” as if he then heard of it for the first time. From the narrative of Grafton's Chronicle, two things are obvious; first that there is no reason for supposing that Margaret, when she bore her part in the ceremonial of the coronation, and petitioned for Richard's favour for her son, did so with any intention of turning the king's favours against himself, or had any scheme in her head for his destruction; and secondly, there is no reason for supposing that after the conspiracy was suggested to her, she ever petitioned for the king's favour, or, indeed, had any communication with him whatever.

We need not pursue the course of these events further. Margaret's *active* connexion with them ceased as soon as they passed from consultations and the plots of women, to the deeds of warriors in the field. Buckingham's ill-concerted insurrection soon followed, the ill-success of which was mainly owing, as the Chroniclers justly tell us, to Morton's escape from imprisonment; for if the changeable and shallow duke had had that sagacious statesman at his elbow, he “had not made so many blabbes of his counsaile, nor put so much confidence in the Welshemen, nor yet so rashely set forward without knowlege of his friendes as he did, which thinges were his sodein overthrow, as they that knew it did report.”—*Grafton*.

On the suppression of the revolt, Margaret was not included in the attainder by which her son and the principal among Richard's opponents were struck down;* but by a separate act her estates were forfeited to her husband during his life, and after his death to the king; but "the great punishment of attainder" was "remitted and forborne" for the sake of her husband, Lord Stanley, and the king's confidence in his fidelity;† but as the condition of this clemency, "it was geven him in charge to kepe her in some secret place at home, without havynge any seruaunt or companie, so that from thence forth she should neuer sende letter nor messenger to her sonne, nor any of his friendes, or confederates, by the which the king might be molested or troubled. Which commaundement was awhile put in execution, and accomplished according to his dreadfull commaundement."—*Grafton*, vol. ii. p. 137.

* Rot. Parl. vi. p. 240, &c. Dr. Lingard says, she was "*among the attainted*," but "was spared from execution at the intercession of her husband." This is substantially true, but not quite correctly stated. She was not included in the general act of attainder, but was deprived of her estates by a separate act, for the reason stated. Miss Halsted's account of the revolt is so inaccurate as to be quite unintelligible. After describing, not very clearly, the secret plotting which preceded the revolt, she tells us, that "*the spring of 1484 dawned*" with the most favourable hopes to the conspirators. She then speaks of the act of attainder as having passed "in the January of that year,"—that is, 1483-4,—while the conspiracy was yet supposed to be unknown, and as having the effect of "paralysing for a brief period the exertions of all connected with the scheme." She then speaks (p. 129) of Buckingham openly unfurling the standard of rebellion, and Richmond setting sail from Brittany to join him, *on the 4th of October, 1484*. Last of all, (p. 131) she makes Buckingham beheaded *on the 2nd of November, 1483*. The last date is correct; but Richmond left St. Malo in October 1483, and the act of attainder was passed before the end of the same year (A.D. 1483; 1 Rich. III). The Act speaks for itself; it calls Buckingham the *late Duke*; it describes him as having assembled people in harness, &c. &c. on the 18th October in the first year of the reign, and having been the means of Richmond arriving at Plymouth "with a great navy and army" on the same day. Grafton's chronology is exceedingly inaccurate. He places Buckingham's execution in the month of November, in the third and last year of the reign, or, 1485;—above two months after the battle of Bosworth field!

† Mr. Coleridge says (rather absurdly), "The Lady Margaret Stanley, whose machinations were well known, was treated by the *tyrant* Richard, far more gently than her son treated the widow of Edward the Fourth."—(p. 352.) The latter clause of this sentence insinuates or implies a mistake. The common story of the ill treatment of Elizabeth, the mother of his queen, by Henry the Seventh, has been disproved by Dr. Lingard, on grounds which are approved by Sir Harris Nicholas, in opposition to an opinion formerly expressed by him in print. As to the former half of the sentence, if it means that Richard spared Margaret from humanity, it is not true. The Act of Forfeiture expresses his motives in his own words, "*remembering the good and faithful service that Thomas Lord Stanley hath done and intendeth to do to our said sovereign Lord*," &c. Had it not been for Richard's hopes and fears of Lord Stanley, Margaret would have suffered with the rest. Richard on this occasion did not spare his own brother-in-law.—Lingard, vol. v. pp. 259, 60.

From this time until the overthrow of Richard, we lose sight of Margaret altogether; and after her son's accession, we have not so much to narrate the events of her life, as to describe her mode of living; for which task we are fortunately furnished with materials, valuable though scanty, by our old friend the good bishop. Her principal residence was in the country, at her various estates, among her neighbours and dependants. Her estates by marriage and descent were princely in extent, and were scattered over various parts of the country,—in the counties of Lincoln, Lancaster, Northampton, Devon, London and elsewhere—and in most of them she left some traces of her munificence. Her most famous charities, were St. John's and Christ's Colleges in the University of Cambridge, her professorships at both universities, and her lectureships. All these she richly endowed in her life-time, and at her death by will. Of these foundations we shall add nothing, because their splendour makes them sufficiently illustrious. We prefer dwelling on her little local benefactions, of which the world has heard less. At Wymbourne, in Dorsetshire, she founded a free-school.* She founded an almshouse near Westminster Abbey for poor women; which was afterwards, by Protestant charity, "turned into lodgings for the singing men of the college."† She maintained divers poor scholars "in the University of Cambridge under the tuition of Maurice Westbury."‡ She lived some time at Torrington, in Devonshire; and pitying the priest for his long walk from his house to the church, gave him and his successors, the manor-house and the lands belonging to it, lying close to the church.§ In Lincolnshire, being lady of the manor of Depynge, she made it her business to put an end to the disputes that had been going on for generations as to the "meres, bounders, and divisions" between Kesteven and Holland. She procured the king's commission to be awarded to certain gentlemen in the neighbourhood, to hear and determine the controversy, which was at last determined, under their superintendence, by jurors summoned from both divisions, who were not interested in the cause. To the award was appended the seal of the Countess, the commissioners, and jurors, "and so sent into the Chancery." One of the jurors, who has preserved this and other memoranda relating to the history of Croyland Abbey, is described to be an esquire,

* Mag. Brit. Dorset. p. 564.

† Mag. Brit. Oxfor. p. 277: Stowe, Surv. p. 525, fol. London, 1633.

‡ Ballard, p. 13.

§ Mag. Brit. Devon. p. 489.

holding lands in Kesteven; "he had been servant to Margaret of Richmond (whom upon every occasion he highly extolled), and lived in her family sixteen yeares."* Some rather doubtful authority, tells us that she was a justice of peace.† Certain it is, that for the suitors in her manors, "it is not unknown, how studiously she procured justice to be administered for a long season, so long as she was suffered, and of her own charges provided men learned for the same purpose, evenly and indifferently to hear all causes, and administer right and justice to every party, which were in no small number; and yet meat and drink was denied to none of them."‡

"Her own household, with marvellous diligence and wisdom, this noble princess ordered, providing reasonable statutes and ordinances for them, which by her officers she commanded to be read four times a-year. And often times by herself she would so lovingly courage every of them to do well, and some time by other mean persons. If any factions or feuds were made secretly amongst her head officers, she with great policy, did bould it out; and likewise if any strife or controversy, she would, with great discretion, study the reformation thereof. For the strangers, oh, marvellous God! what pain, what labour she of her very gentleness would take with them, to bear them manner and company, and entreat every person and entertain them according to their degree and haviour, and provide by her own commandment, that nothings should lack, that might be convenient for them, wherein she had a wonderful ready remembrance and perfect knowledge. * * *

"Poor folks to the number of twelve she daily and nightly kept in her house, giving them lodging, meat, and drink, and clothing, visiting them as often as conveniently she might; and in their sickness, visiting them and comforting them, and ministering unto them with her own hands; and when it pleased God to call any of them out of this wretched world, she would be present to see them depart, and to learn to die, and likewise to bring them unto the earth. * * And the other servants and ministers of our Lord, whom she heard were of any devotion and virtue, full glad she was, at all times, when she might get them; to whom she would likewise shew the comfort that she could."§

She exerted herself not a little in the encouragement of literature. Besides the colleges and schools which she founded, and her patronage of Drs. Fisher, Oldham and Smith, and other men of worth and learning, she took an active part in promoting the practical success of the great invention of print-

* Biblioth. Topograph. Britann. vol. iii, p. 163. Appendix to Hist. of Croyland. See also Hist. of Croyl. ubi supr. p. 75.

† Park's Walpole, p. 225.

‡ Funeral Sermon.

§ Ibid.

ing, which was then only beginning its wonderful career. Caxton dedicated to her his *Hystorye of Kyngge Blandhardyne and Queen Eglantyne*.^{*} Wynkyn de Worde, at the sign of the Sun, in Fleet-street, was appointed her printer. Several books of devotion were printed at her command, and others were translated from the French and printed by herself.

During the ensuing period of her life, her time was divided between her country seats; Cambridge, where she personally superintended the erection of buildings for her new foundations; and the court, where she enacted the part of grand-mistress of the ceremonies.

Fuller† tells a little incident of her visits to Cambridge, which he says he heard in a *Clerum* from Dr. Cullings. "Once the Lady Margaret came to Christ's College, to behold it when partly built, and looking out of a window, saw the deane cal a faulty scholar to correction; to whom she said '*Lentè, lentè*,' 'Gently, gently,' as accounting it better to mitigate his punishment than procure his pardon; mercy and justice making the best medley to offenders."

Her youth had been spent in the education of her son, and now, in her old age, the care of her grandson, Henry VIII, was entrusted to her, and she brought him up with other of the younger collateral members of her family.‡

The Queen Elizabeth of York, her son's wife, was placed under her motherly protection, and was attended by her on all occasions of public display. At all the greater festivals of the Church, and times of public rejoicing, the court was graced by her attendance. At coronations and royal christenings and marriages, her presence was indispensable. Even the "precedence and attires of great estates of ladies and noble women" at funerals and elsewhere, were placed at her disposal; and she signalized her domestic empire, and her dislike of the spirit of innovation, which was even then preparing to sweep away the old landmarks of society, by a thorough reform in the "wearing of barbes over the chin and under the same, which noble and good order hath been and is much abused, by every mean and common woman, to the great wrong and dishonour of persons of quality."

To the king her son she was much attached, and his conduct towards her was always marked with the most scrupulous delicacy and respect. Henry's hereditary claim to the throne

^{*} Park Edit. Walpole, vol. i. p. 228.

† Hist. of Cambridge Univers. p. 90.

‡ Lyson's Mag. Brit. i. p. 59.

was traced through Margaret; and, consequently, whatever might be his legal title, it remained in abeyance during the lifetime of his mother, who was the rightful claimant in that line of descent. But she willingly renounced her claims to the throne, which in practice were untenable; and knowing that many of the stricter Lancastrians were inclined to exalt her title above that of her son, and that Henry was, from policy, peculiarly sensitive on this point, she studiously set herself, by her demeanour public and private, to support the title of her son with all her influence, and to calm his jealousy and fears. For this purpose she (and Henry no less carefully) avoided even the appearance of her exercising any influence over the king in matters of administration. Even the appointment of Dr. Fisher, her private chaplain, to the bishopric of Rochester, was not to be supposed to be her work; for when the influence of his mother was alluded to in Henry's presence, he rejoined, "Indeed the modesty of the man, together with my mother's silence, spake in his behalf." This feeling it was that seems to have produced the submissive tone of her letters to the king, which has been censured as having its origin in a vulgar pride, and is held up as "a satire against monarchy."*

Margaret's attendance at "all the splendid feasts and ceremonies of Henry's reign, is," says Mr. Lodge, "a fact which clearly contradicts those who have reported that her piety was of the *gloomy and ascetic* cast." It is not perhaps strange that even the ordinary language of devotion has not been able to maintain itself against the inroads of the barbarians of our various Reformations. Who upon earth but those who have learned their notions of devotion from Puritan zealots, would ever have thought of joining those two words together, *gloomy* and *ascetic*? Every Catholic knows well that by ascetic writers gloom and melancholy are described as very nearly sins, cheerfulness as almost a virtue. Mr. Lodge should have joined the words "ascetic" and "cheerful." Hear on this point a great modern saint and ascetic, St. Francis de Sales:—"Inquietude is the greatest evil that can befall the soul, sin only excepted. * * The Prince of Darkness is pleased with sadness and melancholy, because he is and shall be sad and melancholy to all eternity; therefore he desires that every one shall be like himself." The truth is that Margaret's piety was not *gloomy*, but of an ascetic cast, and therefore *cheerful*.

* Coleridge.

The Bishop can best describe to us the daily and private life of this princely person.

“ Her sober temperance in meats and drinks was known to all them that were conversant with her, wherein she lay in as great wait of herself, as any person might, keeping alway her straight measure, and offending as little as any creature might; eschewing banquets ‘ rere-soupers, joucryes’ betwixt meals. As for fasting, for age and feebleness, albeit she were not bound, yet those days that by the Church were appointed, she kept them diligently and seriously, and in especial the Holy Lent; throughout that, she restrained her appetite till one meal of fish one day; besides her other peculiar feasts of devotion, as St. Anthony, St. Mary Magdalen, St. Katherine, with other; and throughout all the year, the Friday and Saturday she full truly observed. As to hard clothes-wearing, she had her shirts and girdles of hair, which when she was in health, every week, she failed not certain days to wear; sometime the one, sometime the other, that full often her skin, as I heard her say, was pierced therewith.” * * *

“ Every day at her uprising, which commonly was not long after five of clock, she began certain devotions, and so after them, with one of her gentlewomen, the matins of our Lady, which kept her to then she came into her closet, where with her chaplain, she said also matins of the day; and after that, daily heard four or five masses upon her knees, so continuing in her prayers and devotions unto the hour of dinner, which of the eating day was ten of the clock, and upon the fasting day eleven. After dinner full truly she would go her stations, to three altars daily; daily her diriges and commendations she would say; and her even songs before supper, both of the day and of our Lady; beside many other prayers and psalters of David throughout the year; and at night before she went to bed she failed not to resort unto her chapel, and there a large quarter of an hour to occupy her devotions.

“ No marvail though all this long time, her kneeling was to her painful, and so painful that many times it caused in her back pain and disease; and yet nevertheless daily when she was in health she failed not to say the crown of our Lady, which after the manner of Rome, containeth sixty and three *aves*, and at every *ave* to make a kneeling.

“ As for meditation she had divers books in French, wherewith she would occupy herself when she was weary of prayer. Wherefore divers she did translate out of the French into English. Her marvellous weeping they can bear witness of, which heretofore have heard her confession, which be divers and many, and at many seasons of the year lightly every third day. Can also record the same they that were present at any time when she was ‘ houshyld’ (which was full nigh a dozen times every year) what floods of tears there issued forth of her eyes! She might well say, ‘ *Exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei.*’ And moreover to the intent, all her works might be more acceptable and of greater merit in the sight of God, such godly things she would take by obedience; which obedience she promised to the forenamed

father, my Lord of London, for the time of his being with her, and afterwards in likewise unto me. * * *

"She never yet was in that prosperity, but the greater it was the more always she dreaded the adversity. For when the king her son was crowned, in all that great triumph and glory, she wept marvelously, and likewise at the great triumph of the marriage of Prince Arthur; and at the last coronation (Henry VIII) wherein she had full great joy, she let not to say, that some adversity would follow; so that either she was in sorrow by reason of the present adversities, or else when she was in prosperity she was in dread of the adversity for to come. * * *

"I have many times heard her say that if the Christian Princes would have warred upon the enemies of the faith, she would be glad yet to go follow the host, and help to wash their clothes, for the love of Jesu."

At length on the 21st day of April, 1509,* Henry VII died, when she was sixty-eight years of age. She was already worn out by age and ill-health, and had not long to survive the beloved and revered son with whose good and ill fortunes her life had been almost wholly bound up. In his will he appointed her his executrix, by the title of "Our dearest and most entirely beloved mother, Margaret Countess of Richmond;" and in the short period which elapsed before her own death, she employed herself in placing around the young king, her grandson and scholar, such of her son's counsellors as were most fitted to guide and direct him. In the course of a few weeks she was seized with her last painful illness, the agony of which put her faith and resignation to the full proof. Her hands, that were ever occupied in "gyvyng almes to the poore and nedye, and dressynge them also whan they were syke, and mynys-trynge unto them mete and drynke, these mercyfull and lyberall hands" had to endure "the moost paynful cramps," which grievously vexed her, and compelled her to cry out, "O, blessed Jesu, help me! O, blessed Lady, socoure me!" "It was a mater of grete pity. Lyke a spere, it perced the hertes of all her true servaunts, that was about her, and made them crye also of Jesu for helpe and socoure, with grete habundance of teares. But specyally when they saw death so hast upon her, and that she must nedes depart from them, and they sholde forgoe so gentyll a maistris, so tender a lady, then wept they mervaylously; wept her ladys and kynneswomen, to whome she was full kinde, wepte her poore gentylwomen whom she had loved so tenderly before, wept her

* Not 22nd April, 1508.—*Halsted.*

chamberers to whom she was full deare, wept her chaplayns and preests, wept her other true and faithfull servaunts."

At length she was to receive the last rites of the Church, to strengthen her in her final agony; and when the holy sacrament, "contaynyng the Blessyd Jhesu in it," was held before her, and she was asked, whether she believed that there was there present verily the Son of God, that suffered his blessed passion for her, and for all mankind, upon the cross; with all her heart and soul she raised her body to make answer, and confessed assuredly that in that sacrament was contained Christ Jesus, the Son of God, that died for wretched sinners upon the cross, in whom wholly she put her trust and confidence. "And so sone after that she was aneled, she departed, and yelded up her Spyryte into the handes of our Lorde."* She was entombed in a sumptuous manner in her son's chapel in Westminster. "She lieth buried," says Fuller, "neer her sonne, in a fair tombe of touch-stone, whereon lieth her image of gilded brass." Her image is yet there, (though sacrilege has licked off the gilding,) and she may still be seen in feature as she lived and died; for her monument is one of the most exquisite ornaments even of that desecrated temple of wonders.

Let it be no disparagement to Margaret, that, as in her life she had a noble feeling of her royal descent, her royal affinity, and her royal offspring (yet without impeachment to her humility); so, even from the levelling tomb, she speaks to us (in her will) in the accents of princes:—"WE, MARGARET, COUNTESS OF RICHMOND AND DERBY, MOTHER TO THE MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE KING HENRY THE SEVENTH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, OUR MOST DEAR SON, have called to our remembrance the unstableness of this transitory world, and that every creature here living is mortal, and the time and place of death to every creature uncertain; and also calling to our remembrance the great rewards of eternal life, that every Christian creature, in steadfast faith of holy Church, shall have for their good deeds done by them in their present life; we, therefore, being of whole and good mind, &c. make, ordain, and declare our testament and last will, &c. First, we give and bequeath our soul to Almighty God, to our Blessed Lady, Saint Mary the Virgin, and to all the holy company in

* This affecting incident is condensed by Miss Halsted into,—“Full of faith in her Redeemer, and trust in her God,” &c. she “expired,” &c.—p. 234.

heaven." Then follow numerous bequests for the good of her soul, and for divers charitable intents. The latter still survive, the former have been swallowed up. Let us hope, that her devout and mortified spirit stood in no need of that assistance which sacrilege and heresy, ungrateful, did their best to deprive her of.

We close our account of this admirable person in the words of the just eulogium of the Bishop:—"All England for her death had cause of weeping. The poor creatures that were wont to receive her alms, to whom she was always piteous and merciful; the students of both the universities, to whom she was as a mother; all the learned men of England, to whom she was a very patroness; all the virtuous and devout persons, to whom she was as a loving sister; all the good, religious men and women, whom she so often was wont to visit and comfort; all good priests and clerks, to whom she was a true defender; all the noble men and women, to whom she was a mirror and exemplar of honour; all the common people of this realm, for whom she was in their causes a common mediatrix, and took right great displeasure for them; and generally the whole realm, hath cause to complain and to mourn her death."

We hope our readers will not think, that we have dwelt at too great length on the history of this great and good lady. We have aspired to the very humble office of laying before them her life and character, as nearly as possible, in the very words in which the good Bishop has embalmed her memory; and we thought it well to do this at some length, because we may here see, that in the most unfavourable times of turbulence and convulsion, the Catholic Faith has the glory of producing characters of a higher excellence than any of the sects dare even aspire to produce. Fuller says of her, that she was "the exactest pattern of the best devotion that those times afforded, taxed with no personal faults, but the errors of the age she lived in." There is not an excellence which a Protestant lady could think desirable, which this lady did not possess in over measure; and if, in addition to these virtues, she strove, in imitation of the saints in all ages, by a life of austerity and mortification to attain to something of the perfection of the great Precursor, who lived in the desert, clothed in camels' hair, and nourished only by locusts and wild honey, and of whom God himself has declared that of men born of women *he* was the greatest, our devout Protestants can discover only that in so doing she was guilty "of a personal

fault, the error of the age she lived in." We verily believe, our sound Protestant divines, if St. John the Baptist had lived in *their* age, would have shut him up in Bedlam as a madman. With the deepest pity for the deplorable blindness which could write, and being written could praise,* this miserable Paganism, we take our leave of the subject; only remarking, that at a future period we may perhaps lay before our readers some interesting additional evidences of the Spiritual Life that existed in England during the century before the Reformation.

ART. V.—*Boz Sämmtliche Werke, Erster Theil—Die Pickwickier : oder Herrn Pickwick's und der correspondirenden Mitglieder des Pickwick Club's Kreuz-und Quer-züge, Abentheuer und Thraten. Nach den Ueberlieferungen des Pickwick Clubs von Boz.* (Dickens). Aus dem Englischen von H. Roberts; mit Federzeichnungen nach Phiz. In 6 Theilen. Leipzig, J. J. Weber, 1839.

IT is pleasant to meet an old friend in a foreign country. The appearance of the *Pickwick Papers* in German, tempts us, for once, into a department, which would seem exempt, by a sort of prescription, from the jurisdiction of the critical tribunals. By some tacit international understanding, our neighbours of the continent have been permitted, without opposition, and without remark, to avail themselves, as best they might, of our contributions to the general stock of knowledge; and beyond the, it may be, natural anxiety of a sensitive author to see how he looked in a new dress, little interest was created, and little attention aroused, by foreign translations of English literature. Not to speak of history and philosophy, the whole Waverley series, the most remarkable of Bulwer's novels, great part of Byron's poetry, almost all Moore's prose as well as poetry, the *Diary of a late Physician*, and indeed all the popular fictions of England, have been silently re-produced in the book markets of the continent; and may now be considered as forming a portion of the continental literature. Nor, has the work in all cases, as might at first be supposed, fallen into obscure or ignoble hands. The list of Byron's German translators, includes Nordstern,

* Hartley Coleridge.

Adrian and Hell; and among the names appended to the catalogues of Sir Walter Scott's novels, the reader will recognize those of Lindau, Karl Muller, and S. H. Spiker, known in these countries by the very agreeable tour in England, Wales, and Scotland, published several years ago.

But the *Pickwick Papers*, and the other works of Mr. Dickens, belong to a class almost without any precedent in the language, and one which we can have little difficulty in excepting from the general rule. They involve, to an extent far beyond any work which we remember, the character of the nation as well as that of the writer; the entire community, with one voice, has pronounced upon their merit; and they go before the critical world abroad, stamped with the unanimous approval of the whole British people; embodying and involving the great guiding principles of public taste in England. We owe it to ourselves, therefore, and to our critical character as a nation, to see that we are honestly exhibited abroad, that our popular favourite is fairly represented in his new costume, that his foreign representative preserves all that freshness of colouring, that exquisite combination of delicacy and boldness in the touch, that indescribable happiness in grasping and delineating the minutest shades of character, whether in sunshine or in cloud, which has won our unrestrained and undivided admiration.

Amid the more serious subjects to which our attention has been periodically called, we have allowed ourselves, half unconsciously, to fall into arrears in the lighter departments;—in the case of Mr. Dickens, indeed, we can scarcely say unconsciously. We felt the less difficulty in leaving him to the judgment of the public, that we marked with pleasure the current of popular opinion fall in, undirected, perfectly with our own. Few works of this or any other age, have enjoyed greater or more universal popularity. The unanimous (with one or two modified exceptions,) approval of the press; the unprecedented sale of copies; the feverish anxiety with which every one watched the coming "First," as being to usher in a new number of the engrossing series; the voracious eagerness with which each precious morsel was literally devoured as soon as presented; the feeling of half disappointment, half anticipation, in which we closed each number, with the knowledge that a long month must elapse before curiosity could be satisfied, or anxiety relieved,—these every reader will recollect as furnishing an index of public favour. Perhaps the horde of imitators, more or less fortunate, which Mr. Dickens' acknow-

ledged success has called into existence, is a test even less equivocal. We could reckon at least a score of publications, issued in "monthly numbers" from the press, with "illustrations after the manner of the *Pickwick Papers*."

We can have little difficulty therefore, as indeed, at this eleventh hour, we have little merit, in adding our voice to the universal sentence of the reading public. Without any intention of entering into a critical examination, or even comparison of the *Sketches*, the *Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist*, and *Nicholas Nickleby*, we cannot refrain,—while we introduce "*Die Pickwickier*," the first part of the German translation of the series,—from expressing the gratification which we derived from the perusal of all, and the high hope with which we look forward to the long career of an author, who, in the very spring of life, has attained an eminence at once so lofty and so secure. There are few in whose regard public opinion, so often equivocal, may with more safety be taken as a criterion of merit; and the reason is obvious: there are few, if any, of whom the public is so well qualified to judge. In the case of a writer in the historical, or sentimental, or philosophical school of fiction, the judgment, involving a variety of abstract principles and positive matters of fact, requires a degree of information and skill, beyond the acquirement of ordinary readers. Where sentiment, or philosophy, or history, is the main stream, or even the undercurrent, there needs obviously a considerable share of positive knowledge, no less than natural talent for criticism, to determine and adjust its legitimate boundaries. 'Tis not every one who can follow the working out of a complicated story; grasp the slender, almost invisible niceties of character; dissect the historical congruities of a plot; take in at a glance the minute consistencies of a local or national sketch; and appreciate the incommunicable faculty of adapting and associating all in a well sustained fiction. It is easy to dazzle the reader's fancy, by the display of gorgeous description, and engage his imagination by a succession of interesting adventure; nor is it possible to look back on the faded laurels of the favourites of our early days, without feeling that, in any of these departments, it is quite possible for a writer of very moderate pretensions, to attain a high degree of temporary popularity. But if an author descend from this distant and misty eminence, and peril his fame on a ground familiar to every eye, and open to every capacity; submitting himself, like the painter of old, to the judgment of each in his own especial sphere; he will require something more than com-

mon powers, and will merit more than transient admiration, if he pass unscathed through this trying, though not unjust, ordeal; and carry away every voice, even down to those humbler, but not less scrutinizing, critics, whom we still occasionally meet,—legitimate descendants of the cobbler in the classic story. It is this walk of fiction Mr. Dickens has selected; and in this he has been eminently successful. His most popular work,—most likely too, to preserve its popularity,—the *Pickwick Papers*, can scarcely be said to possess the attraction of a regular story. There is no drawing upon history for incident, no affectation of sentiment for effect. The scene is not laid among characters to whom we are strangers, and with whom we are unable to sympathize. We are not dazzled by the array of title and of rank; we are not awed by the Eleusinian mysteries of fashion and “exclusiveness.” All the ordinary sources of interest are disregarded. There is but little love, and less sentiment; there is no philosophy at all, except the moral aphorisms of our admirable friend Sam Weller. The characters, though numerous and varied beyond all example, are selected without any regard to the ordinary rules of fiction. Most of them are every-day people, saying and doing every day things; and to crown all, the author, recklessly discarding the fundamental law of novel writing, has ventured not only to make his ladies play a very subordinate part—in fact almost confine themselves to mere pantomime—but even, *O audaciam prædicandam!* to dispense altogether with a heroine in his story.

The secret of Mr. Dickens’ success, with so little of what is ordinarily used to secure it, is neither deep nor mysterious. There is, first, his utter disregard, often happy caricature, of that sickly twaddle, miscalled sentiment; and undisguised contempt of that solemn nonsense, which, with some writers, takes the name of philosophy. There is a class of readers, inhabiting the vicinity of circulating libraries—the middle term between the simple many, who cannot understand it at all, and the educated few, who see through, and despise its shallowness,—with whom all this passes current. But with the mass, the more imperfectly educated, as well as the truly enlightened, it is, as it should be, “leather and prunella.” The plain and natural course which Mr. Dickens has pursued, may have lost him the ignorant admiration of the Mrs. Leo Hunters of the sentimental school; but it has secured the unaffected, and warm, because unaffected, sympathies of all who read because they can understand, and admire because they are able to enjoy.

There is besides, the joyous and hearty good humour, in the ludicrous; and in the serious, the unaffected kindliness and philanthropy, the sound and healthy views of life, with which his pages overflow. His characters are not of the *Harold* and *Lara* class; sated misanthropes dwelling afar off in the clouds, away from and above their kind; disdaining to live like ordinary mortals; breathing nothing but curses, "not loud but deep;" eating only their own hearts, drinking naught but "chalices drugged full of wo"! Nor are they like the heroes and heroines of our more sober fiction; high-born and high-souled gentlemen and ladies, of delicate sensibility and fastidious taste, shrinking from contact with "the herd;" seeking, in a hopeless, and to us not very intelligible pilgrimage, some kindred spirit, partner of their sorrows and their disgusts; and at last, perhaps, *per favorem*, at the end of three mortal volumes, settling down into ordinary men and women, who marry and are given in marriage, and fall into their places in common life, just as naturally as if they had never been any thing else! In plain seriousness, is not this the staple of our most distinguished novel writers? What else, beautifully wrought out it is true, are Mr. Bulwer's *Eugene Aram*, his *Devereux*, even his *Pelham* and *Maltravers*? What are Mr. Ward's *Tremaine* or *De Vere*? what, D'Israeli's *Vivian Grey*? There can be no doubt that some of these pictures are drawn with consummate skill, and extraordinary power. But we look upon it as impossible that they should, permanently or deeply, interest or please. Admiration they may win, and have won, abundantly and deservedly; but sympathy, we conceive, they can find none, or next to none: out of the hundred who admire and applaud, there are not ten who will relish with a natural and congenial feeling. Nor can we regret that it is so. Portraits of such characters can effect no moral good; they may do much mischief. Their tendency, if it reach beyond the amusement of an hour, is to reconstruct and remodel the whole social and moral system; to establish a new and false order of principles of action, repugnant to the humble, and meek, and benevolent spirit of Christianity; all emanating from one frozen centre, pride—cold, selfish pride; it is to convert religion into a form, by destroying charity, which is its soul; to resolve virtue into a barren sense of honour, and make self-respect the sole basis of moral obligation. This is their tendency, unfelt perhaps, but not the less efficacious. Admiration cannot be deep, without becoming practical; we cannot give our sympathies to the false pride and false philosophy of the heroes

of modern fiction, without feeling in a greater or less degree, their influence upon our own hearts.

Now all this machinery,—this “very pretty” perhaps, but certainly, as far as common life goes, “supernatural scenery,”—Mr. Dickens has, without scruple or ceremony, flung overboard. His are pictures, brightly and joyously sketched, of ordinary life, in which there is not one, however humble, who will not find something wherewith to sympathize. Even his saddest and most sombre scenes,—and never have the living realities of wretchedness been depicted with more painfully graphic accuracy,—though they shock and depress, seldom leave the mind, notwithstanding, without some soothing influence. There is no attempt to heighten horrors by suggesting thoughts and reflections, and fine sentiments. All is simple and uncoloured, or if there be colouring, ’tis the colouring of nature and reality. The Spanish proverb is never forgotten: *al buen entendedor pocas palabras*. You are made to *see*, but you are left to *think*. As in the inimitable etchings of Moritz Retsch, the outlines alone are given; your eye fills up, or thinks it fills up, the expression: thus the excitement felt is practically of your own creation; it takes the turn of your own thoughts; it follows the bias of your own disposition. And above all, never does Mr. Dickens let slip an opportunity, even in his most harrassing scenes, of introducing some striking and soothing contrast, some sweet trait of natural affection, of patient, suffering virtue. The “dying clown,” and the Chancery victim in *Pickwick*, the death of Oliver Twist’s mother; little Oliver’s first visit, with the undertaker, to the pauper garret; the Newgate scene in the *Sketches*; even the fearful murder of the wretched girl in *Oliver Twist*; each and all have their little shred of consolation, to which we can cling; to which our imagination can turn, and think that all is not wretchedness; that the domain of crime is not without some limit. Mr. Dickens’ page is seldom without a gleam of sunshine; and if a cloud occasionally flit across, it is the cloud of a summer shower, brightening and making more glad the cheering glow by which it is followed.

But the best foundation of his success, is his happy faculty of grasping and delineating almost every possible shade of every variety of character; or, to speak more correctly, of making them develop themselves. He reminds us of the family clock, with a glass case, so well employed by Göthe to illustrate the dramatic powers of Shakspeare, in which you see not only the motions of the hands, but every wheel and spring by which

their movement is regulated. He does not tell us what his *dramatis personæ* thought or felt. A few touches of his charmed pencil, and we see them ourselves before our eyes! the glass case itself could not more perfectly disclose all, even the most secret and unacknowledged, springs of action! Hence it is, that, although the *Pickwick Papers* contain as many characters as would furnish materials for a dozen ordinary novels, and although, in consequence, but small space can be devoted to the development of each, yet there is not one, which does not come back upon the memory, when we have closed the book, with a distinct and clearly distinguishable personality. There is no mixing up of qualities; no repetition, as in Byron's heroes, of the same character in a new form; no attempt, as in more modern and very popular novelists, to disguise the *rifacimento*, by dashing in, as a *salsa piccante*, a few new peculiarities of mannerism. In the delineation of character,—whatever may be the diversity of opinion as to his capabilities for the regular novel,—Mr. Dickens must be acknowledged independent of artifices like these. He possesses the rare faculty of entering, even in the most minute and trifling details, into the feelings and pursuits (which he has deeply studied) of the varied personages he portrays; nor, true to Horace's golden rule,

“Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique,”

does he ever, for a moment, forget his assumed personality. Amid the deep and touching pathos of the pauper funeral in *Oliver Twist*—one of the most harrowingly truthful scenes, which the whole range of our descriptive literature could furnish—he does not overlook the pettiest professional peculiarity of the case-hardened undertaker, the shivering selfishness of the doting grandam, the dulled and stupified insensibility of the wretched husband! Through all the terrors of his trial, the miserable and fear-stricken Fagin gazes about the court-house; speculates upon the faces which turn to his as a common point of meeting; and even conjectures, while his own life is hanging upon his word, what the judge may have had for breakfast! A less skilful observer would deem this unnatural and improbable. Knowledge begets confidence. He cares not to appear improbable, who feels that he is true. It is so, too, with the closing scene of Ralph Nickleby's career. What a crowd of trifling and unimportant thoughts force themselves upon his mind! how utterly at variance with the awful interest of the hour! and yet how true! Let the doubter examine his own heart, even in its severest and bitterest hour of trial!

There is a perfect distinctness, too, in his descriptions,—the result of his perfect acquaintance with all the parts of his subject. His personages never forget themselves; their mask never falls off, or turns awry. It would be impossible for instance, to confound, even in a scene altogether unprofessional, the attorney's clerk and the city shopman, nearly as they might seem allied. They betray themselves, even through the disguise of their holiday finery and holiday manners. Your eye, almost without effort, traces the well defined line of distinction which he has drawn, where a less skilful hand would have but daubed and blotted the picture. You see it in the cut of a coat or the fashion of a shirt collar! the most ordinary actions are strictly characteristic,—in fact, they move, eat, drink, sleep, each according to his own mode, and in keeping with his own profession. We do not say that this is universal; that every personage is, what is technically called, “a character.” This has been urged as a charge against Mr. Dickens. Some of his *dramatis personæ*, it is said, are mere nonentities. This is perfectly true; and, we have no doubt, was seriously intended by the writer. Far, however, from considering it a defect, we should look upon the contrary as absurd and unnatural. In a picture of every-day life, he is a very unreasonable, and we will add, a very unskilful observer of the world, who will expect to meet none but “characters,”

“Intererit multum Davusne loquatur an heros
Maturusne senex, an, adhuc florente juventâ,
Fervidus ———”

Mr. Dickens has been assimilated to Fielding and Smollett. We should be sorry to subscribe to the criticism. We are of opinion, that they have little in common beyond the subject; and even that, to an extent far short of what is commonly imagined. Agreeing, it is true, in having selected the humbler walk of life as the common scene of their fiction, they look upon it with very different eyes, and almost from opposite points of view; and while, in the selection of characters, they may be said to coincide, in the mode of their treatment, there is a wide discrepancy. On this, however, we do not mean to dwell. It is in the tendency of their writings that we place the most striking, and by far the most important, disparity.

The school of Fielding and Smollett is, in English literature, what that of Boccaccio and Grazzini is in Italian, and that of Rabelais in French,—distinguished by its elegant wit, deep knowledge of life and manners, humorous description of character, and, in opposition to the un-English school of Johnson,

purity of language and of style. These are grounds, on which, notwithstanding the loose and immoral tone of their productions, it is considered impossible to deny their claim to the title of classics in the language; they possess a doubtful sort of standing, rather undenied, than openly admitted; and like the dubious characters whom we sometimes meet in good society, there are many, who, half ashamed formally to recognize, are yet unwilling to cut their acquaintance altogether. But from those literary circles, where religion and virtue are more prized than graphic humour, where purity of morals is considered before purity of style, they have, like their brethren of the continent, been long discarded. The writings of Mr. Dickens, on the contrary, are eminently free, not only from all that is gross, or openly immoral, but even from that dangerously seductive sentimentality, which, silently sapping the foundations of virtue, carries the poison more securely to the heart. Fielding and Smollett are gross and voluptuous even to disgusting; Dickens is free even from this shadow of impropriety. The former would scarcely be out of place in the lowest purlieus of vice; the latter may, without a blush, be admitted as an agreeable companion in the boudoir, or displayed as an elegant and appropriate ornament of the drawing-room.

This difference, we said, is more in the tendency, than in the actual dress of the fiction. Both occasionally dealing with the lowest and worst specimens of human nature, both showing the darkest side of this bad picture, the effects on the imagination, notwithstanding, are very opposite. In the one case, some of the most dangerous, if not absolutely the worst, scenes, if they be not rendered actually attractive, can at least be contemplated without repugnance. In the other, crime, through all its forms, is stripped of the trappings, which skilfully adjusted, conceal its deformity,—is shown as it really is

“ — a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen.”

It would seem to have been a rule with Fielding and Smollett, (for, though differing in many things, they but too closely resemble each other here,) to make all their virtuous characters stiff, and strait-laced, and unamiable, while some of their very worst are of that dangerous class, so well described by Pope, whose vice

“ — By degrees, familiar with its face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.”

The fatal influence of such reading—the silent, but secure, process by which its diabolical success is achieved—are admi-

rably portrayed by Miss Edgeworth, in her instructive tale, *Ormond*. Many a youth, who, in the moments of cool reflection, would turn with disgust from the looseness of Fielding, and shudder at the profane and immoral levity of Smollett, has yielded to the seductive influence of the too successful skill with which they soften down vice into pardonable, if not amiable, weakness; and palliate blackguardism into the wild and exuberant buoyancy of youth! And, when we speak of this older school, let us not be understood to limit the observation. We cannot but extend it to many of our most popular novels—some of them, we blush to write, the work of a female pen. *Sydenham, Vivian Grey, Pelham*, many of Captain Marryatt's works, and several of Mr. Maxwell's,—though, of course, not directly chargeable with the vices which we have been condemning—are yet, from the causes assigned—the loose and careless morality of their interesting and gentleman-like heroes—the dangerous and improper models, which, if they be not held up for imitation, are, at least, allowed to pass without censure—no less destructive in their spirit and tendency, than the grosser, but less insidious, fictions to which they have succeeded.

From all this Mr. Dickens is perfectly free. Throughout his volume “there is not a single incident or expression which could call a blush to the most delicate cheek.” (*Preface*.) Among the many votaries of vice and folly sketched by his hand, there is not one which does not excite either indignation or contempt. Ralph Nickleby, the swindler in *Pickwick*, the mean and miserable Fagin, the villain Monks, perhaps can scarcely be considered as practical. But there is a deeper lesson in the character of the selfish profligate, Bray—the young lord and his unprincipled companion—and a host of minor actors in the *Sketches*. Never was remorse more fearfully portrayed, than in the flight of Sikes after the murder;—never, guilty, hopeless, impenitence depicted with more appalling accuracy, than in the last night of the condemned Jew, and the closing scene of Ralph Nickleby's career;—and surely never was contrast employed with more success to heighten the effect, than in the almost too perfect, if we were not assured that it is actually true, sketch of the inimitable Brothers!

There is more justice, allowing for the diversity of subject, in the parallel which has also been drawn between the *Pickwick Papers* and *Don Quixote*. If “dear old Mr. Pickwick” bear but a faint resemblance to Cervantes' hero, it is impossible not to discover in Sam Weller the lineal descendant of Sancho Panza. Much of the adventure, too, though of course in another

order, bears a striking analogy with that of the Spanish Don. The chivalrous expeditions in the cause of benevolence—the “remarkable facts” which Mr. Pickwick is so fond of noting—the antiquarian discovery at Cobham—and a thousand minutiae of these and other scenes—remind us, at every turn, of the pliant and humorous pen of Cervantes; perhaps, indeed, the similarity of manner will be more perceptible in the *Novellas Ejemplares*, than in *Don Quixote*; particularly in the sketches of gipsy life in the *Gitanilla*, or the amusing incidents of the *Casamiento Engannoso*.

It would be easy to trace a thousand equally pertinent parallels. We all remember the laborious ingenuity with which, in the palmy days of Byron's fame, each critical Zoilus would ferret out the faintest traces of an obscure plagiarism, and the indignant sensitiveness with which the noble bard would repel the unworthy imputation. In the present case, where it is only sought to establish a similarity of manner, this would be much easier. We could ourselves supply, to the curious in these idle and unprofitable speculations, a host of minor coincidences;—with Hoffmann, for instance, in his occasional happy moods; where, as in *Der Majorat*, or *Martin der Küfer*, he confines within due bounds that spirit of *bizarrie* whose indulgence was his besetting sin;—with Washington Irving, especially in the *Sketches* and the occasional stories introduced in *Pickwick* and *Nickleby*;—and, perhaps, even more (bating his strong German peculiarities) with Jean Paul Richter. But this were a vain and mistaken inquiry. It is impossible to deny that Mr. Dickens is a strongly original writer. In many instances, the imitations, especially of Washington Irving, are obviously intended; and, even where these faint vestiges of resemblance may be discovered, there is a freshness and strength in the manner—a happy art *proprie communia dicere*—which marks them as strictly and exclusively his own.

But these desultory thoughts are beginning to assume the form of a regular critical dissertation, and we are forgetting our main business—the *German Translation of the Pickwick Papers*. Our first exclamation, when the foreign catalogues announced the work, was one of incredulity; for we conceived the original so completely English, as well in its matter as in its peculiar phraseology, as to be untranslatable. And indeed we know no subject more capable of furnishing a fund of amusement, than a history of similar translations—a fund which, though translations of modern fiction have contributed their full share, may yet be drawn from the

most serious and solemn subjects. The sacred Scriptures themselves have not escaped; and the ridiculous travesties with which the early metrical versions abound, are scarcely more ludicrous than the absurdly affected Latinity of Castalio (Chateillon), or the foolishly rigid Anglicism of the misguided and unhappy Geddes.

In more modern works, these absurdities arise less frequently from ignorance of the language, than from imperfect knowledge of the manners and customs of the country, and of certain conventional forms of expression, which, though in ordinary use, are not sufficiently classical to merit a place in the dictionaries or phrase-books. Ziegler, for forty years connected with the German stage, and one of its most popular authors, in his play, *Parteien-wuth*—an English story of the Commonwealth—introduces a trial by jury. The jury consists of *six* persons, the sheriff presides, the judge acts as crown prosecutor, and the jurors discuss the probability of losing their places if their verdict be not agreeable to the powers that be! Absurdities of this class are very numerous. Both Goldoni's plays founded on Richardson's *Pamela*—the *Pamela Fanciulla*, and *Pamela Maritata*—are filled with the most glaring misconceptions of English manners and customs. In fact, there is scarcely any publication of that period exempt from similar mistakes.

Sometimes, again, it proceeds from over haste and credulity in the writer. Russell, in his most interesting *Tour in Germany* (vol. ii. p. 20), tells, that a well-known geographer, having read that an English navigator had discovered an *ice-island* in an unusually southern latitude, assigned that latitude to *Iceland* in his book! M. Feuillide, in his spirited and honest, but ill-digested, work on Ireland, published last year, falls into the most egregious blunders. He gives, what is notoriously but a popular ballad, as genuine history; and tells, with the utmost seriousness, as an undoubted fact, the joke as old as the "original Joe Miller," that the Irish beggars are actually supplied from England with the cast-off clothes of the more favoured mendicants of the sister-kingdom!

It arises most commonly, however, from the conventional use of certain words or phrases, with which the dictionary does not supply the foreigner. D'Israeli tells, that the French translator of a passage, in which Swift speaks of the Duke of Marlborough's having *broke* an officer, knowing but one way in which this could be done, renders it by *roué* (broken on the wheel)! One of the first Italian translators of Cobbett's *His-*

tory of the Reformation, is said to have translated “Orange-men,” *venditori de’ portogalli* (orange-sellers)! and the luckless translator of *Manfred*, who excited to such a pitch the sensitive indignation of the noble author, was sadly puzzled, and, in fact, brought to a stand, by—

“The wisp’s on the morass;”

for which he could find no synonym in the English dictionary but “a little bundle of straw”.

This we might suppose bad enough. We have seen Schiller’s play, *Don Carlos*, catalogued in a highly respectable library as a “Dutch history” of that prince! The *Essay on Irish Bulls*, by Mr. Edgeworth and his gifted daughter, is found in a French *catalogue raisonnée*, under the head *Natural History*! and, more ludicrous still, Colley Cibber’s play, *Love’s last Shift*, is said to have been entitled by a French translator, *La dernière Chemise d’Amour*!

If the reader expect a *great deal* of this in the German *Pickwick*, he will be somewhat disappointed. As regards mere verbal correctness, it has fallen into better hands; and, although not without his share of absurdities, still, considering the peculiarities of the original, the translator has generally been very successful. The truth is, however, that the *Pickwick Papers*, or any similar work, is and must be untranslatable; or if it be possible at all to transfuse its spirit into a foreign language, there is but one means—Mr. Dickens must make himself master of all the mysteries of the language and customs of each capital—the “cockneyism” of them all—as he is of those of his own; and reproduce the work for each, in a form as strictly national, as that which it holds now with regard to Britain.

M. Roberts, in his preface (p. x.), explains the plan which he has adopted in his translation. He acknowledges with regret, that “while his object has been to preserve as far as possible the peculiar character and spirit of the text, there yet occur, here and there, words and phrases which he has not been able to render into the German idiom, either because the Germans have not the idea at all, or because they do not possess a word by which it can be expressed. He has occasionally, therefore, altered and abridged, but never without patient reflection and important reasons.” We shall see hereafter the extent to which he occasionally carries this, apparently not unreasonable, privilege. For the present, we shall only observe that, strangely enough, the most difficult character in the

book—Sam Weller—is, beyond all comparison, the most faithfully executed. The writer appears quite familiar with the classic language of Cockaigne; and his success in several instances has really surprised us. He hits off, by a sort of intuition, the meaning of the “elder Weller” in cases where we question whether our provincial readers would not find themselves partially embarrassed. We should have supposed it next to impossible for any foreigner, however extensive his acquaintance with the language, to see his way through passages such as these:—“If I don’t get no better light than that ere moonshine o’ *your’n my vorthy creetur*, its very likely I shall continey a night-coach till I’m took off the road altogether. Now, Mrs. W, if the piebald stands at livery much longer, he’ll *stand at nothing* as we go back, and *p’raps that ere harm cheer* ull be tipped over;” or, “There aint no vurks in it; it ull hold him easy, and breathe through the legs, *vich his holler*.” And yet these are rendered with perfect accuracy. It required some penetration, too, to fathom the depth of Sam’s “up to snuff, and a pinch or two over;” and we have our doubts whether Mr. Winkle himself would have understood the question which Sam is made to propose after the scene in the old aunt’s garden, “Hope there vasn’t any priory tachment?” or his directions to Bob Sawyer’s boy in the grey livery, “now, depitty Sawbones, bring out the wollatilly.” We are not surprised, therefore, to find these things occasionally too much for him. Sam’s original exhortation, “Out with it, as the father said to his child ven he swallowed a *farden*,” is made “when he swallowed a *frog*.” The very expressive and polite adjective, *rum*, is perpetually rendered *curious* (*kuriose*); and he seems not to know what to make of the *cock and bull* story at all.

At the servants’ supper in Bath, too, Mr. Tuckle’s refined command to the obsequious green-grocer, “take the *kiver* off,” is translated, “take down the *bell*;”—Mr. Wicks’ “precious *seedy* customer,” is transformed into “a *droll fellow*, he looks so wretchedly hungry;”—his conjecture as to the result of old Fogg’s learning his misdoings, “I should *get the sack*, I s’pose,” is paraphrased, “*he would foam like March beer*!”—and in the description of the costume of Wilkins Flasher, Esq. the dandy stock-broker, a pair of “*symmetrical inexpressibles*,” is metamorphosed into “a *tastefully adjusted neck-cloth* (*sehr kunstliche geknupfte Hals-tucher*)!”

One great source of the translator’s success in avoiding similar blunders in other instances, is the skill with which he

avails himself of the privilege of omitting and abridging—a privilege which he seldom fails to exercise when there is a doubt or difficulty in the original; like the country school-master who skips the hard words, consoling the not unwilling urchin by the assurance, “’tis a mountain in Germany, you’ll never go near it.” Unfortunately, however, this is not the only plea on which he considers himself entitled to abridge; and indeed it would be difficult to assign a reason for the very considerable omissions which, without one word of notice, we occasionally discover. The reader will remember the very beautiful description of the landscape, as seen from Rochester bridge:—

“On the left of the spectator lay the ruined wall, broken in many places, overhanging the narrow beach below in rude and heavy masses. Huge knots of sea-weed hung upon the jagged and pointed stones, trembling in every breath of wind; and the green ivy clung mournfully round the dark and ruined battlements. Behind it rose the ancient castle, its towers roofless, and its walls crumbling away; but telling us proudly of its old might and strength, as when, seven hundred years ago, it rang with the clash of arms, and resounded with the noise of feasting and revelry. On either side, the banks of the Medway, covered with corn-fields and pastures, with, here and there, a windmill or a distant church, stretched away as far as the eye could see, presenting a rich and varied landscape, rendered more beautiful by the changing shadows which passed swiftly across it, as the thin and half-formed clouds skimmed away in the light of the morning sun. The river, reflecting the clear blue sky, glistened and sparkled as it flowed noiselessly on; and the oars of the fishermen dipped into the water with a clear and liquid sound, as their heavy, but picturesque, boats glided down the stream.”—*Pickwick Papers*, p. 43-4.

This entire passage, in the author’s happiest style, is omitted in the German, without the slightest notice of the omission; as also the afternoon walk to Cobham (chap. xv) in search of Mr. Tupman, who has just commenced misanthrope. These and similar passages, independently of their beauty, form an important portion of the work, as descriptive of rural scenery in England; and, under any circumstances, the neglect to apprise the reader of the suppression, cannot but be considered as utterly unjustifiable.

The poetry fares still worse than the prose. The simple but beautiful lines, *The Ivy Green*, recited by the clergyman of Dingley-Dell, are passed over without ceremony; and nearly an entire page is sacrificed to conceal the gap. We are even more indignant at the suppression of the joyous and heart-stirring *Christmas Carol*, sung by our dear old friend

Wardle. We transcribe one or two of the verses, careless and irregular though they be, that the reader may feel how much is sacrificed to the indolence or incapacity of the German translator. We shall only add, that here also the reader is left in ignorance of the omission.

"I care not for Spring; on his fickle wing
 Let the blossoms and buds be borne;
 He woos them amain with his treacherous rain,
 And scatters them ere the morn.
 An inconstant elf, he knows not himself,
 Or his own changing mind an hour;
 He'll smile in your face, and, with wry grimace,
 He'll wither your youngest flower.

* * * * *

A mild harvest night, by the tranquil light
 Of the modest and gentle moon,
 Has a far sweeter sheen for me, I ween,
 Than the broad and unblushing noon.
 But every leaf awakens my grief,
 As it lieth beneath the tree,
 So let Autumn air be never so fair,
 It by no means agrees with me.

* * * * *

But my song I troll out for *Christmas* stout
 The hearty, the true, and the bold;
 A bumper I drain, and, with might and main
 Give three cheers for Christmas old.
 We'll usher him in with a merry din,
 That shall gladden his joyous heart:
 And we'll keep him up while there's bite or sup,
 And in fellowship good we'll part."

There is not, in the entire volume, anything more perfectly characteristic than this little piece, with all its carelessness. The strain is thoroughly English; and even the irregularity of the versification is in perfect keeping with the joyous and hearty songster to whom it is assigned. The whole subject—Christmas—is obviously a favourite with the author; and the common justice which a translator owes to his original, would require that, if he found it necessary to pass by what is clearly an integral part, he should at least have the honesty to acknowledge the suppression, even though he were unwilling to avow the cause.

But these are not the only liberties which he conceives himself warranted to take. He makes no difficulty of altering, (of course with the intention of improving), a phrase, and sometimes an entire passage. At the end of the indescribably

humorous and graphic opening of the Eatanswill election, "a vote of thanks was moved to the mayor for his able conduct in the chair; and the mayor, devoutly wishing that he had had a chair to display his able conduct in, (for he had been standing during the entire proceedings) returned thanks." There is a little point here, though it be not a very important one. But Mr. Roberts does not admire it. His own version is: "the mayor thanked them in the most modest terms, for, as he truly said, the unmerited compliment; which might have been the easier for him, as never was assembly more unruly, never conduct more unfortunate, and attended with worse success." (*Die Pickwickier*, ii. 71.) Whatever may be thought of the propriety of the alteration, certainly there can be but one opinion as to the improvement.

The costumes at Mrs. Hunter's dress *déjeunée*, classically selected though they be, are not suffered to escape without similar improvement. Mr. Solomon Lucas, the fancy-dress-man, himself, could not prescribe, and alter, and arrange, with more arbitrary despotism. Poor Snodgrass is not permitted to follow his own taste in his favourite character—the Troubadour. His "blue satin trunks and cloak, white silk tights and shoes, and Grecian helmet," are, contrary to all the laws of fancy costume, exchanged for "blue *silk doublet* (Wamse) and *Spanish* mantle, white silk tights, *red satin* (rothen Atlas-schuhen) shoes and *Roman helmet*!" (ii. 114). The band of music in *pasteboard caps*, are provided, instead, with "*oil-cloth* caps, (Wachstuch-kappen) which, we are told in a note, are "something very uncommon in England!"—(ii. 116.)

The cricket-match between the All-Mugglestonians and the Dingley Dellers is sadly mangled. Mr. Jingle's "singular" story of the "hot game in the West Indies with his friend Sir Thomas Blazo;—bat in blisters—ball scorched brown"—loses most of its point; and the melancholy fate of the devoted bowler, Quanko Samba—"bowled on on my account—bowled off on his own," (i. 138), is literally given up in despair. The German reader too is deprived of the invaluable opportunity of cultivating and improving his acquaintance with Mr. Alfred Jingle. From some motive which we cannot divine—it may be jealousy—his address "Alfred Jingle, Esq.—*No-hall, No-where*," is withheld; his card is made plain "Alfred Jingle, Esq.;" and the name of his place of abode, like the estate it was intended to represent, is in the German translation literally *no-where*! In some of the liberties taken, the translator however has been more fortunate. Sam Weller's proverbs are often well paraphrased into the analogous national sayings

of Germany. The “say-nothing-to-me—or-I’ll-contradict-you sort of countenance,” is well condensed into “gebieterisch;” and Mr. Wicks’, it may be classical, but certainly not very intelligible, simile—“he sighed *like bricks* as he lugged out the money”—does not suffer by the metamorphosis into “he sighed *like a rusty weather-cock*,” (wie ’ne rustige Wetterfahne).

We shall venture, (though there may be some for whom it will have but little interest), to give a short specimen of the translation, side by side with the text. The words and sentences printed in italic type are omitted in the German, and without any notice of the suppression.

“Mr. Ben Allen and Mr. Bob Sawyer sat together in the little surgery behind the shop, discussing minced veal and future prospects, *when the discourse, not unnaturally, turned upon the practice acquired by Bob the aforesaid, and his present chances of deriving a competent independence from the honourable profession to which he had devoted himself.*

“—Which I think,” observed Mr. Bob Sawyer, *pursuing the thread of the subject*, “which I think are rather dubious.”

“*What’s rather dubious?*” enquired Mr. Ben Allen, *at the same time sharpening his intellects with a draught of beer*; “*What’s dubious?*”

“*Why the chances,*” responded Mr. Bob Sawyer.

“*I forgot,*” said Mr. Ben Allen, “*the beer has reminded me that—I forgot Bob—yes, they are dubious.*”

“It’s wonderful how the poor people patronize me,” said Mr. Bob Sawyer, *reflectively*. “They knock me up at all hours of the night, take medicine to an extent which I should have conceived impossible, put on blisters and

“Mr. Ben Allen und Mr. Bob Sawyer sassen in dem kleinen Gemache hinter dem Laden, beschäftigt mit gehacktem Kalbfleisch, und ihren Ansichten auf Praxis.

* * * *

“‘Die meinigen,’ sagte Bob, ‘sind gleichfalls sehr ungewiss.’

* * * *

“‘Sist zum bewundern welche Armen-Praxis ich habe. Sie klopfen mich zu allen Stunden in der Nacht aus dem Bette, nehmen rein unglaubliche Quantitäten Arznei, lassen sich Zugpflaster und Blutigel anheften

leeches with a perseverance worthy of a better cause, and make additions to their families in a manner which is quite awful; six of those little promissory notes, Ben, all due on the same day, and all entrusted to me.'

" 'It's very gratifying, isn't it?' said Mr. Ben Allen, holding his plate for more minced veal.

" 'Oh, very,' replied Bob; 'only not quite so much so as the confidence of patients with a shilling or two to spare would be. *This business was capitally described in the advertisement, Ben. It is a practice, a very extensive practice, and that's all.*

" 'Bob,' said Mr. Ben Allen, laying down his knife and fork, and fixing his eyes on the visage of his friend Bob, 'I'll tell you what it is.'

" 'What is it?' enquired Mr. Bob Sawyer.

" 'You must make yourself, with as little delay as possible, master of Arabella's one thousand pounds.'

" 'Three per cent. consolidated Bank annuities, now standing in her name in the book or books of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England,' added Bob Sawyer in legal phraseology.

" 'Exactly so,' said Ben, 'she has it when she comes of age or marries. She wants a year of coming of age, and, if you plucked up spirit, she needn't want a month of being married.' "

We miss here nearly one-half of this short extract; but we should not complain so much, if this were always done in such a way as to condense the meaning without any material omission. The examples which we have already cited, however, prove that, although the preface professes never to abridge without sufficient reason, yet this principle is but little regarded, where it interferes with the convenience of the trans-

und ansetzen mit einer besseren Sache würdigen Beharrlichkeit, und vermehren ihre Familien auf eine wirklich schreckbare Weise. An einem einzigen Tage beehrten mich, letztthin, sechs Wöchnerinnen.'

" 'S ist äusserst erfreulich,' sagte Ben, abermals seinen Teller haltend.

" 'Ganz über die Massen: nur nicht so sehr als es das Vertrauen von Patienten sein würde, die einige Schillinge übrig haben.'

* * * *

" 'Bob,' sagte Ben, Messer und Gabel aus der Hand legend, und den Freund scharf ansehend, 'ich will Dir was sagen, Bob.'

" 'Nun?' fragte Bob.

" 'Du must Dich, so bald als möglich, in den Besitz von Arabella's tausend Pfunden setzen.'

* * * *

" 'Sie werden ihr ausgezahlt, sobald sie mündig wird, oder sich verheirathet. Mündig ist sie in einem Jahre, und, hast du Courage, in vier Wochen deine Frau.' "

lator. It is worth while to continue the comparison. The consultation of this worthy pair may interest the reader as much as it did themselves. What follows adheres closer to the text.

“ ‘She’s a very charming and delightful creature,’ quoth Mr. Robert Sawyer in reply; ‘and has only one fault that I know of, Ben. It happens, unfortunately, that that single blemish is a want of taste; she don’t like me.’

“ ‘It’s my opinion that she don’t know what she does like,’ said Mr. Ben Allen, contemptuously.

“ ‘Perhaps not,’ remarked Mr. Bob Sawyer, ‘but it’s my opinion, that she does know what she doesn’t like, and that’s of even more importance.’

“ ‘I wish,’ said Mr. Ben Allen, setting his teeth together, and speaking more like a savage warrior who had fed upon raw wolf’s flesh, which he carved with his fingers, than a peaceable young gentleman who carved minced veal with a knife and fork—‘I wish I knew whether any rascal has really been tampering with her, and endeavouring to engage her affections. I think I should assassinate him, Bob.’

“ ‘I’d put a bullet in him,’ said Mr. Sawyer, stopping in the course of a long draught of beer, and looking malignantly out of the pewter pot. ‘If that didn’t do his business, I’d extract it afterwards, and kill him that way.’

“ *Mr. Benjamin Allen gazed abstractedly on his friend for some minutes in silence, and then said—*

“ ‘You have never proposed to her point-blank, Bob.’

“ ‘No, because I saw it would

“ ‘Sie ist ein allerliebstes, prächtiges Persönchen,’ bemerkte Bob, ‘und hat, meines Wissens, nur einen einzigen Fehler, Ben. Es mangelt ihr, unglücklicher Weise, an Geschmack. Sie mag mich nicht leiden.’

“ ‘Meine Meinung ist, sie weiss selbst nicht was sie leiden mag,’ sagte Ben, verächtlich.

“ ‘Kann sein,’ bemerkte Bob; ‘aber meine Meinung ist sie weiss was sie nicht leiden mag, und darauf kommt noch viel mehr an.’

“ ‘Ich wolte nur,’ sagte Ben, biss die Zähne zusammen, und sprach mehr wie eine wilde Indianischer, mit den Fingern rohes Wolfs-fleisch geniessender, Krieger, als gleich einem friedlichen, gehacktes Kalbsfleisch mit Messer und Gabeln speisenden, jungen Gentleman. ‘Ich wollte nur dass ich wüsste ob sich wirklich eine Halunke um sie bemühet. Ich würde ihm erdolchen, Bob.’

“ ‘Und ich würde ihm eine Kugel beibringen,’ fiel Bob ein, innehaltend—denn er that eben einen langen Zug aus dem Bier-Krüge—und blutgierig über den Rand des letzteren hinüber schauend; ‘und hätte er damit noch nicht genug, so zög’ ich sie wieder heraus, und ermordete ihn auf diese Weise.’

“ ‘Hast du ihr nie einen ordentlichen Antrag gemacht?’ fragte Ben den Freund, nach einigem Stillschweigen.’

“ ‘Nein; denn ich sah sehr

be of no use,' replied Mr. Bob Sawyer.

"' You shall do it, before you are twenty-four hours older,' retorted Ben, with desperate calmness. 'She *shall* have you, or I'll know the reason why—I'll exert my authority.'

"' Well,' said Mr. Bob Sawyer, 'we shall see.'

"' We *shall* see, my friend,' replied Mr. Ben Allen, fiercely. He paused for a few seconds, and added in a voice broken by emotion, 'You have loved her from a child, my friend; you loved her when we were boys at school together, and even then she was wayward, and *slighted your young feelings*. Do you recollect, with all the eagerness of a child's love, one day pressing upon her acceptance two small caraway-seed biscuits, and one sweet apple, neatly folded into a circular parcel, with the leaf of a copy-book?'

"' *I do*,' replied Bob Sawyer.'

"' She slighted that I think? said Ben Allen.

"' She did,' rejoined Bob, 'she said, I had kept the parcel so long in the pockets of my corduroys, that the apple was unpleasantly warm.'

"' I remember,' said Mr. Allen, gloomily; 'upon which we ate it ourselves, in alternate bites.'

"' *Bob Sawyer intimated his recollection of the circumstance last alluded to, by a melancholy frown, and the two friends remained for some time absorbed, each in his own meditations.*

wohl dass es vergeblich sein würde.'

"' Du sollst es thun ehe Du vier und zwanzig Stunden älter bist,' fuhr Ben mit der Ruhe der Verzweiflung fort. 'Sie *soll* Dich nehmen, oder ich werde ein anderes Wort mit ihr reden—ich werde meine brüderliche Autorität in Anwendung bringen.'

"' Wir werden sehen,' bemerkte Bob.

"' Wir werden allerdings sehen, meine Freund,' entgegnete Ben mit grimmiger Entschlossenheit, schwieg einige Augenblicke, und fügte mit Zorn bebender Stimme hinzu. 'Du hast sie von Kindheit an geliebt, mein Freund; liebtest sie, als wir noch Schulbuben waren, und schon zu der Zeit war sie trossköpfig, *und wollte von Deiner nichts wissen*. Entsinnst Du Dich, wie Du ihr einst ein Paar Stück Zuckerwerk und einer Apfel in einer zierlich aus einem Schreibbuch's-Blatte gedrehten Düte aufdringen wolltest? Gab sie Deinen rührenden Bitten wohl nach?'

* * * *

"' Nein,' erwiederte Bob finster, 'Sie sagte ich hätte die Düte so lange in der Tasche meiner Manchesternen gehabt, dass der Apfel unangenehm warm wäre.'

"' Ja, ja,' sagte Ben, mit bewolkter Miene, 'und wir assen darauf den Apfel, wechselweis anbeissend, selbst auf.'

* * * *

"' Die Freunde verstummten, und überliessen sich auf eine Zeit lang ihren nicht sehr erfreulichen Meditationen.'

"While these observations were being exchanged between Mr. Bob Sawyer and Mr. Benjamin Allen, and while the boy in the green livery, marvelling at the unwonted prolongation of the dinner, cast an anxious look, from time to time, towards the glass-door, distracted by inward misgivings as to the amount of mince-veal which would be ultimately reserved for his individual cravings, there rolled soberly on through the streets of Bristol, a private fly, painted of a dark green colour, drawn by a chubby sort of brown horse, and driven by a surly looking man, with his legs dressed like the legs of a groom, and his body attired in the coat of a coachman. Such appearances are very common to many vehicles, belonging to, and maintained by, old ladies of economical habits; and in this vehicle there sat an old lady, who was its mistress and proprietor."

In addition to the omission of a considerable part of the text, the German reader will here perceive a very remarkable and amusing departure from its form. Now, although in a book of serious instruction, this might be tolerated, it is quite otherwise in a work of fiction, and especially one of a character so peculiar as the *Pickwick Papers*. Among the peculiarities of Mr. Dickens' style, the quiet though playful humour, which runs even through the form of his sentences, is not the least remarkable; and the translator, who thinks himself at liberty to remodel and transpose his periods and clauses, constructed on a plain and simple, but obviously fixed and uniform plan, can scarcely be considered to understand his spirit, or expected to transfuse it into his own version, whatever might be the elegance of that version, if it were considered as an original composition. But to proceed.

"'Martin!' said the old lady, calling to the surly man out of the front window."

"'Well!' said the surly man, touching his hat to the old lady."

"'Mr. Sawyer's,' said the old lady."

* * * *

"Der Knabe in grauer Livree warf unterdess manchen sehnstichtigen und angstvollen Blick durch die Glasthur; seine Herrschaft sass ungewöhnlich lange am Tische, und böse die für ihm übrig bleibende Kalbsfleisch-portion betreffende abnungen stiegen in ihm auf. Er war mit den letzteren, und die Freunde, wie erzählt worden, beschäftigt, als eine grau-grüne, mit einem plumpen braunen Gaule bespannte, Fliege, der Art vor der Hausthür hielt, wie sparsame alte Dame sie zu halten pflegen; und wirklich sass auch eine alte Dame darin."

* * * *

“‘*I was going there,*’ said the surly man. The old lady nodded the satisfaction which this proof of the surly man’s foresight imparted to her feelings; and the surly man, giving a smart lash to the chubby horse, they all repaired to Mr. Bob Sawyer’s together.

“‘*Martin!*’ said the old lady, when the fly stopped at the door of Mr. Robert Sawyer, late Nock-emorf.

“‘*Well!*’ said Martin.

“‘*Ask the lad to step out and mind the horse.*’

“‘*I’m going to mind the horse myself,*’ said Martin, *laying his whip on the roof of the fly.*

“‘*I can’t permit it on any account,*’ said the old lady, ‘your testimony will be very important; and I must take you into the house with me. You must not stir from my side during the whole interview. *Do you hear?*’

“‘*I hear,*’ said Martin.

“‘*Well, what are you stopping for?*’

“‘*Nothing,*’ replied Martin. So saying, the surly man leisurely descended from the wheel upon which he had been poising himself on the top of the toes of his right foot, and, having summoned the boy in the grey livery, opened the coach door, flung down the steps, and thrusting in a hand enveloped in a dark wash-leather glove, pulled out the old lady, with as much unconcern as if she were a band-box.

“‘*Dear me,*’ exclaimed the old lady, ‘*I am so flurried, now I have got here, Martin, that I’m all in a tremble.*’

“*Mr. Martin coughed behind the dark wash-leather glove, but expressed no farther sympathy;*

* * * *

* * * *

“Die alte Dame öffnete das Fenster, und rief dem Kütscher zu, er möchte den Burschen heraussuchen, und ihn beauftragen das Pferd zu halten.

“‘*Das will ich schon selber thun,*’ rief Martin, der mürrische Kütscher, zurück.

‘*Nein, nein,*’ sagte die alte Dame, ‘Ihr zeugniss ist von grosser Wichtigkeit; sie müssen mit hinein, und dürfen, während den ganzen Unterredung, nicht von meiner Seite weichen.’

* * * *

“Martin stieg langsam vom Bock;

* * * *

rief den Burschen in den grauen Livree; öffnete den Schlag; liess die Fritte hinunter;

* * * *

und half den alten Dame aus dem Wagen, wobei er ungefähr so manierlich mit ihr umging, als wenn sie eine Schachtel gewesen wäre.”

Die Pickwickier, Th. vi. 17-20.

* * * *

so the old lady, composing herself,
trotted up Mr. Bob Sawyer's
steps, and Mr. Martin followed.

* * * *

Pickwick Papers, pp. 508-10.

This is *translation* with a witness ! This is "never to curtail the original, except for grave reasons, and after serious examination !" It is but justice, however, to observe, that this wholesale swamping of the text, is, in great measure, confined to the latter volumes. In the beginning, there is considerably less trace of this disposition to abridge, and a great deal more of attention to the minute niceties of translation. The equestrian journey of the Pickwickians from Rochester to Dingley Dell ; the shooting expedition at old Wardle's ; Pickwick's adventure with Captain Boldwig ; the pursuit and discovery at the White Hart, of Miss Rachael and her gentle swain, though each and all far more difficult than the passage we have cited, are almost unexceptionable ; and we can only account for the strange turn which the work takes towards the close, by supposing, that as the labour of translation proceeded, the author began to flag at his work, and became too lazy or too confident to employ the same care which he had bestowed upon the earlier volumes.

Obscurities in the text, national peculiarities, and incidental allusions involving any special difficulty, are occasionally elucidated by remarks from the translator. There is obviously a good deal of guessing in this matter,—sometimes not the most sagacious in the world. After the story of the Bagman's uncle "The ghost of a mail-coach,"—the landlord, who has listened with the utmost attention, "wonders what these ghosts of mail-coaches carry." "*The dead letters* of course," said the bagman. Now, although, as a second explanation, we are told that this may mean, "letters which are not called for," yet the first and primary signification assigned in the note, is "*The letters of the dead*," (die Briefe der Todten ! vi. 60.) Our Scottish friends must decide whether a *Haggis*, (vi. 40) (Hachis) may be defined "a sort of pudding, made of the lungs, heart, and liver, of a cow or sheep, prepared in the stomach of a sheep or cow." Many an old family card-party will be forced to remodel their established tactics of Pope Joan, which, it seems, is "a game played in England with a board ; in which the person who has the king and queen together, gets matrimony, and wins ; while he who holds the queen and knave, loses !"

The "second" at the Eatanswill election, apparently from

confusion of the two meanings of the English verb, is translated "the assistant," (ii. 68, *assistente*) although the other details of the election are given with sufficient accuracy. The translator cannot be deeply read in the mysteries of winter travelling in England; else, in the traveller's room at the Peacock, he would not confound the "row of weather-beaten great coats *with complicated capes*" for "coats with capes of every description" (*aller Art*, ii. 74); and, if he understood thoroughly why the observation of the smoking gentleman at the Magpie and Stump,—that "smoke was *board and lodging* to him—" suggested to Mr. Pickwick, that, "if it were *washing* also, it would be all the better," he would scarcely have destroyed the point, by rendering it "*meat and drink*" (*Speis und Trank*, iii. 50.)

These things, however, though they may amuse for the moment, do not materially influence the general impression which the work is likely to make upon our phlegmatic neighbours of Germany. It is not so with the transpositions and curtailment of sentences; the hacking and mangling of paragraphs; and above all the erasure of important and substantial portions of the work. We have one passage under our eye at this moment, for whose omission we profess ourselves utterly unable to conjecture any probable motive. It is a favourite of ours, and forms a part of a favourite chapter—the Christmas wedding at Dingley-Dell. The journey downwards was too good a subject to escape the notice of so keen-eyed a sketcher as Boz. We cannot resist the temptation of transcribing it.

The Pickwick party is just seated on the outside of the Muggleton coach.

—"They have rumbled through the streets, and jolted over the stones, and at length reach the wide and open country. The wheels skim over the hard and frosty ground; and the horses, bursting into a canter at a smart crack of the whip, step along the road as if the load behind them, coach, passengers, cod-fish, oyster-barrels, and all, were but a feather at their heels. They have descended a gentle slope, and enter upon a level as compact and dry as a solid block of marble, two miles long. Another crack of the whip, and on they speed at a smart gallop, the horses tossing their heads and rattling the harness, as if in exhilaration at the rapidity of the motion, while the coachman, holding whip and reins in one hand, takes off his hat with the other, and resting it on his knees, partly because he has a habit of doing it, partly because its as well to show the passengers how cool he is, and what an easy thing it is to drive four-in-hand, when you have as much practice as he has. Having done this very lei-

surely, (otherwise the effect would be materially impaired) he replaces his handkerchief, pulls on his hat, adjusts his gloves, squares his elbows, cracks the whip again, and on they speed more merrily than before.

“A few small houses scattered on either side of the road, betoken the entrance to some town or village. The lively notes of the guard’s key-bugle vibrate in the clear cold air, and wake up the old gentleman inside, who, carefully letting down the window-sash half way, and standing sentry over the air, takes a short peep, and then, carefully pulling it up again, informs the other inside that they’re going to change directly; on which the other inside wakes himself up, and determines to postpone his other nap until after the stoppage. Again the bugle sounds lustily forth, and rouses the cottager’s wife and children, who peep out at the house door, and watch the coach till it turns the corner, when they once more crouch round the blazing fire, and throw on another log against father comes home, while father himself, a full mile off, has just exchanged a friendly nod with the coachman, and turned round to take a good long stare at the vehicle as it whirls away.

“And now the bugle plays a lively air as the coach rattles through the ill-paved streets of a country town; and the coachman, undoing the buckle which keeps his ribands together, prepares to throw them off the moment he stops. Mr. Pickwick emerges from his coat collar, and looks about him with great curiosity; perceiving which, the coachman informs Mr. Pickwick of the name of the town, and tells him it was market-day yesterday, which pieces of information Mr. Pickwick retails to his fellow-passengers, whereupon they emerge from their coat collars too, and look about them also. Mr. Winkle, who sits at the extreme edge, with one leg dangling in the air, is nearly precipitated into the street, as the coach twists round the sharp corner by the cheesemonger’s shop, and turns into the market-place; and before Mr. Snodgrass, who sits next to him, has recovered from his alarm, they pull up at the inn-yard, where the fresh horses with cloths on are already waiting. The coachman throws down the reins and gets down himself, and the other outside passengers drop down also, except those who have no great confidence in their ability to get up again, and they remain where they are, and stamp their feet against the coach to warm them,—looking with longing eyes and red noses at the bright fire in the inn bar, and the sprigs of holly with red berries which ornament the window.

“But the guard has delivered at the corn-dealer’s shop the brown paper packet he took out of the little pouch which hangs over his shoulder by a leathern strap, and has seen the horses carefully put to, and has thrown on the pavement the saddle which was brought from London on the coach roof, and has assisted in the conference between the coachman and the hostler about the grey mare that hurt her off fore-leg last Tuesday, and he and Mr. Weller are all right behind, and the coachman is all right in front, and the old gentleman

inside, who has kept the window down full two inches all this time, has pulled it up again, and the cloths are off, and they are all ready for starting except the 'two stout gentlemen,' whom the coachman enquires after with some impatience; hereupon the coachman, and the guard, and Sam Weller, and Mr. Winkle, and Mr. Snodgrass, and all the hostlers, and every one of the idlers, who are more in number than all the others put together, shout for the missing gentlemen as loud as they can bawl. A distant response is heard from the yard, and Mr. Winkle and Mr. Snodgrass come running down it quite out of breath, for they have been having a glass of ale a-piece, and Mr. Pickwick's fingers were so cold that he has been full five minutes finding the sixpence to pay for it. The coachman shouts an admonitory 'now then, gen'l'm'n,'—the guard re-echoes it—the gentleman inside thinks it a very extraordinary thing that people *will* get down when they know there isn't time for it—Mr. Pickwick struggles up on one side, Mr. Tupman on the other—Mr. Winkle cries, 'all right,' and off they start. Shawls are pulled up, coat collars re-adjusted, the pavement ceases, the houses disappear; and they are once again dashing along the open road, with the fresh clear air blowing in their faces, and gladdening their very hearts within them.

"Such was the progress of Mr. Pickwick and his friends by the Muggleton Telegraph on their way to Dingley Dell; and at three o'clock that afternoon they all stood,—high and dry, safe and sound, hale and hearty—on the steps of the Blue Lion, having taken on the road quite enough of ale and brandy to enable them to bid defiance to the frost that was binding up the earth in its fetters, and weaving its beautiful net-work on the trees and hedges."—*Pickwick Papers*, pp. 284-5.

We have given this long passage, not as a specimen of the writer's general manner, for as such it would be extremely inappropriate,—but as illustrating one of its characteristics—the graphic minuteness with which he grasps all, even the smallest, details of a sketch, down to the smacking of the coachman's whip and the squaring of his elbow, the guard's leathern pouch and brown paper parcel, the grumbling of the comfortable inside passenger, and the stamping and blowing of the chilled and uncomfortable outsides. Every line tells; every sentence brings up an image which is perfectly familiar. With all its simplicity—and like most of his descriptions, it is simple almost to carelessness—it places distinctly before our eyes what we have seen a hundred times, and may see again if we please the very next frosty day that comes.

But with these peculiarities of Mr. Dickens' genius, every one is now perfectly familiar; nor should we have introduced this lengthened extract, were it not that we wish to place strongly before the reader, the recklessness with which the *soi-disant* translator hacks and hews the text when he pleases. Will it

be credited that every word of this is omitted in the German translation? In fact, in the German text, Mr. Pickwick has scarcely seated himself upon the coach in London, when his skirt is pulled by Mr. Wardle's fat boy on the steps of the Blue Lion at Muggleton! This is absolutely monstrous. All the rest we could forgive. In a work so very idiomatic, blunders were almost unavoidable. Comparatively few in number, too, and chiefly in matters of minor moment, they can scarcely be said to interfere with the substance of the work; nor, however absurd they may appear to us, would the German reader, in most cases, be able to appreciate the point in the original, which is sacrificed by the mistranslation. But it is not so with wholesale mutilation such as we have here, and that in the most characteristic features. This is in effect utterly to destroy the identity. The "genuine Pickwick" has a clear action against the foreign counterfeit, as a swindler and impostor, who thus assumes his person and his name. And we shall, ourselves, willingly, without fee or reward, afford our professional assistance in prosecuting him to conviction.

The translator in his preface professes his intention, and he appears to have adhered to it, of employing the pruning-knife with a more sparing hand in the remaining works of the series. *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Oliver Twist*, he conceives, will much less frequently demand its application. We profess ourselves at a loss to know the principles by which he regulates its use. To recall the words of the preface, we are unable to discover in the suppressed passages anything "peculiarly English, anything for which there is no idea in the German mind, or no word in the German language,"—anything, in a word, which the German reader could not understand as fully, and enjoy as heartily, as we do ourselves. Unquestionably there is a thousand times more of this, in any single sentence of Sam Weller's, or in fact in any single conversation introduced into the whole book.

For our own part, without instituting any comparison between the works themselves, we should regret the mutilation of the latter works much less than that of our older and earlier favourite, *Pickwick*. Not that, if we allow for the difference of plan, they are less characteristic,—for in this, we differ from an opinion very commonly entertained. But in *Nicholas Nickleby*, and still more in *Oliver Twist*, there is the interest of the story to occupy the mind, and draw it off from the peculiarities of the writer. In the anxiety to look before, and the headlong speed with which our mind is whirled onwards

through the startling and rapidly shifting scenery which comes before it, there is no time to look around and admire as we pass. Thinking only of the end of the journey, and regarding each stage of our progress but as a new advance upon the way, we cannot pause to enjoy, and, therefore, feel less interest in contemplating the scenery through which we pass; in our hurry, we view, with unconcern, patches of barrenness,—desolated wastes,—rendered more melancholy by the traces of recent cultivation—which would offend our eye and sadden our heart, if, journeying only for the journey's sake, we could turn aside to every spot which, in pleasure or in pain, called up an interest in our imagination. In the excitement which the story creates, we forget the dress which it wears; and the same thing which, in the quiet enjoyment of an isolated chapter in the *Pickwick Papers*, we could relish and enjoy for itself alone, in the more regular and connected story of *Nickleby* or *Oliver Twist*, as it were, loses its personality; and, ceasing to interest precisely as an individual beauty, acts but a part, and a subordinate part, in producing the general and uniform effect of the whole. Hence, we conceive, in a translation of the latter works, the general impression would be less marred by the withdrawal of some isolated scene, or the suppression of some incident of a scene; because, the main story being the principal object, there is less attention to the one, and less dependence for effect upon the other. Hence, too, if a gap were created by this withdrawal, it would have, in the latter case, a much better chance of escaping detection.

From all that we have said, it may be gathered without much difficulty, that we are far from considering M. Roberts' translation a perfect work; and that, while we admit it to be, in some respects, much better than we anticipated; in others, and these far more important, we look upon it as radically deficient. Even taking it as it stands, however, the German *Pickwick* is a very remarkable production. It is, of course, impossible that it should create in Germany the same extraordinary interest which was felt upon its first appearance in England. But even the matter-of-fact Germans have appreciated its merit; and we doubt not that, when the remaining volumes of the "works of Boz" shall have been presented to them in succession, they will look forward, with as much anxiety as we ourselves now feel, for that "new work on an entirely new plan," the first instalment of which we are daily expecting from the pen of this youthful, but gifted and prolific, writer.

- ART. VI.—1. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By Edward Gibbon, Esq. With Notes by the Rev. H. H. Milman, Prebendary of St. Peter's, and Vicar of St. Margaret's, Westminster. London: 1838.
2. *Histoire de la Décadence et de la Chute de l'Empire Romain.* Traduite de l'Anglais d'Edouard Gibbon. Nouvelle Edition, &c. &c. Par M. F. Guizot. Paris: 1828.

IT was in an evil hour for the best interests of humanity, that the infidel historian established his throne upon the Hellespont which separates the two great continents of time—the modern from the ancient world; and so widely extended his Antichristian ravages on either shore, as to make them felt, it may be said, from one horizon of duration to the other;—from the epoch in which Christian civilization first rose, to the epoch with which it is destined, in all likelihood, to set for ever.

Between the first days of Leo X and the last of Augustus Cæsar, the European provinces of the Pagan world were metamorphosed into Christendom. The Roman empire, constructed from innumerable commonwealths and kingdoms—whose origins, for the most part elder than memory, were attributed to the immortal Gods—a magnificent and solemn order of things, which had grown up to consummate maturity during a progression of illustrious ages—is seen to transmigrate into a novel condition of existence; which having attained the full vigour and experience of manly age, but not without graduating through innumerable indiscretions and disasters, seems as if destined to preside over the human race during whatever may still remain of a career, which is but a rehearsal, or rather a novitiate, for a perfect state of being, immortal, free from sorrow, and unalloyed by sin. During this memorable interval, we behold the catastrophe of the *first*, and are led far into the scenes of the *last*, *act* of the grand drama, of which this world is the theatre,—the *dramatis personæ* all the children of Adam. We witness in it the settlement of an *old account*, running as far back as the Deluge—and the opening of a *new* one, which shall run on till “the great day of reckoning.” These ages—extending over fifteen centuries—present a spectacle of unparalleled interest and sublimity. They are covered with the wrecks of the past; and, in the erections of the present, with the rudiments of the future. The trophies, temples, thrones, ideas, languages,

that flourish and stand erect upon these fields at present, are surrounded on every side, and for the most part built, or tessellated, at least, with the fragments of customs, religious arts, of laws and dialects, the mutilated but authentic "rudera" of an anterior universe. No earthly prospect can illustrate, or, through the eye, assist the imagination to conceive the aspect of these historic regions, unless it be the view, from the tower of the Campidoglio, of the scenes enclosed by the walls of the "Eternal City."

"Ages and realms are crowded in *that span* !"

There, also, we peruse the memoirs of our race, compressed, as if into one antithesis ; the emphasis being placed on St. Peter's, in one member of the sentence, in the other on the Coliseum. The most glorious efforts of Christianity, rising in benignant grandeur, and looking as permanent as the earth itself, stand contrasted and yet connected with the most truculent and renowned trophies of Paganism, irretrievably overwhelmed. Between the adverse scenes, the Rome of Jove, and the Rome of Jesus, stands the capitol, "the hill of triumphs," displaying the standard of the Nazarene, that sign of victory, which has attracted, and continues still to draw, "all things to itself." In both instances,—that is, in the annals of which we treat, and in the aspect of Rome,—everything, even the most trivial and unobtrusive, is at once a monument and a prophesy ; exciting the recollection of all that has been, and the expectation of all that is to be. In fine, the history of the period under consideration, may well be regarded as the history of all time ; for it records *the end of the beginning and the beginning of the end*.

Now, of this immense dominion, the middle and connecting regions of all history, the infidel Gibbon has made himself the autocrat. He reigns over it all, and over every part of it, with a sway far more imperishable, and not less malign, than that with which the despot, who is equally felt in the solitudes of Siberia and in the saloons of the Kremlin, tyrannizes over the Russias. He has marked the subject for his own. He claims sovereignty over "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging, by right of conquest. The representatives of "the great powers," in the "republic of letters," have unanimously recognized his pretensions ; and, certainly, not without the semblance, at least, of reason. In spite of perplexities as various and unnumbered, if not as formidable, as those encountered by Columbus, this great discoverer has rendered not only practicable, but in

a certain sense delightful, the navigation of that "ocean of literature," which intervenes between the second and sixteenth centuries of our era. Or, alas, when we consider the aim and consequences of his labours, must we not illustrate Gibbon's deserts, rather by those of the apostate Spirit, whom Milton represents as first exploring Chaos, and constructing a cause-way over it, for Death and Sin.

"So *he* with difficulty and labour hard
Moved on with difficulty and labour, and
Paved after him a broad and beaten way
Over the dark abyss; by which his imps perverse,
With easy intercourse, pass to and fro."

With imagination, invention, taste and memory, in greater perfection than those qualities are for the most part bestowed on men; keen-sighted in research, fastidious in selection, and gifted with the faculty of generalization in a singular degree, Mr. Gibbon wanted nothing to render these natural endowments perfect, which the most indefatigable industry could acquire: while uninterrupted health, elegant retirement, and an ample fortune, enabled him to apply them all,—during the summer of his life, and under relations with literary men, and with men of the world, peculiarly auspicious—to plan, to produce, and to impart, even an antique polish to his work. His early education, to use the common phrase, had been neglected. Like many others, who stand pre-eminent in literature and science, the future historian, on account of the delicacy of his constitution, and of parental neglect, was left, in his juvenile days, to ramble and expatiate in a wilderness of books, with no guide or tutor, but caprice. Yet that "inspired prescience,"* "(augurium," of *its own future*, which Cicero ascribes to genius,) conducted him through the very course of reading, which was, of all others, best calculated to form the historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

The twenty years of meditation and of incessant acquisition which intervened between the publication of the first and of the last volume of his history, must have greatly augmented his knowledge. He confesses, (indeed it is manifest,) that constant exercise had rendered his pen more alert and graceful in the art of composition as he proceeded with his task; but, from his very first appearance as an historian, he was recognized—and that by rivals of the greatest eminence—if not first, at least "nearer to the first than the second" among the

* Tuscul. Quæst. 1-15.

princes of his art. Hume and Robertson testified their admiration of his book. It was speedily translated into the different languages of Europe. To use his own words—"The historian was crowned by the taste or fashion of the day; the book was on every table, and almost on every toilette, and circulated from London to the banks of the Delaware and the Ganges." Time, instead of impairing, has only consolidated his renown. It stands particularly high, even among the most sceptical and erudite scholars of Germany. The most distinguished historical philosopher of *young* France, M. Guizot, has deemed it more conducive to his views to re-edit the French translation of the *Decline and Fall*, than to publish his own lucubrations on the same subject. At this time of day, the zeal of the Rev. Henry Milman, in reproducing the fruits of Gibbon's toil, is too notorious to require any further notification to the English public. "In fine," to quote the expressions of M. Suard, who furnished the elegant memoir prefixed to the French edition, "Gibbon has so perfectly accomplished what it never entered into the mind of writer before him to attempt, that no one else shall presume to meddle with the great theme hereafter; unless perhaps modestly, and in moderation, to repair or rectify some trifle in the great original." "Il ne reste plus qu'un mot," concludes the eloquent biographer, "à ajouter pour la gloire de Gibbon; un tel ouvrage, avant lui, n'était pas fait, et, quoiqu'on pût y reprendre, ou y perfectionner dans quelques parties, après lui il ne reste plus à faire."

It was decreed, that no allusion should be ever made to the wretch who set fire to the Ephesian temple in order to immortalize his name:—fain would we have inflicted the same oblivion upon him, who, in a Christian age and land, and blessed with the noblest gifts of Heaven, laboured, with the most malicious perseverance and ingenuity, during twenty years, to vilify the Saviour of the world, and to debauch that virtue which he drew nearest and most affectionately to his sacred heart. But responsible, as we have the honour to be, at least in great part, for the literary vindication of Catholic faith and morality, the extraordinary efforts, resorted to of late to resuscitate and push into more brisk and extensive circulation, a work incomparably the most pernicious that ever issued from the press, have compelled us, albeit unwillingly, to abandon the wisdom of the Greeks; for, under circumstances such as these, if *we* were silent—"the very stones would cry out."

When Augustus surveyed the monarchy which he had re-

cently organized from the wreck of the old republic—Rome, in marble newness, embellished by the genius and wealth of nations, decked in the trophies of seven hundred years of triumph, and inhabited by a populace of kings, resembled an immense palace;—Italy and the provinces, studded with superb cities and emporiums of wealth, beautified with villas in every graceful and pleasant site, and cultivated like a lovely garden, might be compared to a boundless pleasure-ground, in which all the affluent and elegant inhabitants of the earth had assembled to celebrate “the long festival of peace”—forgetful of ancient animosities, elated with actual felicity, and without the slightest apprehension of the savage hordes that roamed the forest, the wilderness, and the morass, beyond the frontiers,—which, almost impregnable by nature, were vigilantly guarded by invincible soldiers to the amount of nearly half a million. But the barbarians had forded the Rhine and Danube, forced the Caspian gates, and stormed the Alps; the legions were annihilated: some fugitives in the mountains and in the islets of the sea, a few spectral forms, sitting motionless or gliding among the ruins of the palaces and cities, of the festive myriads, were all that had escaped the rage of fire, famine, pestilence, and the sword;—the empire was “a marble wilderness:”—Goths, Vandals, Huns, Heruli, Alemanni, Suevi, Burgundians, with other nameless swarms, hideous, merciless, and like locusts in number and voracity, had desolated everything between the frozen north and the Numidian desert, between the Euphrates and the Atlantic: its haughty gates had been torn down and carried away, its walls were levelled, and the wolves that prowled through the “great circus” and the “Roman Forum,” the wild beasts that littered in the palaces and temples, and the birds of prey that perched on the trophies or battered on the patrician dead, had been for forty days the only inhabitants of the “*Eternal City*,” when, five centuries after Augustus, Belisarius rode down the “*Via Sacra*,” ascended “the hill of triumphs,” and from the Tarpeian Tower, looked round upon a reverse, such as eye of mortal never before, or since, beheld. The people, the senate, the empire, the very trophies and proud erections of the “sevenhilled” city, were no more!

“She saw her glories star by star expire,
And up the steep, barbarian monarchs ride,
Where the car climbed the Capitol, far and wide
Temple and tower went down, nor left a site:”—

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Cant. iv. 80.

Alaric the Goth led the "vanguard of revenge," and was the first to retaliate on Rome the atrocities she herself had inflicted on others, during a thousand years of flagrant and insatiable aggression against the rights and liberties of every city and nation which the ken of eagle-eyed ambition could descry. On the 24th of August, in the year of our Lord 409, and eight hundred years after the expulsion of Brennus, the "domicile" of the Gods, the "capital of the world," the "emporium of all nations," was invaded "at dead of night"—*nocte Moab capta est*.^{*} The Goths *did* "glut their ire."[†] Alaric had assured the hermit, who met and expostulated with him when advancing against Rome, that he felt himself driven on by a preternatural and irresistible impulse to take and destroy that pagan city; and when letting slip his raging Goths, he proclaimed, that, he waged war with pagan Rome, and not with the apostles;[‡] that "the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul were to be respected as holy and inviolable sanctuaries;" and Gibbon is forced to confess (for all contemporaneous historians attest the fact) not only the respect, but the veneration, with which the barbarians abstained from violence against whatever belonged to Christ:—"From the extremity of the Quirinal Hill to the distant quarter of the Vatican, a numerous detachment of Goths, marching in order of battle through the principal streets, during that terrific night, protected with glittering arms the long train of their devout companions, who bore aloft, on

^{*} Hieron. ad Prin. tom. i. p. 121

[†] "I see before me the gladiator lie,
He leans upon his hand—his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his droop'd head sinks gradually low—
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hailed the wretch who won:

"He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away;
He reek'd not of the life he lost, nor prize—
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
There were his young barbarians all at play,
There was their Dacian mother—he, their sire,
Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday—
All this rushed with his blood.—Shall he expire,
And unavenged? Arise! ye Goths, and glut your ire!"

Childe Harold, Canto iv. 140, 141.

[‡] Isidore of Seville, Chron. p. 714. Edit. Grot.

their heads, the sacred vessels of gold and silver ;” (the various utensils of the altar discovered by the soldiers in a private dwelling ;) “and as the procession advanced to the sanctuary of Peter, the martial shouts of the barbarians were mingled with the sound of religious psalmody.” (*Gibbon*, ch. xxxi. p. 131.)

But against every thing pagan in the city, even to its most colossal monuments, its trophies, amphitheatres, and temples, the barbarians raged with indescribable fury. The havoc was tremendous ; St. Jerome says that “the mother of all nations had become their grave.” Orosius, (lib. 2, c. xix.) who, like his sainted friend, heard the recital from the fugitives who got shelter in the convent of Bethlehem, writes that fire from heaven was seen to cooperate in the work of destruction. “This awful catastrophe,” says *Gibbon*, “filled the astonished empire with grief and terror,” and the woes denounced by the prophet of Patmos against “Babylon the Great,” were recognized with awe ;—beholding her lacerated and trampled on by barbarians, whose forefathers she had slain by millions and insulted in her triumphs, and in the ignominious and bloody exhibitions of the arena to grace her holidays, they called to mind the terrible sentence of retribution :—“Render to *her* as she also hath rendered to *you* ; and double ye the double according to her works ; in the cup wherein she hath mingled bitterness, mingle unto her double. In proportion as she hath glorified herself, and pampered herself with delicacies, torment her and increase her anguish ; because she hath said in heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow ; and sorrow I shall not see.” (*Apocal.* ch. xviii.)

Alaric departed, only to consummate his mission of devastation. As he moved towards the south, along the Appian Way, encumbered with spoil, the vast tracts between the Apennines and the sea, covered with retreats of pleasure and of philosophic elegance,—the suburban abodes, where the “queen of cities” loved to ventilate her voluptuousness and to renovate her exhausted passions,—were “delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia.”—“The principal warriors insulted the villas and gardens, once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beauteous coast of Campania. Their trembling captives, the sons and daughters of Roman senators, presented, in goblets of gold and gems, large draughts of Falernian wine to the haughty victors ; who stretched their huge limbs under the shade of plane-trees, artificially disposed to exclude the scorching rays, and to admit the genial warmth of the sun.”—(*Gibbon*, ch. xxxi.)

“ The prostrate south to the destroyer yields
 Her boasted titles, and her golden fields ;
 With grim delight the brood of winter view
 A brighter day, and skies of azure hue ;
 Scent the new fragrance of the opening rose,
 And quaff the pendant vintage as it grows.”

But as Rome was not built, neither could it be subverted, “in a day.” Before the decree of Totila,—who, on taking the city, says Gibbon, “devoutly visited the tomb of the apostles,”—before *his* decree went forth, that the Forum, and the hills where the shepherd king founded “the city” in his brother’s blood, should again be made “a sheep-walk” (*μηλοβοσκον*), (*Procopius de Bel. Goth.* l. ii. c. 22), Rome had been besieged, sacked, and devastated no less than seven times, by successive nations of barbarians, all of whom had vowed to extinguish the name, and to demolish every monument, of the haughty people who had cloven down its independence, and pillaged and oppressed the world. The sack of Genseric lasted fourteen days. “The Vandals gleaned whatever had escaped the Goths.” Although “the mediation of St. Leo”—to use the words of Gibbon—“was glorious to himself, and beneficial to his country, still the injuries of Carthage were avenged.” (ch. xxxvi.) The palaces and temples were gutted ; “even the brass and copper were laboriously extracted.” The “gilded roofs” of the Capitoline Jupiter were stripped ; the imperial ornaments of the Palace of the Cæsars were torn down. The Tyber groaned under the ships of Genseric, burdened with plunder. “In a prosperous navigation to the port of Carthage,” the vessel which transported the idols of the Capitol—the relics and regalia of “the domicile of all the immortal Gods—was the only one,” as Gibbon is constrained to admit, “that was wrecked, and buried in the deep.” (*ubi sup.*) Genseric was followed in the ministry of retribution by Ricimer. (A.D. 472.) Odoacer, king of the Heruli, followed him. Next came Theodoric, who “imprinted the footsteps of a conqueror on the Capitoline-hill.” (*Gibbon*, ch. xxix. A.D. 500.) Except for the brief interval during which the general of the Greek emperor defended the old walls, and held the mole of Hadrian against Vitiges, the city, or rather its ruins, were occupied by the Goths, until Totila came, in the year of our Lord 546, to put “the last hand” to the masterpiece of desolation.*

* “At the second siege of Rome, by Totila, there was so much cultivated land within the walls, that Diogenes, the (Greek) governor, thought the corn he had sown would be sufficient to supply the garrison and citizens in a protracted defence.”—*Hobhouse*, p. 106 ; from *Procopius de Bello Goth.*, l. iii. 36.

History asserts that at that time “only *five hundred persons* remained of a population once half a million greater than that of London to-day.” These, men, women, and children, were carried captive—the walls were demolished—the gates borne off. The proud race of Cato and the Scipios was extinguished; “and all the fortresses of the Campania were stained with patrician blood. After a period of thirteen centuries,” continues the historian, “*the institutions of Romulus expired*. Ascend six hundred years, and contemplate *the kings of the earth* soliciting an audience, as the slaves or freedmen of the Roman senate!”

Thus perished totally “Babylon the Great”—the harlot city of “the Seven Hills,” seated upon many waters, “which are peoples, and nations, and tongues;” with whom *the kings of the earth* have committed fornication; and who had “made herself drunk (from Nero to Diocletian) with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.” She perished, miserably, by the hands of barbarians, who respected nothing but that *name* which she had persecuted for centuries. These, Alaric, Genseric, Attila, and Totila, “hated the harlot, and made her desolate and naked, and as if eat her very flesh, and consumed her with fire.” One and all, they considered themselves as the executioners of divine vengeance. Alaric declared that he was impelled by a supernatural influence. “When Genseric was asked by his pilot what course he should steer—‘Leave the determination to the winds,’ replied the barbarian; ‘*they* will transport us to the guilty coast, whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice.’” (*Gibbon*, ch. xxxvi.) Attila, who was checked in his march by St. Leo the Great, exulted to be entitled “The scourge of God.” On taking the city for the last time, Totila hastened to the tomb of the apostles, and, at the prayer of Pelagius, the cardinal-archdeacon (the pope having been banished by Belisarius, at the instance of his adulterous consort), spared the sad remnant of the people; but “the world,” says the historian (*Gibbon*, ch. xliii.), “was astonished by the fatal decree, that Rome should be changed into *a pasture-field*.”* “And the kings of the earth, who participated in her idolatry and effeminate delights, wept and bewailed themselves over her. Standing afar off, for fear of being involved

* Mr. Gibbon twice mistranslates this expression of Procopius; nor has the Rev. Mr. Milman adverted to or corrected the inaccuracy:—“ε μελλε Ρωμην τε μηλοβοτον καταστησεσθαι” is the text of the original; and μηλοβοτος (compounded of μηλον, a sheep, *Od.* xii. 301, and βοσκω, I feed,) does not signify “a pasture field,” or “a pasture for cattle,” but “a sheep-walk.”

in her destruction, they cry out, 'Alas! the mighty city! and alas! Babylon the Great! how suddenly is thy judgment come!' And the merchants of the earth wept and mourned over her; for no man shall buy their merchandize any more at all;—merchandize of gold and silver, and of precious stones and pearls, and of fine linen, and purple, and of silk, and scarlet, and all Thyine-wood, and all manner of vessels of ivory, and all manner of vessels of precious stone, and of brass, and iron, and marble; cinnamon, and perfumes, and unguents, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and *souls of men*. The merchants of these things, who were made rich, stood afar off, in terror of her fate, weeping and bewailing, and saying, 'Wo! wo! that great city, which was clad with fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and was gilded with gold, and adorned with precious stones and pearls; for great riches are suddenly come to naught. And every ship-master, and all that sail into the lake, and mariners, and they who work at sea, stood afar off, crying, 'What city was like to that great city!' And they cast dust upon their heads, and cried out, weeping and mourning, 'Alas! alas! that mighty city, wherein all made fortunes who had ships at sea, *by reason of her prices*; for suddenly she is made desolate.'" (*Apocal.* xviii.) No wonder that the fall of Rome should have occasioned this mercantile tribulation: from the revenue alone, twenty millions sterling annually poured into the London of antiquity. It was not one, but an hundred, Rothschilds *she* numbered;—citizens who could purchase the fee of kingdoms, and build marble cities, and entertain with feasts and spectacles whole nations, to secure an election, or the public applause. Seneca says, that mighty rivers, which had formerly served as the boundaries of realms, in his time flowed *through* the estates of private senators. "When Alaric took the town, some private houses contained the buildings of a whole city," and "every kind of merchandize flowed, through a thousand channels, to the great centre of opulence and luxury." The articles enumerated by the historian are identical with those enumerated by the prophet. From Egypt, Africa, Sicily, Apulia, Gaul, and Britain, the imperial city derived her provisions and her dainties. "The most remote countries of the ancient world," says Gibbon, "were ransacked, to supply the pomp and delicacy of Rome. The forests of Scythia afforded some valuable furs; amber was brought over-land from the shores of the Baltic to the Danube. There was a considerable

demand for Babylonian carpets, and other manufactures of the east ; but the most important branch of foreign trade was carried on with Arabia and India." Pliny, (*Nat. Hist.* xii. xviii.) computes the drain of bullion, caused yearly by this single extravagance, at 800,000*l.*, or close on a million sterling. "Every year, about the time of the summer solstice, a fleet of a hundred and twenty vessels sailed from Myos-hormos, a port of Egypt on the Red Sea. By the periodical assistance of the monsoons, they traversed the ocean in about forty days. The coast of Malabar, or the island of Ceylon, was the usual term of their navigation ; and it was in those markets that the merchants from the more remote countries of Asia expected their arrival. The return of the fleet of Egypt was fixed to the months of December or January ; and as soon as their rich cargo had been transported, on the backs of camels, from the Red Sea to the Nile, and had descended that river as far as Alexandria, it was poured without delay into the capital of the empire. The objects of oriental traffic (see the *Apocal.*, as quoted) were splendid and trifling :—silk, a pound of which was esteemed not inferior in value to a pound of gold ; precious stones, among which the *pearl* claimed the first rank after the diamond ; and a variety of *aromatics*, that were consumed in pagan worship, and the pomp of funerals. Parthian and Babylonian leather, cottons, silk, ebony, ivory, and *eunuchs*." (ch. vi.) (This traffic is what the prophet says took place in "*the souls of men*,"—alluding to the infamous purposes to which these wretched beings were perverted.*) "The labour and risk of the voyage," concludes the historian, "were rewarded with almost INCREDIBLE PROFIT." *Hinc illæ lachrymæ !* Hence the merchants, &c. cried,—“Alas ! that mighty city ! and alas ! that mighty Rome, by whose luxury all traders were made rich !”—“*by reason of her prices*”—(a pound of gold for a pound of silk !)

Eighteen centuries after the prediction of St. John,—that Rome should thus perish, and remain desolate *for ever*,—and thirteen hundred years after Belisarius had “visited with pity and reverence the vacant space of the Eternal City,”† it is thus apostrophized by a pilgrim from a land regarded, in the day of pride, as the most remote and barbarous of her provinces :—

“O Rome ! my country ! city of the soul !

The orphans of the heart must turn to thee,

Lone mother of dead empires ! and control

In their shut breasts their petty misery.

* Vid. St. Paul ad Romanos, i. 26-7.

† Gibbon.

What are our woes and sufferance ! Come and see
 The cypress, hear the owl, and plod your way
 O'er steps of broken thrones and temples, ye
 Whose agonies are evils of a day !—
 A world is at our feet as fragile as our clay.

“ The Niobe of nations ! there she stands,
 Childless and crownless, in her voiceless woe ;
 An empty urn within her wither'd hands,
 Whose holy dust was scatter'd long ago ;
 The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now ;
 The very sepulchres lie tenantless
 Of their heroic dwellers : dost thou flow,
 Old Tyber ! through a marble wilderness ?
 Rise with thy yellow waves and mantle her distress ? ”

Childe Harold, Canto iv. 78, 79.

“ If from the walls,” says Sir John Hobhouse (on the words “ we but feel our way to err,” *Illustrations*, p. 192), “ we enter into the interior of the vast circuit, we shall be still more confounded, and ‘ stumble o'er recollections.’ The names given to the monuments perpetually vary ; and we are often apt to reduce the ruins of *all* the (fourteen) regions into which the ancient or pagan city was divided, to the character given by Nardini to those of the Aventine, which he divides into—‘ *sites not altogether uncertain, and sites evidently uncertain*’—‘ *situs non omnino incerti, et situs plane incerti.*’ ”—(Lib. viii. cap. 6.)

It was by the Salarian gate, that Alaric entered ; and one who, from that point, makes the pilgrimage of the vast regions once occupied by the Queen of Empire (as we ourselves have done), must be struck at every step with the execution of the sentence denounced by the Archangel, (*Apocal.* ch. xviii.), “ Babylon, that great city, shall be thrown down, and shall be found no more ! ” The elegant villa where the voluptuous Salust indulged in Epicurean delights, cultivated Attic studies, and worshipped Venus in Vitruvian temples, is now partly a vegetable field and partly a sedgy morass, encumbered with a few, very few melancholy ruins. From thence, round by Diocletian's baths, (where, of old, stood the Pretorian quarters), by “ Santa Bibiana,” on to “ Santa Croce in Gerusalemme,” you traverse a lonely rural district. Some straggling “ country seats,” and the village huddled round “ Santa Maria Maggiore,” relieve the solitude as you turn to the right, to survey the Esquiline and Viminal hills, on to the Quirinal. Returning to the suburb of the Lateran, back again,

the immense tracts extending over the Cœlian Mount, the flat country lying between it and the Tyber, round to the Aventine, are divided into farms and vineyards—a singularly lugubrious and sequestered region. The bark of the watchdog, the chaunt of the *vignorolo*, or the toll of the convent-bell, are the only interruptions of the awful stillness; and the low *osteria* with a few loitering *campagnoli* playing at *morra*—the cassino with barracadoed doors and shattered casements, and gardeners' huts here and there constructed in the absis of a temple, or the alcove of a *triclinium*, only increase, by the miserable contrast, the indescribable air of desolation characteristic of these scenes. The frowning ruins of palace, amphitheatre, and triumphal arch, seem to exalt themselves in sullen haughtiness still higher, and to ask these mean intruders, "why they dare to disturb the silence and profane the sacredness of the cemetery of empire which they guard?" The "Circus Maximus," the interjacent valley between the Palatine and Aventine Mounts, once the home of the "Gens togata," is now "a kitchen garden." According to the decree of Totila, the Roman Forum, at present called the "Foro Boario," is literally "a pasture field" or a "lodge-park" for kine.

"At last upon the Palatine;—"

"Cypress and ivy, weed and wall-flower grown
Matted and mass'd together, hillocks heap'd
On what were chambers, arch crush'd, column strown
In fragments, chok'd up vaults, and frescoes steep'd
In subterranean damps, where the owl peep'd,
Deeming it midnight;—temples, baths, or halls?
Pronounce who can;—for all that learning reap'd
From her research, hath been, that *these are walls*—
Behold the Imperial Mount! 'tis thus the mighty falls!"

Childe Harold, Canto vii.

In fact, the Christian city—the "Rome of Peter," *never* occupied the "Seven hills;"—she withdrew in horror from the regions on which the tremendous anathemas of Divine justice had fallen as visibly as on Sodom or Deicide Jerusalem.* Sir John Hobhouse (p. 97) demonstrates upon unexceptionable evidence (to which much more could be added), that "the migration *from the Mounts*, and the construction of 'New

* "Rome, up to the time it was taken by Alaric, still offered to the stranger the appearance of a pagan city. The deities of the ancient faith found their last refuge in the capital of the empire: it contained *one hundred and fifty-two temples, and one hundred and eighty smaller chapels or shrines, still sacred to their tutelary God, and used for public worship*. The religious edifices were under the protection of the prefect of the city, and the prefect was usually a pagan."—*Milman*, v. iii. p. 163.

Rome' (*Cod. Justin.* l. 8, tit. xii. &c.) commenced after the repeated sacks and sieges of the city." "Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage," says Gibbon himself, after recording the devastation of the Pagan city, as we have seen, "*The name of Rome* might have been erased from the earth, if the city (or rather its *ruins*) had not been animated by a vital principle;" that is, by the belief that *there* St. Peter, the supreme head of the Church of Christ, had fixed his see, and that "the gates of hell should not prevail against it." The rock hewed without hands from the mountains *had* struck that iron power (*Dan.* ii. 34); and, as Nabuchodonozor beheld in his vision of the night, that Roman empire which had crushed all others was itself crushed in turn, and scattered "like dust of the threshing floor;" (*ver.* 35), but "*the rock* swelled into a great mountain that filled the entire earth." For, in his successors, Simon, the fisherman of Bethsaida (whom the Redeemer designated "Cephas," that is, "a rock,") kept his "seat," unappalled, while the throne of the Cæsars was subverted, and the temples and towers of almighty Rome toppled round him. We have beheld his person not only sacred, but his abode a sanctuary inviolable from Vandalic and Gothic fury. After exterminating "the lords of the world," and crushing all their glories in the dust, the barbarians humbly knelt at the pontiff's feet, and meekly submitted to the "yoke of Christ." New legions were sent forth "conquering and to conquer;" subduing the savage and "leading every power and people captive in obedience to the Nazarene"—not by the sword of death, but by the gospel of immortality. The empire of Peter was far more extensive than that of Cæsar ever had been, even in the days of St. Leo.* "Constituted the *head of the world*," ("Caput Orbis") "as being the see of Peter, although unnumbered victories have extended thy dominion over land and sea, still, O Rome!" exclaims that great pontiff, "thy provinces conquered by the sword are far from being commensurate with those which thou hast subdued by the Cross; thy imperial sway is far inferior to thy ecclesiastical jurisdiction." Even in the apostolic age the "*faith of the Church founded by Peter* was renowned through the whole world;" (*St. Paul, Rom.*) Uninterrupted and unimpaired his dynasty still governs a "Roman empire," upon which the orb of heaven never sets:—to

* "*Per sacram beati Petri sedem, Caput orbis effecta, latius præsideres religione divina, quam dominatione terrena. Quamvis enim multis aucta victoriis jus imperii tui terra marique pertuleris; minus tamen est, quod tibi bellicus labor subdidit, quam quod pax Christiana subjecet.*"—*Sancti Leonis Mag. Serm. I. in Nat. Apostol. Petri et Pauli.*

his reigning successor, Gregory XVI, (whom may Heaven preserve and bless !) may be applied, far more justly than to Augustus, the lines of the imperial laureate ;—

“ Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento ;

Hæ tibi erunt artes ; *pacisque imponere morem.*”

Virgil, lib. vi. 851.

With her back turned to the “ seven hills ”—while the Tyber winds placidly at her feet, the “ Rome of the pontiffs,” reclining upon the “ field of Mars,” in the peerless charms, with which faith, and hope, and charity have arrayed her, is, to those who behold her from the acacia groves or sunny terraces of the Pincian, even according to the concession of a bigoted enemy, “ Incomparably the handsomest city in the world.” (*Hobhouse, p. 48.*) The bells which invite the children of earth to “ lift up their hearts,” warble an everlasting dialect of heaven through her pellucid atmosphere. To provide that the will of God “ be done on earth as it is in heaven,” fills her with “ solicitude ” universal and intense as that of St. Paul “ for *all* the churches.” She *busies* herself like Martha about Jesus—her virgin bosom heaves with emotion as the memory of His martyrs is excited by the celebration of their festivals ; like those of Magdalen, *her* reveries are full of divine love ; the consolations of the Holy Spirit inebriate her soul ; and often as her eye—serene as the eye of hope,—alights on the mausoleum of her humble founder, springing from that “ wondrous dome,” her aspirations take wing for heaven. The great palace of the popes—the Vatican—and the church of St. Peter, occupy the site of the gardens in which Nero so barbarously tormented the first Christians ; setting fire to his living victims as they hung chained to lofty posts, and smeared with combustible matter, in order to illuminate the horrid spectacle of persecution by night. Christian Rome, consisting of the densely inhabited *plain* of the Campus Martius, of Trastevere, and the Borgo of St. Peter’s, both the latter *beyond* the Tyber, *is entirely without the precincts of the ancient, or pagan city* : but, in the very heart of *Babylon*, that is, upon the Palatine, or the Palace-hill, an English Protestant is now the only dweller ;*—*he*, the aforesaid Reformed gentleman, having a fancy to occupy the formidable position of “ *the beast*,” whose number is 666, by establishing himself in a “ neat cottage ” where the “ Lady of the seven hills ” was *enthroned*, when brought under the notice of St. John : “ And there came one of the seven angels, who had the seven vials, and spake with me saying ; Come, I will show thee the con-

* Hobhouse.

demnation of the *great Harlot*," (*Rev.* ch. xvii. 1.) "And he took me away, in spirit, into the desert; and I beheld *a woman sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast*, full of names of blasphemy." (ver. 3.) (For the imperial city had been long the asylum of *all the gods* of polytheism. "*Prima urbes inter, Divum Domus, aurea Roma.*") (*Clar Urbes*, p. 195). "The beast had *seven heads*"—which are "*seven mountains*," (verse 9). And the woman was decked in purple and scarlet, and shone with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, (see p. 199) and on her forehead was written a name—*Μυστηριον*, *i.e.* an inscription of *mystic* import—

BABYLON THE GREAT,

(*mystically* "Imperial Rome.")

MOTHER OF THE IDOLATRIES AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

"And I saw the woman *drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus*;" (ver. 6), shed from Nero to Diocletian, by the persecuting emperors. *The woman*, who is (*mystically*) "THE CITY, THE GREAT, SHE that ACTUALLY, *hic et nunc*, under the sway of Domitian, exercises dominion over the kings of the earth. *Και ἡ γυνὴ ἣν εἶδες, ἐστὶν Ἡ Πόλις, Ἡ Μεγάλη, Ἡ ἔχουσα βασιλείαν ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλείων τῆς γῆς.*

The city of the pontiffs, the Rome of Peter, Christian, Catholic Rome, having totally withdrawn, as we have seen, from the *seven hills*, in obedience to the divine voice, "Go out of her my people!" (ch. xviii. 4), an *English Protestant* is now the only person who seems to derive a melancholy pleasure from fixing his residence on the Palace-hill, "where the great harlot decked in purple and scarlet," sat on the "seven-headed beast." True it is, that convents, churches, and oratories, are dispersed over the vast regions where the great harlot once luxuriated; from the Cistercian cloister, and the church of Santa Maria degli Angioli, constructed amongst and from the ruins of Diocletian's baths, round by St. Bibiana, Santa Croce, the Lateran, San Stephano in Rotondo, to the spot near the Latin gate, where the Evangelist St. John was immersed in boiling oil, before his banishment to Patmos, (*Tertul. in Apol.*) and from thence by SS. Nereus and Achilles, even to the Mamertine dungeon under the Capitol, from which the holy apostles Peter and Paul were led forth to martyrdom. Thence, as from every other quarter of the circumference, (like radii to a centre), venerable shrines lead you to the stupendous ruins of the Flavian amphitheatre (the Coliseum); and as under the Pagan emperors, its arena often reeked with their

blood, the Christian pontiffs have consecrated it to the memory of the martyrs. They concede an indulgence of thirty days, to those who devoutly kiss the cross of Jesus which they have planted where the idol of Jupiter once stood; and the walls that often rung with "Christianos ad leonem!" ("To the lion with the Christians!")—*Tertul. in Apol.*) towards sunset, every Friday in the year, re-echo this triumphant hymn:

"Evviva la croce!	All hail to the cross
La croce evviva!	To the cross all hail!
Evviva la croce e chi la porto!	All hail to the cross and to him who bore it!"

These sanctuaries and hallowed sepulchres, where piety has fed her everlasting lamp, through the vigil of many ages, belong not to civil life, nor to the uses of this world;—they resemble, rather, the stations which the victors occupy upon some great battle field, and the tumuli and trophies with which they signalize the spots where have fallen or been interred their heroic dead. The psalms and canticles of exultation, which issuing from them, often startle the pilgrims, that, like Harold or Verri, delight to roam "the marble wilderness" at dead of night, or to commune with the "great of old" among the ruins of palaces and of tombs, fall upon the awed sense, as if they were the reverberations of that acclaim, which burst from the celestial powers, as "Babylon the mighty" fell;—"Rejoice over her, thou heaven; and ye holy apostles and prophets rejoice; for the Almighty has retaliated upon her the woes she inflicted upon you." (*Revelat. xviii. 20.*) In fact, it was a peal of this anthem, ringing through the wayward soul of Gibbon, "as he sat musing on the glories of Pagan Rome, among the ruins of the Capitol," that inspired him to plan, and incited him to execute, the desperate attack on the Christian religion, which he disguised under the attractive title of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

"My temper is not very susceptible of enthusiasm," says the historian in his personal memoirs, (vol. i. p. 127), "and the enthusiasm which I do not feel, I have ever scorned to affect. But at the distance of twenty-five years, I can neither forget nor *express* the strong emotions which agitated my mind, as I first approached and entered the eternal city. After a *sleepless night*, I trod with a lofty step the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot, where Romulus *stood*, or Tully spoke, or Cæsar fell, was at once present to my eye." These "days of intoxication," (p. 127) had not passed, when one evening, towards the vesper hour, he sat him down upon a broken column of the temple, where the audacious presence of the

patricide provoked that thunderbolt: "Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra !" The chief relics of Pagan empire were strewed around him, on the clivus "where the car climbed the Capitol;" or along

"That field of freedom, faction, fame, and blood ;
Where a proud people's passions were exhal'd,
From the first hour of empire in the bud
To that when further worlds to conquer fail'd."

Yonder, to the right, the massive ruins of the "Imperial mount" excited his veneration, as his eye passed along by the triumphal arch of Titus, in the middle distance, to the Coliseum. Upon all this, imagination

"———Cast a wide and tender light,
Which soften'd down the hoar austerity
Of rugged desolation, and fill'd up,
As 'twere anew, the gaps of centuries ;
Leaving that beautiful which still was so,
And making that which was not, till the place
Became religion, and his heart ran o'er
With silent worship !"

When, hark ! "Dispersit superbos mente cordis sui : deposit potentes de sede, et exaltavit humiles." "Barefooted friars chaunting, in full chorus, the canticle of the mother of Jesus in the temple of Capitoline Jove ! fanatic *mendicants* insulting the august shades of heroes, and trampling on the ashes of the senate and the Roman people !" The splendid mirage, created by his enthusiasm, melted in an instant. The ignominious overthrow of his darling paganism, and the mysterious triumph, on its ruins, of the religion which he detested, were forced, as exasperating realities, into the very marrow of his soul. The scene, which but a moment before had filled him with rapture, became, by this incident, as hateful to him, as the sight of paradise was to the apostate Spirit ; and drove him upon a project of revenge, which cost him nearly thirty years of studious anxiety and incessant toil. He candidly confesses it himself ; and the scope and genius of his work have forced his greatest admirers to admit, extravagantly ludicrous as it may seem, that the indignation excited in him by the vesper song of the poor Franciscans, suggested the outline, and gave a peculiar tinge to every, even the minutest detail, of *The Decline and Fall*.* In excusing himself to Lord Sheffield, he

* "It was at Rome, on the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the *Decline and Fall of the city* first started to my mind."—Memoirs, vol. i. p. 198.

writes ;—"The primitive Church was an *innovation*, and I was devoted to the ancient Pagan establishment." "En écrivant l'Histoire de la Décadence de l'Empire," says M. Suard, "Gibbon n'a vu dans le Christianisme que l'institution qui avait mis *vêpres*, de *moines déchaussés* et des processions, à la place des *magnifiques cérémonies du culte de Jupiter et des triomphateurs du Capitole*." Dr. Milman himself coincides in this view. In fact, no one who has perused it, with mind enough to grasp its scheme and detect its spirit, can doubt for a moment, that the gist of the immense history is to overwhelm Catholicity with disgrace.

With this view the historian exhibits a gorgeous and highly-finished panorama of the Roman empire, as it existed under the auspices of polytheism, and previous to the entrance of Christianity on the historic scene. During this epoch he fixes that "period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous." "The vast extent of the Roman world," is represented "under the guidance of virtue and wisdom—the armies restrained by the firm but gentle hand of a succession of emperors, whose characters and authorities commanded involuntary respect—the forms of the civil administration carefully preserved." He celebrates the magnificence of the cities—the fertility and loveliness of the provinces, cultivated like a garden—and represents the glorious spectacle of an innumerable people in the enjoyment of all that the arts and elegance of civilization can contribute to public felicity during profound peace. By inimitable and ever successful art, he engages taste and refinement on the side of irreligion; the attractions of the heathen ritual, its alliance with statuary, architecture, and song, are displayed with pomp; the air of solemn magnificence which it imparts to all the great functions of the commonweal; the charms and the poetry with which it enlivens even the most common-place incidents of private life, are exhibited in the most fascinating light: he extols the mild and tolerant genius of that religion, which, uniting under its benign and comprehensive protection a thousand modes of faith and worship, scarcely withheld its countenance from one *dark and fanatical superstition* (the Jewish); and from that, because it was itself intolerant. From this execrable creed—the object of mixed detestation and contempt to a polished and philosophic people—a novel species of fanaticism is represented as having sprung, incomparably more pernicious than

its parent; whereas from the nature of its institutions, the one was national and exclusive, while the other, after bursting forth with incalculable force and rapidity, vowed implacable hostility to *all* existing forms of faith; and succeeded, finally, in establishing itself on the ruins of the religions professed, from time immemorial, by all the nations of the civilized world. The progress and final success of this upstart sect, after an oblique and bitter hint at its claim to a divine origin, is attempted to be accounted for by the operation of purely human causes. The faults and follies of its professors, their unskilful controversies, their recriminations, errors, overheated zeal, and mutual persecutions, are brought into the most prominent and invidious point of view; their infirmities he notes with bitter and malignant sarcasm; reluctantly, and with exceptions, and drawbacks, and hints of disparagement, admits their claims to admiration. As Christianity advances, disasters befall the empire—arts, science, literature, decay—barbarism and all its revolting concomitants are made to seem the consequences of its decisive triumph—and the unwary reader is conducted, with matchless dexterity, to the desired conclusion—the abominable Manicheism of *Candide*, and, in fact, of all the productions of Voltaire's historic school—viz., “that, instead of being a merciful, ameliorating, and benignant visitation, the religion of Christians would rather seem to be a scourge sent on man by the author of all evil.” This is the mystery of iniquity which pervades the entire work. An undue stress has been laid on the two notorious chapters—the least dangerous, because the most polemical and undisguised portions of the grand attack; and the noisy, and incessant, and very ineffective fire which has been kept up against *them*, has fostered a fatal impression, that danger is to be apprehended from no other point. In the flimsy disguise of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, the hypocritical, base, and lying infidel, is little, or not at all, to be dreaded. Nay, the bad faith, malignity, and unmanly sneers at the superhuman heroism of aged men—like Cyprian and Ignatius—suffering “for conscience sake,” exhibited by him in these chapters, have inspired even men of the world with disgust and indignation.* It is, in what would appear the most innocuous portions of his work, and altogether incapable of subserving

* “The 16th chapter, I cannot help considering,” (says Mackintosh,) “as a very ingenious and specious, but very *disgraceful* extenuation of the cruelties against the Christians. It is written in the most contemptible factious spirit of prejudice against the sufferers; it is *unworthy of a philosopher and a man of humanity.*”

his designs against truth and virtue, that Gibbon is most dangerous. In such circumstances, infidelity does not present itself in the antiquated and repulsive garb of theories, syllogisms, objections, and replies—it steals upon hours devoted to amusement and relaxation—it comes in no “questionable shape,” but with a most unembarrassed and engaging address—and, of course, is received with frankness, and without suspicion. On these occasions, the historian, like an adroit cicerone, or *compagnon de voyage*, zealous for some darling system, never fails to illustrate, demonstrate, and confirm his baneful principles by a thousand trivial incidents, and from every variety of object; while he appears only to beguile the tedium of the way with amiable garrulity, or to convert amusement into profitable study, as he and his pupil “get along.” But, afflicting as it is to track lofty genius in its devious and treacherous warfare against the religion of civilization, liberty, and universal love, there is something still more sickening to the heart to behold such a genius wallowing in obscenity. “It is no apology for *this* insult upon the public morals,” writes Dr. Whitaker, “an insult of many years continuance, that the poison was confined to his notes, and enveloped in the cover of a dead and difficult language. It did more mischief than his infidelity. It addresses itself to the imagination and the passions of an age which needed not to be inflamed by intellectual incentives—to the youth of our great schools and universities, who, captivated by the seductive charms of his text, would be further attracted, by the learned semblance of his notes, to descend to the polluted margin, where they might decipher Greek, and drink in vice and profligacy by the same effort.” “Whether we turn to the characters he dwells upon with disproportionate interest,” (*Quarterly*, No. cxxiv. art. 3) “the features of the picture he exhibits in the most prominent relief—the critical scrupulosity with which he investigates the most nauseous details, sifting them with the pertinacity and relish of a duck filtering the filthiest mud for its meal—whether we track the spirit of the man by its slime through a dirty quotation, a sly inuendo, a luxurious amplification—all concur to show that his mind was inveterately sensual.”

“Mr. Gibbon’s industry is indefatigable,” says Porson; “his accuracy scrupulous, his reading,—which is sometimes ostentatiously displayed—immense, his attention always awake, his memory always retentive, his style emphatic and expressive, his sentences harmonious, his reflections are just and profound; he pleads eloquently

for the rights of mankind and the duty of toleration ; nor does his humanity ever slumber *unless when women are ravished or the Christians persecuted*. He often makes, when he cannot readily find, an occasion to insult our religion, *which he hates so cordially that he might seem to revenge some personal injury*. Such is his eagerness in the cause, that he stoops to the most despicable pun, or to the most awkward perversion of language, for the pleasure of turning the Scripture into ribaldry, or calling Jesus an impostor. Though his style is in general correct and elegant, he sometimes draws out ‘the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument.’ In endeavouring to avoid vulgar terms, he too frequently dignifies trifles, and clothes common thoughts in a splendid dress that would be rich enough for the noblest ideas. In short, we are too often reminded of that great man, Mr. Prig, the auctioneer, whose manner was so inimitably fine, that he had as much to say upon a ribband as a Raphaël. A less pardonable fault is that rage for indecency which pervades the whole work ; but especially the last volumes ; and, to the honour of his consistency, this is the same man, who is so prudish that he does not call Belisarius a cuckold, because it is too bad a word for a decent historian to use. If the history were anonymous, I should guess that those disgraceful obscenities were written by some debauchee, who having, from age, or accident, or excess, survived the practice of lust, still indulged himself in the luxury of speculation, and exposed the impotent imbecility after he had lost the vigour of his passions.”

The murderous effect of this broadside of indignation, as truculent as it was provoked, will be perceived by those who are aware of the loathsome occasion of the apostate’s miserable end ; but, hopeless must have been the attempt to discover the origin and trace the progress of that lamentable perversion, which brought to such excessive depravity in old age, the same being, who was enthusiastically devoted and a generous martyr to the love of purity and religion in his youth, had not the victim himself let us into the sad but most instructive secret of this mysterious reverse.

“The progress of my conversion ”* to the Catholic religion, while a student of Magdalen College in the University of Oxford, “may tend, at least, to *illustrate the history of my mind*. It was not long since Dr. Middleton’s *Free Inquiry* had sounded an alarm in the theological world—his bold criticism, which approaches the very verge of infidelity, produced on my mind a singular effect ; I still revered the character, or rather the names of the saints and fathers whom Dr. Middleton exposes ; nor could he destroy my implicit belief, that the

* Gibbon’s Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, vol. i. p. 44.

gift of miraculous powers was continued in the Church during the first four or five centuries of Christianity. *But I was unable to resist the weight of HISTORICAL EVIDENCE, that within the same period most of the leading doctrines of Popery were already introduced in theory and practice:* nor was my conclusion absurd, that miracles are the test of truth, and that the Church must be orthodox and pure, which was so often approved by the visible interposition of the Deity.—In these dispositions, and already more than half a convert, I formed an unlucky intimacy with a young gentleman of our college, whose name I shall spare. With a character less resolute, Mr. ——— had imbibed the same religious opinions; and some Popish books, I know not through what channel, were conveyed into his possession. I read, I applauded, I believed. The English translation of two famous works of Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, the *Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine*, and the *History of the Protestant Variations*, achieved my conversion, and I surely fell by a noble hand. To my present feelings it seems incredible that I should ever believe that I believed in transubstantiation. But my conqueror oppressed me with the sacramental words; *Hoc est corpus meum*,—and dashed against each other the figurative half meanings of the Protestant sects: every objection was resolved into Omnipotence; and after repeating at St. Mary's the Athanasian creed, I humbly acquiesced in the mystery of the real presence.

“In an excursion to London, I addressed myself to Mr. Lewis, a Roman Catholic bookseller, in Russell Street, Covent Garden, who recommended me to a priest, of whose name and order I am at present ignorant. In our first interview he soon discovered that persuasion was needless. *After sounding the motives and merits of my conversion*, he consented to admit me into the pale of the Church; and at his feet, on the eighth of June 1753, I solemnly, though privately, abjured the errors of heresy. The seduction (?) of an English youth of family and fortune, was an act of as much danger as glory; but *he bravely overlooked the danger*, of which I was not then sufficiently informed. ‘Where a person is reconciled to the see of Rome, or procures others to be reconciled, the offence, says Blackstone, amounts to *high treason*.’ And if the humanity of the age would prevent the execution of this sanguinary statute, there were other laws of a less odious cast, which *condemned the priest to perpetual imprisonment, and transferred the proselyte's estate to his nearest relation*. An elaborate controversial epistle, approved by my director, and addressed

to my father, announced and *justified* the step which I had taken. In the first sally of passion he divulged a secret which prudence might have suppressed, and the gates of Magdalen College were for ever shut against my return. Many years afterwards, when the name of Gibbon was become as notorious as that of Middleton, it was industriously whispered at Oxford, that the historian had formerly ‘turned papist.’ My character stood exposed to the reproach of inconstancy; and this invidious topic would have been handled without mercy by my opponents, could they have separated my cause from that of the University. *For my own part I am proud of an honest sacrifice of interest to conscience.*

“After carrying me to Putney, to the house of his friend Mr. Mallet, by whose philosophy I was rather *scandalized* than reclaimed—it was determined to fix me at Lausanne in Switzerland. Mr. Frey, a Swiss gentleman of Basil, undertook the conduct of the journey, and we arrived the 30th of June at Lausanne, where I was immediately *settled*, under the roof and tuition of Mr. Pavilliard, a Calvinist minister.

“The first marks of my father’s displeasure rather astonished than afflicted me; when he threatened to banish and disown and disinherit a rebellious (?) son, I cherished a secret hope that he would not be able or willing to effect his menaces; and the pride of conscience encouraged me to sustain the honourable and important part which I was now acting. My spirits were raised and kept alive by the rapid motion of my journey, the new and various scenes of the continent, and the civility of Mr. Frey, a man of sense, who was not ignorant of books and of the world. But after he had resigned me into Pavilliard’s hands, and I was fixed in my new habitation, I had leisure to contemplate the strange and melancholy prospect before me. My first complaint arose from my ignorance of the language. In my childhood I had once studied the French grammar, and I could imperfectly understand the easy prose of a familiar subject. But, thus suddenly cast on a foreign land, I found myself deprived of the use of speech and of hearing; and during some weeks incapable not only of enjoying the pleasures of conversation, but even of asking or answering a question in the common intercourse of life. To a home-bred Englishman, every object, every custom was offensive; but the native of *any* country might have been *disgusted* with the general aspect of *my lodging and entertainment*. I had now exchanged my elegant apartment in Magdalen College, for a narrow, gloomy street, the most unfrequented of an unhandsome town, for an

old inconvenient house, and for a small chamber ill-contrived and ill-furnished, which, on the approach of winter, instead of a companionable fire, must be warmed (?) by the dull and invisible heat of a stove. From a man I was again degraded to the dependance of a school-boy; my condition seemed as *des-titute of hope*, as it was devoid of pleasure. I was separated for an indefinite, which appeared an *infinite term from my native country*; and I had lost all connection with my *Catholic friends*."

Who that has a heart can refuse to sympathize with this young and generous sufferer for "conscience sake?" who refuse to temper with pity the many tears of bitter anguish wrung from the virtuous exile during the dark and dreary hours of his hopeless dereliction?

"E se non piangi, di che pianger suoli?"

And if reaction in proud and fiery natures, be vehement and destructive, in proportion to the heartlessness and iniquity of the wrongs, by which, unassuaged by compassion, and abandoned by hope, they are tormented to extremity, and driven, at last, to despair, shall not our indignation be diverted from him, who records in the pages of the *Decline and Fall*, his revengeful hostility against religion, decency, and the most endearing instincts of humanity, to be levelled against the authors and impromptu agents of that persecution, by which were balked and crushed the impulses of his pure and glowing spirit, who ingeniously eradicated the affections from his bleeding heart, sowed discord between him and filial love and conscientious duty, and sent a bigot hag to mumble with sanctimonious malignity, through the bars of his dungeon, to the shivering, forlorn, and broken-hearted captive, that liberty or joy he should never taste,—friend, home, or country, never behold again,—until he had abjured that which he had embraced, to which his convictions, and his holiest affections clung, as the heaven-sent form of sanctifying truth and virtue? He, who now fills us with admiration of the sacrifices he has made, with ardent sympathy for the sufferings he so nobly sustains on account of his devotedness to divine religion, is the same whom we shall behold, with amaze and sorrow, pursuing Christianity with a hatred so cordial, as to leave no doubt, but that he feels himself revenging a *personal injury*, compensating himself for some maddening disgrace, and retaliating on all that is sacred in religion, the insults inflicted on him in its name. But, notwithstanding, that the *youth* was thus mal-

treated, and, as it were, forced by tyranny on these evil courses, shall all this exculpate the *man* who, “*de facto*,” perpetrated these enormities, after years of study, with the most perfect knowledge, deliberation, and freedom from constraint? Is not Gibbon himself guilty? Alas, he is most guilty. “Has he not prevaricated on his own account?” But, still, shall not the devotedness of his unwarped and uncontaminated youth, plead powerfully in his behalf? And, when tried and convicted of the heinous impiety and immorality of his writings before that tribunal, from which there is no appeal, and from which, nothing can lie hid, he is asked, “if he has anything to allege why sentence of eternal death be not recorded against him,” will not that spirit, allotted him at baptism, that walked with him in boyhood, like Gabriel with young Tobias, and took note of those who “scandalized” his charge, and, after a “world of pains to gain a proselyte, made him a child of perdition;” will not his guardian angel, rising before the whole court of heaven, impeach the fabricators of the unchristian and inhuman *penal laws of England*, as the prime delinquents, the original and most guilty perpetrators of the crimes, for which his pupil, the victim of their disastrous influence, stands condemned? “*Impius in iniquitate sua peribit, sanguinem autem ejus de manu tua requiram!*”—(*Isaia.*)

The *penal code of England* attainted him of high treason, for assenting to what his understanding recognized as divine truth; denounced him as an alien in his native land, as a rebel to the constitution, for obeying the dictates of his conscience! For exercising the “right divine,” of consulting, for the eternal interests of his immortal soul, without injury or umbrage to any human being, the gates of knowledge are inexorably barred against him: he is repulsed from the temple of fame, warned not to trespass on the paths of honour or utility; in short, so horribly is he disfigured by this dire anathema, that his own parent disowns him. The statute renders null and void the eternal law of nature, abrogates, under pains and penalties, that solicitude, which nature’s God has sanctified. The son, whom this code has outlawed, his father banishes from his home and heart. Delivered to the torturers, he is subjected to a species of persecution the most intolerable of all; that, which suffered in obscurity, without sympathy from any one, is inflicted by ministry so vile, as to embitter torment with humiliation, so malignant, as to deprive the sufferer of the poor solace of commiseration, by concealing the most diabolical cruelty, under pretences of benevolence.

The young martyr prayed. He expected. He supplicated again. His condition, "utterly devoid of hope," seemed to be beyond the power of human endurance,—at least at his age, instinct with exuberant longings after light, and liberty, and joy. To get relieved from the rack, like many an exhausted sufferer before him, the unfortunate young man *prevaricated* at last; abjured as "damnable and false" what he *knew* to be *infallible* and *divine*. The puerile sophism, by which he pretends to have overturned his own well-reasoned faith in the real presence, is ridiculed even by the *Quarterly Review*. After quoting his words, (vol. xii. p. 280) it very correctly observes;—"Chillingworth would not thus *unskilfully* and *illogically* have confounded the evidence of sense, as *applied to testimony*, with its application to the *original object*." It is admitted in the same place, that, in abjuring Catholicism, Gibbon ceased to be a Christian! "A serious and irreparable mischief," says the historian, "was derived from the *success* of my Swiss education; I had ceased to be an Englishman." Had he chosen to speak out, observes the *Quarterly*, he would have added "A Christian!" This is a new and striking evidence added to the great truth, a thousand times illustrated before: that, for athletic and inquisitive thinkers, there is no medium between Atheism and Catholicity, no halfway house between the *infallible* Church, built on Peter, and that dreary scepticism where "no order but everlasting horror dwells." Gibbon observes, how this principle, so irresistibly demonstrative of the exclusive divinity of the Roman Catholic religion, was illustrated in the remarkable instances of Bayle and Chillingworth; even the *Quarterly* admits it in his own case, as we have seen.

Ratifying, by an act of hypocrisy, the iniquitous truce with his tormentors, he consents to what he felt in his conscience to be a sacrilegious apostacy of the blackest die; "on Christmas-day, 1754, he received the sacrament in the Church of Lausanne." (*Memoirs*, vi. p. 38.) From that fatal hour, he turned his back on the Christian religion, carrying, however, rankling in his very heart, *the immortal enmity* OF REMORSE; and at forsaking the object of his pure and ardent adoration, too truly, alas, he might have said:—

" — Yet hate, like love, in parting pain,
Smiles o'er one hope,—*we meet again!*"

From the communion table, he was led to Monrepos, where Voltaire had fixed the head-quarters of the Antichristian confederation.

“It was about this period,” writes the Marquis de Condorcet, “that the war against Christianity was in its fury. The Jesuits were suppressed; and a grand intellectual revolution was then on the eve of bursting forth. Since the revival of philosophy, the religion of Europe had been attacked nowhere but in England. Leibnitz, Fontenelle, and the other philosophers less celebrated than these, had respected it in their writings. Bayle himself, through indispensable precaution, while he paraded all sorts of objections, had the air of one who wished to prove that revelation alone could solve them, and to have formed the project of exalting faith at the expense of reason. But, in his retreat at Ferney, by concealing his name, and contriving to ingratiate himself with the different governments, Voltaire expected to aim, unembarrassed, his deadly blows against religion, and even to induce the civil power to undermine its empire. A multitude of works, in which by turns he employed eloquence, discussion, but irony and ridicule above all, immediately inundated Europe, under every title necessary for exhibiting the naked truth (!) or, of rendering it luscious. His zeal against religion, which he regarded as the cause of that fanaticism which had desolated Christendom since its birth, of the superstition which had brutalized it, in fine, of all the woes which the foes of humanity had inflicted or still continued to inflict; this seemed to nerve him with double force and tenfold activity. “Je suis las ! ‘I am tired, he cried one day, to hear them repeat, that twelve men sufficed to found Christianity; and I am bent on showing them, that to destroy it there needs but one !’ ‘Je suis las, disait-il un jour, de leur entendre répéter que douze hommes ont suffi pour établir le Christianisme, et j’ai envie de leur prouver qu’il n’en faut qu’un pour le détruire.’” (p. 13.)

It was at the feet of this Gameliel of impiety that the recent convert from Popery took his first lessons in that baleful and impure philosophism in which he afterwards rivalled—perhaps surpassed—his master. Religion was, at this juncture in that stage of her passion, analogous to the one, in which her divine Lord, habited as a *fool*, was led amidst the riot and the truculent ribaldry of a deicide mob, from Herod back again to Pilate. The Sanedrim, of which Arouet was the Caiphas; D’Alembert, Diderot, and Condorcet, the elders, had infuriated the nations against the name of Christ. “Free-thinkers,” continues the infidel marquis—“who had hitherto existed only in some cities where the sciences and literature were cultivated; and that only amongst the litterati, the

savans, the noblesse, and men in place, seemed to multiply at Voltaire's command, in all classes of society as well as in every country. Soon discovering their own numbers and power, they dared to show themselves, and—*Europe was amazed to find itself infidel*—et l'Europe fut étonné de se trouver incrédule!" To drown the expostulations of remorse, and to prove himself an "esprit fort," the young *convert* rejoiced in the opportunity to plunge into the tumult, and signalize his disrespect for the cause he had abjured.* In the atmosphere of the sanctuary where he now stood panting for initiation, nothing holy or chaste could live; and the hierophant discovered with exstasy that his votary—thanks to the lessons of Madame Pavilliard and the novitiate passed under the Calvinist minister—was already a spontaneous scoffer—burning with ardour for those accomplishments which, on a fitting opportunity, might qualify him at once to revenge his own private feelings, and to burst into that literary renown which, from that epoch, became the idol of his existence. From his introduction to the green-room at Monrepos, and to the *abdita* of that temple where every worship was mocked and lampooned, except that which was offered to the white-haired libertine of Fernay, to the memorable evening when the vesper hymn disturbed his reveries amidst the ruins,—the incidents, pursuits, friendships, studies, which make up his memoirs, were all admirably concatenated not only to sustain but to add new impetus to these propensities, and "to put the last hand" to the historian of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Never was guilt brought home to culprit by a chain of evidence more unbroken and authentic, than "the perversion of Edward Gibbon, a virtuous and noble-minded English youth, into the most irreligious and lewd of historians, is brought home to the very door of the Protestantism of England." No jury of honest men could hesitate to aver, that the legislators who enacted, that, "where a person is reconciled to the religion of Rome, (though the same be demonstrated to the said person's full and free conviction, to be true, holy and divine)—the offence amounts to *high-treason*" (Blackstone)—no honest jury could hesitate to convict such legislators, according to the testimonies before exhibited—of being accountable before God and man for all the enormities of the work styled and entitled *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman*

* "My ardour, which soon became conspicuous, seldom failed of procuring me a ticket to the private theatricals of Monrepos—the habits of pleasure fortified my taste for the French stage; and after the representations I sometimes supped with the actors."—*Memoirs*, ubi sup.

Empire, by Edward Gibbon, Esquire." The miscreant Jew who schooled the hapless urchins he had ensnared, until he made them graduate from petty larceny to atrocious murder, was not more obviously guilty of the enormities of his pet ruffian—not half so deserving of public execration—as that tutelage which taught the youth, whose enthusiasm for undefiled religion has filled us with admiring wonder, to produce a work, over which faith and virtue shall have reason to mingle their bitter tears, as long as the memory of existing literature endures.

If his "humanity never slumbers—through the catastrophies of fifteen centuries—*unless when women are ravished or Christians persecuted*," behold the agency that made him an intellectual ruffian and surcharged him with the bile of Antichrist;—*the wife of the minister* has forced him to detest the sex to which *she* belongs—the faith from which *she* made him an *apostate*. Even after the lapse of many years, he cannot bear to touch on this intolerable recollection. But M. Suard, his friend and biographer, spares him that shame:—"Exposé à toutes sortes des privations, par l'avarice de Madame Pavilliard, femme du ministre, qui le faisait mourir de faim et de froid, il sentit s'amollir la généreuse ardeur avec laquelle il avait espéré d'abord se sacrifier à la cause qu'il embrassait, et chercha de bonne foi des argumens qui puissent le ramener à une croyance moins pénible à soutenir."—"Rarely," he concludes, "do we fail to discover palliations for a step to which we are urged by darling interests."—Young Gibbon's eyes began to perceive the errors of the Catholic religion, his generous ardour to freeze, "when Madame Pavilliard *made him die of hunger and cold!*"

Apropos, would not the representation of this saintly lady, occupied in *winning* the young pervert to godliness—form a meet *device* for the medal which a certain Reverend so notoriously deserves from the Protestant Association for his zeal in traducing the land that gave him birth and the religion in which he was baptized?—Should remorse steal upon his heart, with the reminiscences of *his* days of trial, he need but *reverse* the medal, and smile on the fair rectory of Killiman.

All his virtuous and devoted retrospects were darkened. He could not look God or virtue in the face without shame and bitterness. He feels himself a reprobate. The memory of the vile hag who conquered *him*, compelled him to abjure the immortal hope, for which *they* triumph over the most appalling torments, fills him with envy of the martyrs—he cannot pardon them for defying the menaces and the fury—not of Madame

Pavilliard, but of consuls and Roman emperors; and we clearly recognize his attempt to retaliate his own personal disgrace, in the unmanly sneers flung at *his enemy's* entire sex. For the rest, if despotic bigotry *could* be generous, instead of overwhelming the unfortunate author of the *Decline and Fall* with infamy, long ago should *legalized* Protestantism have cried out:—

“Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum
O Rutuli; *mea fraus omnis!*”

But, on this topic we must restrain ourselves, till the Reverend H. H. Milman's *History of Christianity* shall afford us an opportunity, very probably require us, to do condign justice to the subject; to demonstrate, to evidence, that as the inspiration from which it originated, is traced to Protestant influence, so is *the Decline and Fall*, in *organization, scope, and temperament*, unquestionably Protestant.

In conclusion; creditable as it is to the Church of Rome, to have been the object of Gibbon's volunteered belief and veneration, in his generous and unsullied years;—to have been *singled out*, as the grand object of hostility, during his deadly war against the religion of our Divine Redeemer, is still more to the honour, and a testimony to the truth of that Church, incomparably more valid. Notwithstanding his undisguised contempt for the Church by law established, and his utter scorn for the Reformers and the Reformation, he still is ready, with true Protestant cordiality, to side with any, the most despicable of them all, against the common enemy. The motto of his country's creed, “Turk, Jew, or Atheist, any one but a Papist,” is the motto of his history. His rage at hearing the poor monks of St. Francis sing the praises of their crucified Lord, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, caused him to enter it:—as he retires from the field, flushed with presumed success, he turns to aim a barbed scoff at the “Clergy and the Pope.” The dethronement of that very pontiff, (Pius VI), soon after, and his death in banishment, while frenzied heathenism desecrated the sanctuary, massacred the priesthood, and deified a prostitute, seemed to crown the efforts and the aspirations of the *philosophers*, and to put an end to the dynasty of the popes. But there is no philosophy, no statesmanship, no power, against Him who said;—“Simon, son of John! *thou* art a rock, and on this rock I will build my Church; and the gates, the powers of Hell itself, shall not prevail against it.” “Pius VII was then in imprisonment at Fontainebleau,” writes that good and great philosopher, Sir Humphrey Davy, (in his *Consolations of Travel*,

p. 161.) “ By a special favour, on the plea of my return from the Holy Land, I obtained permission to see this venerable and illustrious pontiff. I carried with me one of my rosaries. He received me with kindness; I tendered my services to execute any commissions, not political ones, he might think fit to entrust me with in Italy, informing him that I was an Englishman. He expressed his thanks, but declined troubling me. I told him I was just returned from the Holy Land, and bowing with great humility, offered him my rosary from the holy sepulchre: he received it with a smile, touched it with his lips, gave his benediction over it, and returned it into my hands, supposing of course that I was a Roman Catholic. I had meant to present it to his Holiness, but the blessing he had bestowed upon it, and the touch of his lips, made it a precious relic to me, and I restored it to my neck, round which it has ever since been suspended. He asked me some unimportant questions respecting the state of the Christians at Jerusalem: and, on a sudden, turned the subject, much to my surprise, to the destruction of the French in Russia, and in an exceedingly low tone of voice, as if afraid of being overheard, he said, ‘ The *nefas* has long been triumphant over the *fas*, but I do not doubt that the balance of things is even now restoring, that God will vindicate his Church, clear his polluted altars, and establish society upon its permanent basis of justice and faith; we shall meet again, adieu !’ and he gave me his paternal blessing. It was eighteen months after this interview, that I went out with almost the whole population of Rome, to receive and welcome the triumphant entry of this illustrious Father of the Church into his capital. He was borne on the shoulders of the most distinguished artists, headed by Canova; and never shall I forget the enthusiasm with which he was received. It is impossible to describe the shouts of triumph and rapture, sent up to heaven by every voice; and when he gave his benediction to the people, there was a universal prostration, a sobbing, and marks of emotions of joy almost like the bursting of the heart. I heard everywhere around me, cries of ‘ The Holy Father ! the Holy Father ! His restoration is the work of God !’ ”

Had the unfortunate Gibbon beheld this scene, without being converted, he must, at least, have confessed, like his favourite hero, Julian the apostate, as he felt the arrow in his heart—

“ GALLILÆÆ VICISTI ! ” *

* Niceph. l. 10, c. 35.

ART. VII.—*Œuvres de Lamartine.* Bruxelles : 1839.

AMID the agitation of men's minds which has taken place in these latter times, upon religious and political questions, and the anxiety which pervades every class upon whatever has reference to their state of well-being, in this world and in the next, we, who can only hope to preserve unquestioned our authority as guides of public opinion, by watching its general course, have hardly time and space to devote to less engrossing topics—to subjects which concern the interests of men either very remotely or not at all, and which appeal only to the feelings and the imagination. The voice of the muses, it is said, is silenced by the din of arms: but an age of cold and earth-born philosophy, of utilitarian calculations and angry controversy, does more to stop the growth of literature than even one of revolution and war. Byron, the great "master of the lyre" in our boyish days, lived and wrote in a time when glory and victory and mighty deeds were everywhere familiarly upon men's tongues. That period has passed away, with its marvels and its excitement; and we doubt very much whether the voice of the Pilgrim, had it been prolonged to this generation, would not have lost much of its magic melody upon the public ear, and have really "died into an echo."

There is, however, and doubtless there always will be, a large portion of society whose opinions and feelings remain substantially uninfluenced by the popular and fleeting theories of the day. The sublimer sciences, when banished from the assemblies of the money-makers, the bigoted and the frivolous, will be sure to find a cordial welcome in the quiet of some academician's chamber, or of some philosopher's cell: and the voice of the muses, when heard no longer among the heartless and the worldly-minded, will be listened to amid scenes where the purity of virtue and the simplicity of nature, have been permitted to remain untouched for ages. We are of opinion that the objections which are now raised by some against the utility of poetry, and the indifference manifested by more to its charms, have their origin neither in conviction nor insensibility. A much more obvious cause appears to exist in the prevailing character of the poetry of our times. The truth is, we possess nothing or almost nothing of real poetic genius among us at present. We have abundance of thrice-transmitted imitations—tiny streamlets of verse, purling through newspapers and magazines and foolscap volumes:

but we have not that which descends from the high fount of genius, impregnated with the golden ore that gives it value, and betokens the richness of the source whence it flows. Thomas Moore, whose least praise is, that he is the first of living poets, has long since "hung his harp upon the willow," and strikes carelessly and at distant intervals its magic chord—as if only to tell his countrymen that the muse which is their greatest glory, and whose strains are embalmed in their hearts, has not yet ceased to speak. Campbell,—who, we think, has received his full measure of fame—and Rogers, and Southey, and Wordsworth, are as if already numbered with the past. We talk but little about the poets, because we have no poets to talk about: we have but little enthusiasm for poetry, because there is no poetry to call it forth. We do not walk out to contemplate the beauties of the starry sky, because the sky is clouded and starless. In the meantime, we may, if anxious for fresh objects of gratification, find abundant materials to satiate our appetite for novelty, in the literature of other nations.

The name of Lamartine, as the first, or one among the first, of the living poets of France, has been, for a considerable time, sufficiently familiar to most readers. The volume which we have placed at the head of our article, contains all his published works, the *Méditations—Harmonies—Jocelyn—Chûte d'un Ange—Voyage en Orient, &c. &c.* A detailed notice of each would much exceed the limits of a single article. We shall therefore confine ourselves, for the present, to one—the *Harmonies Poétiques et Religieuses*; partly, because it has not yet, as far as we know, formed a subject of periodical criticism,—and, partly, because in it the characteristic beauties and defects of the writer are perhaps more equally combined, than in any of the rest.

The *Harmonies* are, as we are informed by the author himself, in his preface, a collection of poetical effusions strung together without any apparent connexion; the varied expressions of sentiments and impressions created by joy or sorrow, by despondency or hope, in the solitude of retreat or in the bustle of the world, in hours of dryness and desolation, or of fervour and tenderness; but all springing from a devout feeling, and all designed to elevate the soul to heavenly musings and aspirations. Never did bard propose to himself a nobler end than this, of sanctifying the many and often jarring emotions of the heart by a principle of religion—a principle which assimilates them all as if in one feeling, wherein their different essences are blended together, and purified and consecrated

to God. It is the applying to evanescent and involuntary impulses—to the vague dreamings of the imagination, as well as to serious and sober reflections, the great maxim of the apostle, "Whether you eat or drink, or whatever else you do, do all for the glory of God;" thus giving to things apparently the most valueless the merit of sacrifice and the efficacy of prayer. To the execution of this high design, M. Lamartine has brought many qualities, both of mind and heart, which eminently fit him for the task. His sensibility is exquisite: every thing in nature and in man has a voice for him: his "far-sent eye" has penetrated every atom of creation, and travelled even beyond the bounds of the visible world: each object breathes in melody to his ear, and expands in loveliness to his eye:—

"For him there's a story in every breeze
And a picture in every wave."

He appears to have meditated deeply upon his themes; to have pondered long and thoughtfully upon their every feature; and to have familiarized his mind's eye to the varied costume, the hue, the look, the voice, with which his imagination had endowed the airy beings of its own creation; as much as the eye of his body is familiarized to the rising and setting sun, to the blue skies and the green fields. What from other men would come with the appearance of dazzling fictions, emanate from him like fixed principles and maxims of truth: his poetry is like the versification of his philosophical creed. Hence the tone of earnestness and enthusiasm that pervades the most indistinct and dream-like of his poetic reveries. Hence, too, the minute details, the endless prolixity, the hunting down of his subject, the pursuit of his imagination not only through the whole length of its course, till it is lost in mist and distance, but even through every subordinate and often uninteresting and sometimes undignified sentiment, that may branch out from the direct and onward stream of his ideas. Thus, some of his happiest thoughts are spoiled by excessive care, like the naturally sweet temper of an over-indulged child. Our common feelings and passions often interest us most, when revealed in their most secret and hardly discernible workings—in the small and slender springs of action. But the heart does not so sympathize, either with feigned or highly wrought emotions, which exist only in the particular states of some peculiarly constituted minds, or with the elaborate exhibition of the minute features of the external world. The latter rouse and affect us chiefly by association: the former are within ourselves and

of ourselves ; under *their* influence we speak and act, in the common scenes of life, as well as in its less earthly occupations ; in our rough jostlings with the world, as well as in hours of repose and contemplation.

Besides this prolixity and finedrawing, we have remarked another defect in M. Lamartine's poetry ; which, like these, seems to flow from the peculiar temperament of mind in which he loves to indulge, and from the sameness of colouring in which he clothes all objects, how different soever they may be, either in themselves or in their effects upon the imagination. The creative hand of the poet may, it is true, give a voice to everything. There is, however, a delusion in such personifications, which cannot last long. The charm which may be preserved through two or three lines, or two or three sentences, is soon broken ; and we begin to feel that rocks and trees have no tongues, or hearts, or ears,—and we turn away from such insipid things, to beings that have real soul and senses. We speak from the actual impression which M. Lamartine's book produced on our own minds. When first we opened it, we were delighted with the soft, melancholy pathos, with which he communes with, and views, the inanimate and ideal world. But, as we advanced in the volume, we grew weary of the monotonous exhibition of the same fair but senseless creatures, talking in a language which we knew they could not hear or understand. What at first touched our fancy, at last chilled our heart. M. Lamartine introduces himself into the society of dumb beings, and holds familiar converse with them, and addresses them in many a lengthened strain, and moralizes and soliloquizes with them, and about them, and proposes them many questions, and listens to their answers—of which we are glad that he has favoured us with but few specimens—with a degree of patience very edifying, and with an enthusiasm, in which we must say we cannot often participate. All this is very fanciful and very exquisite, and, no doubt, would please exceedingly for a page or two ; but after that, our attention flags, our imagination wanders away, we are gradually lulled into slumbers, and we gladly wake from dreams of thick-lipped clouds talking French metaphysics, and the wailing of sentimental breezes, and the oracular responses of some philosophical oak-tree.

It may be said, and M. Lamartine himself has told us, that these *Harmonies* are addressed but to a small and chosen class of readers :—but this will not do. If they who can feel the beauties of Homer and Virgil, and Shakspeare and Milton, and

the other great bards of ancient and modern times, cannot feel or appreciate those of the work before us; either the chosen few for whom it is destined do not exist at all, or they are but the people of one generation, whose taste is the mere creature of some unnatural and frail state of society, and whose opinions are not those of nature or reason, and must perish with themselves. There is no fashion, in prose or poetical composition, which has not its own clique and coterie of admirers, whose admiration is often in proportion to the extent of the grotesque and far-fetched with which the fashion itself is chargeable. The street ballads have a party of admirers,—the ribaldry of newspaper scribes has a party of admirers. The metaphysical school once held the throne of poesy; after that, the mechanical school; and between them, the voluptuous school reigned supreme upon the stage. Much of this is owing to the genius of a people, or of an age; much to affectation; much to the extreme excitement, or extreme repose, which periods of commotion or of peace may produce. But the characters which nature has written upon the human heart, though dimmed for a season, cannot be effaced; and they appear again, unaltered and the same, when the causes that obscured them have ceased to operate.

The defects we have noticed in M. Lamartine we are disposed to consider as arising from the perversion of his own taste, or of the taste of the people for whom he writes,—or from both together, exercising an influence over each other,—rather than from any radical barrenness of genius. He writes for a people who are only just waking from nightmare dreams of horrid and obscene phantasies, which their fathers, and many of themselves, had seen embodied in palpable shapes, and walking their earth, and sitting at their festive boards, and mixing in the deliberations of their national councils, and establishing the symbols, and moulding the forms, of their devilish worship. The eyes of such a people glare out wildly, and cannot dwell with delight upon the quiet beauties of natural objects: the unclean spirit which possesses them, rejected of God, “walketh about through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none.” Images of ordinary men and women—descriptions of the attributes of spiritual being, such, or something such, as we know them to be—the expression of happy feelings, such as nature and religion teach the heart to feel—of imaginings of the world to come, and of the relations that exist between it and that which we now inhabit—these are not acceptable nor intelligible to minds so diseased and error-

stricken: but, instead, they fashion to themselves "gorgons, hydras, and chimeras;" they will have a black and fantastic temple of literature, and enshrine therein only idols, which are the offspring and representatives of their own passions. The poet of such a people is "fallen upon gloomy days." It is his misfortune, as well as his fault, that he does not altogether escape the contagion of the atmosphere in which he has drawn his first breath, and in which he has always lived; and we ought, perhaps, rather silently to deplore, than bitterly to censure, the wanderings and the weaknesses to which even the loftiest genius, like all other things that belong to man, is liable, when its dwelling is fixed, and its course shaped, among the evil-doers and the evil-thinkers.

These reflections, however, suggest, or rather are suggested by, another fault,—or, we should say, the first and faint, though frequent, manifestations of a fault,—which, we are sorry to see, has appeared in a decided form in a later work of the author. We allude to that spirit of pantheistic raving, which has spoiled some of the finest intellects of our time, and elevated others, of mean origin and sordid nature, to a rank above their merit, by giving to their effusions an apparent depth, and a false brilliancy. The blind idolatry of early and unenlightened nations is now, even in the minds of those upon whom the light of faith seems hardly to have shed its first glimmerings, so much associated with the ridiculous, that even the most malignant hatred of Christianity could hardly drive the voluptuary, or the frantic system-maker, into the adoption of a creed so worn-out and contemptible. But a system of idolatry more simple in its structure, more unsubstantial, and, if possible, more unintelligible,—but, in its effect upon men of weak judgment and strong imagination, perhaps more pernicious,—has been substituted for the old polytheism. That visionaries—boy-atheists, like Shelley, who hated with Satanic hatred religion and religion's God—would give ready admittance to such wild blasphemies, is hardly to be wondered at. But that men of pure intentions and benevolent dispositions, should, in their speculations upon the invisible things of faith, stray away so far from the path on which alone the light of reason and revelation falls, into darksome and devious byways, till they sink at last, from error to error, "down ten thousand fathom deep," into the abyss of pantheism,—is only an additional proof, that whoever once forsakes the guide which God has appointed for man in the centre of Catholic union, has no further security as to the

frightful extent to which he may go, or the evils that may befall him, in his starless wanderings.

The licenses allowed to poetry, especially that of the purely romantic and ideal kind, are so extensive and so ill-defined, that we are not sure whether a charge of captious criticism might not, with much justice, be made against any attempt to deduce from a poem of this class a decisive evidence of the writer's philosophical or religious creed. Accordingly, although the *Chute d'un Ange* and the *Jocelyn* contain many passages whose obvious drift is by no means creditable to the soundness of the author's opinions as a Catholic, or indeed as a Christian, we prefer to point out in a late work, written in prose—the *Voyage to the East*—a few specimens of the absurd and childish fancies to which we have alluded. Thus, for instance :—

“Can it be that she [the sea] does not respire alive? Yes, without the slightest doubt, she respire, she lives, she suffers and enjoys . . . death is not of her making, for life is the sign of all her works.”—p. 32.*

These are not mere passing words—the reverie of a drunken imagination. The same sentiment is still more ostentatiously and minutely put forward in the *Chute d'un Ange*, and repeated a hundred times elsewhere, so as to leave hardly a doubt on our minds but that the writer meant not to speak figuratively. This, however, *may* be explained away—what follows cannot :—

“This Christianity of feeling and sentiment had become a sweet, habitual propensity of my thoughts. I often ask myself where is truth to be found perfect, demonstrated, incontestable? If it be anywhere, it is to be found in the heart, in the conscient evidence against which there is no act of reasoning that can prevail. But the truth of the mind is under no circumstances complete: it exists with God, and not with us; our vision is too contracted to absorb a single ray of it; all truth for us is merely relative; that which will be the most useful to man will then be the most true; the doctrine which is the richest in divine virtues will also be that which will contain the most divine truths; for that which is good is true; and that is the sum and scope of my religious logic; there stops my philosophy; it cannot ascend any higher, it restrains me from all doubt, from all the interminable dialogues of reason with herself; it leaves me that religion of the heart which associates so intimately with all the infinite sentiments of the life of the soul,—which resolves nothing, but which assuages every thing.”—p. 14.

* For the sake of those who may not have the work at hand in the original, we quote from an English translation published in 1837.

Such a patched-up system of Christian faith as this—made up, indeed, of shreds from Calvin, Hobbes, the Wesleyan Methodists, and others—if presented only in a poetical form, might argue merely a want of correct taste, but when gravely stated, in no romance or novel, but in a book of *Travels to the Holy Land*, and put forward as the substance of the writer's religious philosophy, it compels us to conclude that he must have the meanest idea of the reader's intellect, in supposing, for one moment, that any reasoning being could discover the slightest traces of religion or philosophy, in such incoherent rhapsody. When poets talk in their own language, the license which belongs to their profession gives them an exemption from many a rebuke which they would otherwise receive; but, when they condescend to speak in plain prose, and upon subjects, too, of philosophy and religion, they must also condescend to speak common sense, and in a language that can be understood. Dr. Johnson said, with much truth, that a mere poet is incapable of understanding fundamental principles. We know, indeed, only of one who, having attained eminence in the poetic art, has shewn, upon topics that demanded the exercise of the reasoning powers, evidences of a clear head, and a sound judgment:—it is unnecessary to name the author of the *Life of Sheridan*, and of the *Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion*. But to proceed—

“Whatever religion our reason professes at the age of reason, the Christian's prayer will always be that of the human race.”—p. 23.

“Religions are not to be proved, not to be demonstrated they are the effect of instinct not of ratiocination: they are like the winds that blow from the east and from the west, of which no one knows the cause or the point of their departure they exist because they do exist they form a portion of the heart itself more than of the mind of man every sensible man, of whom we might demand an account of his faith, will, without hesitation, reply, I am a Christian because every fibre of my heart is Christian, because my mother suckled me from a Christian bosom, &c. &c.”—p. 254.

“O! my God! O! how nature is a prayer worthy of him who searches for Thee in it, who discovers Thee in it, under so many various forms, and who comprehends a few syllables of its dumb language, but which nevertheless expresses every thing.”—p. 25.

These extracts can hardly be said to contain any absurdity, for they hardly contain any meaning. When M. Lamartine says, (p. 325) of the monastic state, that “it is contrary to family, to society,” and that “in the epoch in which we live it

has something in it highly repugnant to his intelligence and his reason," we suppose that he meant to be particularly severe upon the religious institute. When, however, the reader forms, as, from the few extracts just given, he may easily form, a correct idea of M. Lamartine's "reason and intelligence," he will, we apprehend, be disposed to conclude that a state whose principles are so decidedly at variance with such reason and intelligence, must possess in it not a little for sound-minded men to admire.

" All religions have two natures, the association of which astonishes every mind ;—a popular nature formed of miracles, legends, and scandalous superstitions, an impure alloy with which the ages of darkness and ignorance have adulterated and tarnished the thought of heaven : the other is a rational and *philosophical* nature, which is discovered to be brilliant and immutable on rubbing off *with the hand* the human rust."—p. 399.

Never was there a word in any language worse used than this word "philosophy." Rousseau thought that man could never attain his supreme happiness, until his condition became something like that of the ouran-outang—and this was philosophy. Lord Monboddoo thought that man, in remote ages, really had been an ouran-outang—and this too was philosophy. Gibbon defiled a learned work and a sacred subject, with sarcasm and obscenity : his favourite Julian was remarkable for his filthy beard, his ink-black hands, and his hatred of Christianity ; and, of course, Gibbon and Julian forthwith become philosophers. It would be easy to fill a volume, in recounting the various grounds on which this august title has been claimed and granted. If M. Lamartine have any ambition to swell the number of his titles by the addition of this one, we could not recommend to him a surer means of success than that of trying his hand at rubbing off some of the "human rust" from the dimmed shrines of religion. At any rate his poetical fame will not suffer much by the attempt. But we must turn away—as we do with mingled feelings of sorrow and disgust—from such Bedlam fooleries.

In the *Harmonies* we discover the writer's playfulness of fancy, a softness and fervour of feeling, a power of moulding his versification in the most graceful forms, and a delicate purity of heart which raises him above the grossness and ribaldry, and malignant personal satire, which, in Beranger's otherwise enchanting muse, confirms the fairy's testimony as to her birthplace in a tailor's garret. Seldom has religion found a poet so capable of arraying her glories in the light of

this world's colouring, and of speaking her holy thoughts in a language, at hearing whose delightful melody even the votaries of pleasure and gain "might pause and weep." But, with all his other qualifications, he wants one without which his poems cannot be called religious poems, in the proper sense of the words. We do not dispute the meaning of a term: but, if M. Lamartine intended to convey, by the title of the work before us, that the sentiments of which it consists are often such as the pious soul, in the presence of God, and addressing Him, would ever think of entertaining or uttering, he has very much mistaken the feelings and the language of true devotion. When we kneel at the foot of the altar or in our oratory, to implore the Divine mercy, or to meditate with a view to the sanctification of our own soul, and its closer union with God, we never indulge in the vague *βαττολογία*, which our Lord himself condemns, and which comes all from the fancy and not from the heart; we do not think of the lofty mountain or of the roaring sea—the gloom of the forest—the song of the nightingale. But Calvary, or some such scene rises before our eyes—the sufferings and the love of the Redeemer—the grief of Mary, whose heart was pierced with his—the numberless attractions of divine grace which we have felt, and with which we have so little corresponded—the promises of unbounded mercy, together with the two great pledges thereof in the sacrament of penance, and in the sacrament and sacrifice of the Eucharist. Such only are the themes capable of suggesting sentiments which, when woven together, with that skill which true poetical imagination possesses, and clothed in language sweet, simple, solemn, and expressive, spread over the soul a resistless charm of devotion, a forgetfulness and contempt of the pains and pleasures of this world, an ardent and affectionate desire "to be dissolved and to be with Christ." The fancy may weave its tissue of sparkling thoughts, and bind it round the brow of some willing worshipper,—calling up a succession of dreams and imaginings, which, though not of this earth earthly, are still less "of heaven heavenly:"—but the spring of religious feeling may, all the while, remain untouched in the soul. Whatever is not in itself vice is not therefore virtue; whatever is not gross is not therefore spiritual. How little there is of what is commonly called imagery, how little of ingenious reflections or startling resemblances, or splendid declamation, in the *Dies Iræ*, the *Stabat Mater*, the *Lauda Sion*, *Veni Creator*, *Pange Lingua gloriosi lauream certaminis*, &c. &c.;—yet who of the faithful has ever

read one of them, and felt not his heart moved to a love of practical religion? We did not, indeed, for a moment, expect that M. Lamartine would have equalled the simple pathos of any of these; and, perhaps, we should exact too much even in requiring that whatever claims to be called sacred poetry should possess something, at least, in however inferior a degree, of the same sort of inspiration that dictated them.

But it is now time to present our readers, with a few extracts from the work which has given rise to the preceding remarks; and, in doing so, we shall select chiefly those which are marked by some of the characteristic beauties of the author, and least deformed by his characteristic defects.* We shall begin with the first *Harmonie*, entitled "Invocation." It is rather long, and we shall give only the opening stanzas.

INVOCATION.

"Toi qui donnas sa voix à l'oiseau de l'aurore,
 Pour chanter dans le ciel l'hymne naissant du jour;
 Toi qui donnas son âme et son gosier sonore
 À l'oiseau que le soir entend gémir d'amour;
 Toi qui dis aux forêts : Répondez au zéphyre !
 Aux ruisseaux : Murmurez d'harmonieux accords;
 Aux torrents : Mugissez ; à la brise : Soupire !
 À l'océan ; Gémis en mourant sur tes bords !
 Et moi, Seigneur, aussi, pour chanter tes merveilles,
 Tu m'as donné dans l'âme une seconde voix
 Plus pure que la voix qui parle à nos oreilles,
 Plus forte que les vents, les ondes et les bois !
 Les cieux l'appellent Grâce, et les hommes Génie ;
 C'est un souffle affaibli des bardes d'Israël,
 Un écho dans mon sein, qui change en harmonie
 Le retentissement de ce monde mortel !
 Mais c'est surtout ton nom, ô roi de la nature !
 Qui fait vibrer en moi cet instrument divin ;
 Quand j'invoque ce nom, mon cœur plein de murmure
 Resonne comme un temple où l'on chante sans fin !
 Comme un temple rempli de voix et de prières,
 Où d'échos en échos le son roule aux autels ;
 Eh quoi ! Seigneur, ce bronze, et ce marbre, et ces pierres
 Retentiraient-ils mieux que le cœur des mortels ?
 Non, mon Dieu, non, mon Dieu, grâce à mon saint partage,
 Je n'ai point entendu monter jamais vers toi
 D'accords plus pénétrants, de plus divin langage,
 Que ces concerts muets qui s'élèvent en moi !

* In most cases, we have attempted versions, whose only merit, we fear, is their general fidelity to the meaning of the original.

Translation.

O, thou from whom the minstrel of the dawn
 Hath caught the sweetness of the morning lay !
 From whom the nightingale her soul has drawn
 And song of love, that thrills the close of day !
 Thine is the voice that speaketh, when the breeze
 Breathes music o'er the rivers and the woods !
 Thine is the voice that whispers in the trees,
 And thunders o'er the ocean and the floods !
 And thou to me, Almighty Lord, hast given
 A voice of song, to tell thy wonders here,
 Stronger than that which sweeps the arch of heaven,
 Purer than man can whisper in the ear.
 Genius, on earth, they call it ; Grace, above ;
 It breathed in Israel's bards, it throws in me,
 Though faintly, echoing here, where'er I move,
 O'er every sound a spell of harmony.
 But chiefly thou, O Lord ! thy name inspires
 This soul of song within me, 'till I be
 Even as a temple, where the sweet-tongued quires
 Pour without end their heavenly strains to thee—
 —Even as a temple, where melodious voices
 And prayers are wafted up, from shrine to shrine,
 Shall *their* mute tongues, which not a soul rejoices,
 Resound thy praises better even than mine ?
 Ah ! no, my God ! from these unthinking things,
 From all beside, no sound can rise to thee,
 No voice more ardently, divinely sings
 Than those mute harmonies that breathe in me.

The author proceeds in a different measure, but in the same strain of pious fervour and enchanting verse. We regret that the length of the entire, prevents us from quoting it at large ; but we cannot refrain from transcribing the following stanza, conveying, as it does, a sentiment, which—alas ! and alas !—hardly a single Christian poet might not apply to himself with perfect truth :—

Helas ! et j'en rougis encore,
 Ingrat au plus beau de ses dons,
 Harpe que l'ange même adore,
 Je profanai tes premiers sons ;
 Je fis ce que ferait l'impie,
 Si ses mains, sur l'autel de vie,
 Abusaient des vases divins,
 Et s'il couronnait le calice,
 Le calice du sacrifice,
 Avec les roses des festins !

Translation.

"Alas ! and I blush to record
 How my soul with the sin has been stained—
 This harp by the angels adored
 By my earliest touch I profaned.
 I have done, like the wretch who would dare,
 With an impious hand, to defile
 The vessels divine on the altar, and there
 The chalice of sacrifice pile,
 With flowers from the hall of the revellers taken—
 Thus sorrow and shame in my bosom awaken."

The "Hymn of a child at waking," contains so much beautiful sentiment, and is so beautifully expressed, that we have not the heart to notice one defect under which we think it labours.

HYMNE DE L'ENFANT A SON REVEIL.

"O Père qu'adore mon père !
 Toi qu'on ne nomme qu'à genoux !
 Toi dont le nom terrible et doux
 Fait courber le front de ma mère !

On dit que ce brillant soleil
 N'est qu'un jouet de ta puissance ;
 Que sous tes pieds il se balance
 Comme une lampe de vermeil.

On dit que c'est toi qui fais naître
 Les petits oiseaux dans les champs,
 Et qui donne aux petits enfans
 Une âme aussi pour te connaître !

On dit que c'est toi qui produis
 Les fleurs dont le jardin se pare,
 Et que, sans toi, toujours avare,
 Le verger n'aurait point de fruits.

Aux dons que ta bonté mesure
 Tout l'univers est convié ;
 Nul insecte n'est oublié
 A ce festin de la nature.

* * *

O Dieu ! ma bouche balbutie
 Ce nom des anges redouté,
 Un enfant même est écouté
 Dans le chœur qui te glorifie !

On dit qu'il aime à recevoir
 Les vœux présentés par l'enfance,
 A cause de cette innocence
 Que nous avons sans le savoir.

On dit que leurs humbles louanges
 A son oreille monte mieux ;
 Que les anges peuplent les cieux,
 Et que nous ressemblons aux anges !

Ah ! puisqu'il entend de si loin
 Les vœux que notre bouche adresse
 Je veux lui demander sans cesse
 Ce dont les autres ont besoin,

Translation.

Father ! before whose majesty
 My own dear father bends his knee,
 Whose name my mother hears, to bow
 In lowly reverence her brow.

They say yon radiant orb of light
 Is but the plaything of thy might :
 But as a sparkling lamp to thee
 Is all his glowing brilliancy.

They say, the little birds of song,
 That charm the plain, to thee belong :
 The soul in infant hearts, like mine,
 That know and worship thee, is thine.

They say, 'tis thou that makest fair
 The flower that scents the summer air ;
 The fruits that teem in autumn's hour,
 Come from thy goodness and thy power.

Thy bounty spreads a rich repast,
 Where'er their lot of life be cast,
 For all invited to the feast—
 Alike the greatest and the least.

* * *

O God ! my lisping lips proclaim
 That word the angels fear to name ;
 An infant even his voice may raise
 Among the quires that hymn thy praise.

They say, the sounds are ever dear
 That infancy breathes to his ear ;
 His love the precious recompense
 Of its unconscious innocence.

They say that nought beneath the skies
 Like to its prayers, before him rise ;
 That round him angels hover near,—
 And we are like the angels here !

Ah ! since he hears, so far away,
 The words that we so weakly say,
 I pray his mercy would bestow
 On all that need it here below.

Mon Dieu, donne l'onde aux fontaines,	Give water to the bubbling spring,
Donne la plume aux passereaux,	And plumage to the sparrow's wing ;
Et la laine aux petits agneaux,	Wool to the lamb, and earth renew
Et l'ombre et la rosée aux plaines.	With cooling shade and sparkling dew.
Donne au malade la santé,	Give sickness health, and hunger bread—
Au mendicant le pain qu'il pleure,	A shelter to the orphan's head—
A l'orphelin une demeure,	The light of liberty to all
Au prisonnier la liberté.	Who pine away in dungeon's thrall.
Donne une famille nombreuse	And to my father, Lord, increase
Au père qui craint le Seigneur ;	Children of piety and peace ;
Donne à moi sagesse et bonheur,	Wisdom and grace to me impart,
Pour que ma mère soit heureuse !	That I may glad my mother's heart.
Mets dans mon âme la justice,	Truth to my lips, and on my soul
Sur mes lèvres la vérité,	Be sanctity's unspotted stole,
Qu'avec crainte et docilité	That, in docility and fear,
Ta parole en mon cœur mûrisse !	I may advance from year to year.
Et que ma voix s'élève à toi	And may to thee each pious breathing
Comme cette douce fumée	Of mine ascend, like incense wreathing
Que balance l'urne embaumée	From urns that sweetly smell and shine,
Dans la main d'enfants comme moi !	Borne by some infant hand like mine.

The lines "To the Nightingale" require not the aid of criticism to point out their exquisite finish, and the fertility of imagination which they indicate in the writer :—

"AU ROSSIGNOL.

"Quand ta voix céleste prélude
 Au silence des belles nuits,
 Barde ailé de ma solitude,
 Tu ne sais pas que je te suis.
 Tu ne sais pas que mon oreille,
 Suspendue à ta douce voix,
 De l'harmonieuse merveille
 S'enivre longtemps sous les bois !
 Tu ne sais pas que mon haleine
 Sur mes lèvres n'ose passer,
 Que mon pied muet foule à peine
 La feuille qu'il craint de froisser !
 Et qu'enfin un autre poète
 Dont la lyre a moins de secrets,
 Dans son âme envie et répète
 Ton hymne nocturne aux forêts !
 Mais si l'astre des nuits se penche
 Aux bords des monts pour t'écouter,
 Tu te caches de branche en branche
 Au rayon qui vient y flotter.
 Ah ! ta voix touchante ou sublime
 Est trop pure pour ce bas lieu !
 Cette musique qui t'anime
 Est un instinct qui monte à Dieu !

Tes gazouillements, ton murmure,
Sont un mélange harmonieux
Des plus doux bruits de la nature,
Des plus vagues soupirs des cieux !
Ta voix, qui peut-être s'ignore,
Est la voix du bleu firmament,
De l'arbre, de l'ancre sonore,
Du vallon sous l'ombre dormant !
Tu prends les sons que tu recueilles
Dans les gazouillements des flots,
Dans les frémissements des feuilles,
Dans les bruits mourants des échos,
Dans l'eau qui filtre goutte à goutte
Du rocher nu dans le bassin,
Et qui résonne sous sa voûte
En ridant l'azur de son sein ;
Dans les voluptueuses plaintes
Qui sortent la nuit des rameaux,
Dans les voix des vagues éteintes
Sur le sable ou dans les roseaux !
Et de ces doux sons où se mêle
L'instinct céleste qui t'instruit,
Dieu fit ta voix, ô Philomèle !
Et tu fais ton hymne à la nuit !
Ah ! ces douces scènes nocturnes,
Ces pieux mystères du soir,
Et ces fleurs qui penchent leurs urnes
Comme l'urne d'un encensoir,
Ces feuilles où tremblent des larmes,
Ces fraîches haleines des bois,
O nature ! avaient trop de charmes
Pour n'avoir pas aussi leur voix !
Et cette voix mystérieuse,
Qu'écoutent les anges et moi,
Ce soupir de la nuit pieuse,
Oiseau mélodieux, c'est toi !
Oh ! mêle ta voix à la mienne !
La même oreille nous entend ;
Mais ta prière aérienne
Monte mieux au ciel qui l'attend !
Et nous, dans cette voix sans charmes,
Qui gémit en sortant du cœur,
On sent toujours trembler les larmes,
Ou retentir une douleur !"

TRANSLATION.

When thy song, 'mid the silence and beauty of night,
 Winged bard of my solitude, thrills,
 How little thou knowest the glow of delight
 Thy minstrelsy round thee distils,
 How enchanted my ear by thy singing,
 How I touch not a leaf all around,
 How my breath to my bosom is clinging,
 That I mar not the magical sound—

How a poet, whose lyre cannot waken, like thine,
 The loftier accents of song,
 Repeats, as thou pourest thy warblings divine,
 To the fields and the forests along.
 But the star of the night, if to listen,
 O'er the mountains she loves to delay,
 From the branch, where her mellow rays glisten,
 Thou silently flittest away.

Ah! thy strains upon earth are too holy to fall,
 And to heaven sublimely they flow—
 An essence of harmony blended from all
 That is music above or below—
 The valley of shadows and slumbers—
 The blue skies that over it shine—
 The cave, with its echoing numbers,
 And the trees have a voice—it is thine!

From the murmuring surge—from the rustling of leaves—
 From the sound, in the grotto of stone,
 When the azure below from the cleft rock receives
 Every drop, with a musical moan—
 From the voice which the night-breeze, in sighing,
 Brings out from the forest all o'er—
 From the sound of the billows, in dying,
 'Mid the reeds, on the murmuring shore—

From these, from their music of sweetest delight,
 He who made thee, hath made thee a voice,
 And thou pourest it forth to the groves every night,
 And the groves in its magic rejoice.
 Ah! the scenes and the flowers so enchanting,
 Every leaf, every breeze-shaken bough—
 Can a voice to their beauty be wanting?
 Their voice—it is thou! it is thou!

That voice which is heard by the angels and me,
 With mine, sweetest melodist, blend
 For alike Heaven hears us,—but sooner to thee
 The ear of its mercy will bend.

For thine are the songs that betoken
 Peace, purity, feelings divine,
 But ours by our wailings are broken ;
 We breathe but to weep and repine !

But if we thus followed the guidance of our inclination, we might transcribe and translate half the volume. We cannot, however, omit the lines *Upon a Mother's Grave*. So much natural and elevated feeling so sweetly and pathetically expressed, and upon a subject so touching, will hardly find a parallel in ancient or modern poetry :—not a word wrongly chosen or wrongly placed—nothing could be added or taken away without injuring the perfect beauty of the piece. Our version—indeed any version—can give but a faint picture of the original.

LE TOMBEAU D'UNE MÈRE.

“ Un jour, les yeux lassés de veilles et de larmes,
 Comme un lutteur vaincu prêt à jeter ses armes,
 J'é disais à l'aurore : En vain tu vas briller ;
 La nature trahit nos yeux par ses merveilles,
 Et le ciel coloré de ses teintes vermeilles
 Ne sourit que pour nous railler !

Rien n'est vrai, rien n'est faux ; tout est songe et mensonge !
 Illusion du cœur qu'un vain espoir prolonge !
 Nos seules vérités, hommes, sont nos douleurs !
 Cet éclair dans nos yeux que nous nommons la vie,
 Etincelle dont l'âme est à peine éblouie,
 Qu'elle va s'allumer ailleurs !

Plus nous ouvrons les yeux, plus la nuit est profonde,
 Dieu n'est qu'un mot rêvé pour expliquer le monde,
 Un plus obscur abîme où l'esprit s'est lancé,
 Et tout flotte et tout tombe ainsi que la poussière
 Que fait en tourbillons dans l'aride carrière
 Lever le pied d'un insensé !

Je disais ; et mes yeux voyaient avec envie
 Tout ce qui n'a reçu qu'une insensible vie
 Et dont nul rêve au moins n'agite le sommeil ;
 Au sillon, au rocher j'attachais ma paupière,
 Et ce regard disait : A la brute, à la pierre,
 Au moins, que ne suis-je pareil ?

Et ce regard errant comme l'œil du pilote
 Qui demande sa route à l'abîme qui flotte,
 S'arrêta tout à coup fixé sur un tombeau !
 Tombeau, cher entretien d'une douleur amère,
 Où le gazon sacré qui recouvre ma mère
 Grandit sous les pleurs du hameau ?

Là, quand l'ange voilé sous les traits d'une femme
 Dans le Dieu sa lumière eut exhalé son âme,
 Comme on souffle une lampe à l'approche du jour,
 A l'ombre des autels qu'elle aimait à toute heure,
 Je lui creusai moi-même une étroite demeure,
 Une porte à l'autre séjour !

* * * *

La dorment soixante ans d'une seule pensée !
 D'une vie à bien faire uniquement passée,
 D'innocence, d'amour, d'espoir, de pureté,
 Tant d'aspirations vers son Dieu répétés,
 Tant de foi dans la mort, tant de vertus jetées
 En gage à l'immortalité !

Tant de nuits sans sommeil pour veiller la souffrance,
 Tant de pain retranché pour nourrir l'indigence,
 Tant de pleurs toujours prêts à s'unir à des pleurs,
 Tant de soupirs brûlants vers une autre patrie,
 Et tant de patience à porter une vie
 Dont la couronne était ailleurs !

Et tout cela pourquoi ? Pour qu'un creux dans le sable
 Absorbât pour jamais cet être intarissable !
 Pour que ces vils sillons en fussent engraisés !
 Pour que l'herbe des morts dont sa tombe est couverte
 Grandit, là, sous mes pieds, plus épaisse et plus verte !
 Un peu de cendre était assez !

Non, non ; pour éclairer trois pas sur la poussière
 Dieu n'aurait pas créé cette immense lumière,
 Cette âme au long regard, à l'héroïque effort !
 Sur cette froide pierre en vain le regard tombe,
 O vertu ! ton aspect est plus fort que la tombe,
 Et plus évident que la mort !

Et mon œil convaincu de ce grand témoignage,
 Se releva de terre et sortit du nuage,
 Et mon cœur ténébreux recouvra son flambeau !
 Heureux l'homme à qui Dieu donne une sainte mère,
 En vain la vie est dure, et la mort est amère,
 Qui peut douter sur son tombeau ?

Translation.

With weeping and with watching quite out-worn,
 As in the lists a vanquished wrestler lies,
 Once, as I gazed upon the rosy morn,
 And said ; Thy beauties but deceive our eyes,
 And nature's robe of splendour but beguiles,
 Heaven's radiant face, with its unnumbered eyes,
 Mocks as it smiles.

Nothing is true or false—a dream—a lie—
Hope-cherished mockeries of the heart are all.
The only truth is—We are born to die!
This shining particle, which Life we call,
Sheds on the soul a faint and flickering ray,
And flashes, for a moment, from the eye—
Then fleets away!

The more we gaze and scrutinize, the more
A deeper darkness covers all around,
Philosophers give names—and call it lore,
But the soul wanders in a mist profound,
And, in the dust that hovers round our path,
Whatever dwells the wide creation o'er
It's emblem hath.

Thus with myself I communed—and my gaze
With envy fell upon the senseless things;—
The rock—the ridge—they soundly sleep always,
And not a dream disturbs their slumberings.
The unfeeling stone, and the unreasoning beast!
My being sure a nobler end displays
Than theirs at least?

Mine eye still wandered: o'er the boundless wave
The pilot's eye thus scans the distant main.
Sudden it fell, and fixed upon a grave,
The dear remembrancer of grief and pain.
Within that grave there sleeps my mother dear;
Its hallowed turf the village children lave
With many a tear.

There, when that angel in a woman's guise,
Breathed out her soul to God—as, when the day
Hath fully dawned, the feeble taper dies—
Beside the altar where she loved to pray,
I made, myself, her narrow house of rest—
The portal to her dwelling in the skies,
Among the blest.

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There slumber sixty years of one long thought—
A life of innocence, and hope, and love;
Days with pure feelings and kind doings fraught,
And pious breathings to her God above.
Oh! who such faith in dying e'er may see,
Such virtues treasured up—with these she bought
Her immortality.

How many a night of watching o'er distress,
 And morsels spared to feed the indigent !
 How many a tear for weeping wretchedness,
 And holy aspirations, heavenward sent !
 What soul beneath the ills of life to bow !
 There is a crown such patient life to bless—
 She wears it now !

Else wherefore all her pious deeds ?—Is she
 To slumber in the lowly tomb for aye ?
 The earth is richer where her ashes be,
 The grass is greener, thicker, o'er her clay ;
 A little dust would make as greenly grow
 As doth the wreck of this mortality—
 Can it be so ?

Ah ! no ; this vast, this light-encircled soul,
 Thinker, perfecter, of such mighty deeds,
 God marked not for its being, as the goal,
 The term of that on which the grave-worm feeds.
 Vainly we gaze upon the tomb beneath,
 Virtue, thine eyes beyond its portals roll,
 Stronger than death !

Mine eyes, my heart, their wonted light resume,
 From darkness freed, and turn again to heaven.
 Oh ! happy is the lot of him to whom
 A holy mother God hath kindly given.
 In vain we suffer, and in vain we die,—
 Undoubting faith proclaims upon the tomb
 An immortality.

- ART. VIII. — 1. *A Sermon preached at the Opening of St. Mary's Catholic Church, in Derby, Oct. 9, 1839.* By Nicholas Wiseman, D.D. [Text, Matt. xiii. 31, 32, *The Kingdom of Heaven is like to a grain of mustard seed, &c.*
 2. *The present State and Character of Popery in Europe, with Suggestions as to the Means best calculated to diminish its Influence.* Translated from the first number of "L'Europe Protestante." London: 1838.

BOTH the writers whose works are before us agree in one fact—the great increase of the Catholic religion in numbers, resources, and influences. Both direct our attention to the same points—the greater activity of our clergy, the warmer co-operation of our laity, the erection of new

places of worship and education, our increasing boldness in teaching, professing, and practising, and the clearer manifestation of the spirit of our religion in England, as over the entire world. This, at least, gives us a satisfactory basis to build upon. That the Catholic might mistake his good wishes for their accomplishment, or confound his earnest longings with the symptoms of their fulfilment, daily experience of similar illusions might lead us to admit as possible. But if it is the interest of the Catholic—an interest, we mean, of his heart, not of his temporal calculation—to believe that his Church is flourishing, and his religion extending, it must as naturally be the disposition of his adversaries to see things under a less favourable aspect, and diminish the magnitude of results which any human energy seems scarcely sufficient to account for. Moreover, the very change of tone observable in these is to us strong warrant of the Catholic view. It has been the obvious policy of the Protestant party in this country to treat us as insignificant and unworthy of serious notice. Our political claims were long withstood, as much from a sense of present contempt, as from a lurking apprehension of our future strength. It was not thought worth while legislating for half a dozen peers and a dozen commoners, who might thereby obtain places in the senate. We were deemed weak enough to be despised—nobody dreamed of our having means soon to make ourselves a power in the state too great to be left out of calculation, a momentum in the political balance sufficient to incline and to turn it to the side towards which we leaned. The “No-Popery” cry was a cry of the chase, not of war—the bugle-note for slipping the leashes and hunting down the poor unresisting Papist, not the trumpet-call to generous and fair-handed contest. It was an echo of the old vociferation, “*Christianos ad leones!*”—the dying note of persecution by the strong. But now we are, all of a sudden, become formidable and terrible, we are denounced as spreading on every side, and elbowing Protestantism out of the land. We are made the theme of alarming paragraphs, essays, sermons, articles in magazines and reviews, treatises, and books. We are honoured by the erection of peculiar societies for the express purpose of reporting our progress and increase to amazed thousands. Maps of our churches, and other institutions, are published for us at others’ cost; their increase is regularly registered for us, and duly proclaimed. Bands of strolling exhibitors go from town to town with all their

travelling apparatus of Rhemish Testaments and Dentian theology, phantasmagorias of the confessional, and horoscopes of Antichrist. Individual practitioners mount their desks in meeting-houses, of which the yet damp walls pronounce upon them the sentence of novelty,—or their pulpits, in churches wherein the very monumental effigies on the wall should seem to cry out the charge of apostasy,—and exhibit their small wares retailed from those wholesale itinerant dealers, and dismay their hearers with the thrice-told tale and the oft-refuted calumny. Nay, more. The last year seemed truly to have brought this reign of religious terror to its climax; when the Fifth of November has been thought the properest of all Anglican holidays to be rescued from the oblivion of the English calendar; for, while the Apostles' days, and the Blessed Virgin's feasts, and *O Sapientia* day,* are allowed to pass by without sermon or hymn, Guy Fawkes-day has been honoured with solemn service, and still more solemn pulpit violations of truth and decency.

That fanaticism has greatly exaggerated the views taken by many Protestants of our increase, we are sorry to be obliged to admit; we wish we were as numerous and powerful—without being as terrible—as our adversaries would wish to represent us. Still it is a cheering and encouraging thing to us, to see ourselves acknowledged a growing and a strengthening body. Let us, however, be understood. It is not of political, or electioneering, or municipal influence, that we speak. In all these, and other social respects, we have no desire to see Catholics powerful or influential, beyond what their numbers, their wealth, their rank, or their intelligence, ought constitutionally to make them. We should deprecate, on moral as well as on public grounds, any unhealthy exuberance of such power, in our own, as much as in every other body of Christians. We wish to see every one and every thing in its place, without any undue preponderance. In Ireland, where the people are Catholic, whatever belongs to the people ought to be such too. Catholic influence is the natural influence—Catholic power is the necessary power. But, in religion—in its extension, its amplification in every way, on every side, by every lawful means—we wish to see ourselves foremost; nay, it is naturally our duty to give ourselves no rest, that we may be so. And we are going on fast—God's name be praised for it—towards being it.

* Something so marked in the Calendar, December 17. We wonder how many of those who use the Prayer Book understand what it means.

That our religion has begun to occupy a place in public attention, and has attained an importance, beyond what the numerical increase of its members might account for,—that it has lately displayed an energy out of proportion with any accession of visible strength,—that it has undertaken and executed works, nobler and grander than those of preceding modern periods, beyond the ratio of any real addition to its former resources, is we think matter of notoriety rather than requiring proof. This importance, and this unexpected increase of power, are sufficiently attested by the absurd rumours propagated by many of our opponents,—sometimes, that foreign societies or emissaries from abroad, are actively engaged in arousing the spirit of Catholics in this country; sometimes, that large sums have been transmitted to it, from the not overflowing coffers of the Holy See, for the erection of new Churches, colleges, or convents; they who say or believe these things, know little indeed of the Catholic spirit; they can have no idea of its expansive power; nor how, when wider spheres are opened to its action, it can extend till it becomes commensurate with them, yet be not therefore attenuated, nor approach to exhaustion. A man may stand in one of our sublime minsters, and coldly calculate the time, the skill, and the manual labour it must have required to erect it; this would be a worldly, financial, perhaps commercial, view of the noble structure. But the moral aspect will be far more consoling to one that can appreciate it, in the calculation of sacrifices which it required, of sacrifices not in one but in multitudes,—not of one period, but of succeeding generations,—who must all have been animated by the same feeling, unanimously perseverant, for the attainment of an individual object. And this will be observed not only in England, but in Italy, Spain, France, or the east, in equal frequency and in equal vigour. For religious communities, or poor populations, will now, as they did formerly, devote their means and their powers, for many years, to the completion of such great works. Now it is this innate strength of the Catholic religion, that has helped us till now, and that has so mightily and unexpectedly manifested itself in our age, and will, we doubt not, yet further astonish friends and foes, by the still greater wonders it will work.

During the course of last year, what a number and variety of ecclesiastical buildings were brought to completion, and on what an increased scale of magnitude and magnificence, compared with others that had gone before! Uttoxeter, Lytham,

Hereford, Everingham, Stayly Bridge, and Derby, will attest to posterity, that 1839 was a fertile year in producing monuments of individual, and combined, religious exertion. The Church at Everingham, built upon designs prepared in Rome, adorned with rich sculptures, marbles, and other decorations, worthy of any Catholic city, yet erected at the sole charge of one Catholic gentleman,* will be a proud memorial of our era; to prove to future generations, how soon our ancestral spirit of religious munificence, emancipated itself from the dejection of three centuries' persecution, after the chain of political thralldom had once been broken; and how unimpaired it showed itself in the sentiments of our ancient houses, which had most groaned under the weight of that prolonged trial. The church at Derby will still more mark an epoch in the modern history of Catholicity. It will fix the point of decided transition from chapel to church architecture amongst us; and we trust so fix it, as to leave hereafter no difficulty in determining any building to have been erected before or after the epoch. In fact, the good taste inherent in the Catholic Church, has been awakened, and will not be easily repressed. Within two years we hope that Macclesfield will have eclipsed Derby, and Birmingham Macclesfield, in the dimensions, style, and richness of their respective churches. Nor will it be many years more, before either side of the Thames will be adorned with edifices for Catholic worship, in grandeur of proportions and design, far surpassing either of them; raising high, above the *neat* buildings of modern date, their massive towers and tapering spires, to put to shame the endless variety of pyramids, and temples, watch-towers, and extinguishers, which now point out to the skies the ubication of churches well worthy of these their signs,—and every way becoming the numerous, wealthy, and most respectable Catholics of the metropolis. We need not speak of what is doing elsewhere. The new church, at Reading, if small, will be complete in beauty: the individual liberality of one gentleman,† has added much to the original scale of its decorations. The noble mansion of Alton, will soon have received that becoming appendage to a nobleman's residence, an almonry, designed with all the accuracy of ancient details, and executed with all the princely magnificence of its zealous founder. Nor have others of our noblemen and gentry been behind-hand, in erecting, or endowing, or greatly forwarding, Catholic erections ‡

* W. Maxwell, Esq. of Everingham.

† James Wheble, Esq.

‡ The following imperfect list of Catholic Churches lately built, or building, or greatly assisted by the noblemen or gentlemen whose names are annexed to

A similar spirit of improvement has been manifested with regard to collegiate or religious establishments. The episcopal seminaries have been either newly built upon a scale of grandeur unrivalled in any Catholic country with which we are acquainted, or are receiving, or will soon receive, immense improvements, both in outward adornment and inward arrangements, equally conducive to comfort, utility and beauty. The splendid establishment of Stonyhurst has been, within a few years, augmented by the erection of an additional College, and a large and handsome church, by the valuable accessions made to its library, and by the construction of an excellent observatory. The Benedictine house at Downside is soon to be completed, in true monastic style, under the able superintendence of Mr. Pugin; to whom also we owe the beautiful and characteristic convent just erected for the Sisters of Mercy at Bermondsey. At Manchester, a new Presentation Convent and School have been built by private munificence;—Princethorp in Warwickshire; Mount-Pavilion in Staffordshire; Carmel-House in Durham; St. Margaret's in Edinburgh, are either newly built or newly purchased convents;—as Mount St. Bernard in Leicestershire is a new establishment of Trappist monks. Preston has built, and Birmingham is about to begin,* a house for religious ladies devoted to the care of the sick, or the education of the poor. At Hastings, also, another establishment of this sort has been commenced.

Do we make these enumerations as matter of mere boast? By no means; but only as indications of what the Catholic spirit is able to do, within a very short time after it has been awakened, and as earnestness of what it may, and with God's blessing will, do, in a little more time. For these are certainly only beginnings, at which it must not, cannot stop. Indeed,

them, will serve to establish this point. Worksop, the Duke of Norfolk; Glossop, the same; Alton, Earl of Shrewsbury, Cheadle, the same; Cossey, Lord Stafford; Brentwood, Lord Petre; Everingham, Maxwell; Whalley, Petre; Scarisbrick-Hall, Scarisbrick; Rainhill, Bretherton; Skipton, Tempest; St. John's Wood, (London), Misses Gallini; Bermondsey, (ib.) Baroness Montesquieu; Weybridge, Taylor; Grâce Dieu, Phillips; Whitwick, the same; Mount St. Bernard, the same; Martinscroft, Statham; Osbaldeston, Heatley; Poole, Doughty; Dover, Robinson; Brough, Lawson; Tixal, Sir C. Constable; Grantham, Rev. T. Tempest; Castle Eden, Rev. T. Slater; Newport, Jones. In Scotland, the College of Blairs, near Aberdeen, (the gift of John Menzies, Esq. of Pitfodels), is a splendid monument of individual Catholic zeal.

* At the dinner, after laying the first stone of Birmingham Cathedral, in October last, it was announced that a noble Earl, foremost in every good work, had offered £1000 towards this excellent undertaking. £2000 have been added by J. Hardman, Esq. of Birmingham, a gentleman whose modest virtues serve to enhance in the estimation of all who know him, the splendid charities by which his name will long be cherished among the Catholics of that town.

what has been done, in addition to that which becomes at once public and visible, is of a magnitude proportional to this. The accession to the ornaments of our churches, in plate, sacred vestments, and other appurtenances of Divine worship, is a just estimate of the veneration in which Catholics will ever hold the sacred rites of their heavenly religion. But on one subject whereon we have touched, but from which we have been turned aside by the current of our illustrations, we must say a few words more. We were speaking of the taste which Catholic edifices lately erected, or in course of erection, almost uniformly display. We are not willing or inclined to adopt exclusive systems, or to condemn a preference for one style of architecture, where this is guided either by the wish to harmonize with buildings already existing, or by peculiar facilities for its being put in execution, or even when the result of peculiar bias and feeling. All that we should desire is,—let whatever is done be as accurate, chaste and perfect in its kind, as the means and situation will allow. Generally speaking, we have no doubt that the old English, or pointed, style will be preferred: and justly, both for its own intrinsic beauties, and for its local associations. In this, too, there is a greater probability of the qualities we have enumerated being preserved, than in the classical style: with several of our own architects we can be perfectly sure of it. But this revival of taste is essentially itself a powerful stimulant and energizer (if we may use the word) of the true Catholic spirit. If a Church has to be erected according to the genuine rules of former times, perfect in all its parts, and suited to its peculiar circumstances, it will of necessity exhibit many accessories and decorations of a nature tending to nourish ideas exclusively Catholic. If the windows are to be enriched, as they should be, with the glowing representations of saints, these will not be chosen from the calendar of some distant Church, nor even, at chance, from the voluminous roll of the British martyrology; but they will be (as in the chancel at Derby) the old patrons of the town, or such as once had special reverence in its neighbourhood—the seat of their good works. This cannot but tend to revive their memory and restore long oblivious devotion. Again, we have, perforce, banished sacred representations from the interior as well as the exterior of our Churches; the return to ancient art accurately copied, restores them of necessity, not merely as additions to niches, or as accessories to tabernacle work, but as primary, constituent portions of the edifice, of which these were only intended to be the receptacle.

The pious images, then, of the Holy Cross and its attendant sympathizers, Mary and John, will, as matter of course, be brought before the eyes of the people, and the devout feelings they must excite will be necessarily produced. In fine, the additional importance given to the altar, the greater richness of its decorations, the ampler provision of room for its ceremonies, the more abundant supply of means for well-regulated effect, which the reviving taste for the ancient necessarily suggests, cannot fail to surround the noble and beautiful ritual of our Church with becoming majesty and charms, such as will attract the understander of them to them, by greater respect and love, and lead him who understands not, to enquire into the meaning of rites so mystical and holy.

Closely connected with the increase in numbers, and in splendour of Catholic churches, is the inquiry into the increase of their congregations. We have sometimes heard the question mooted, whether the visible spread of Catholicity in England and Scotland consist in more than an accession of numbers from Ireland. We have taken pains to examine the point; and have no hesitation in replying, that most decidedly our numbers are swelled by conversions. We have found, that in larger manufacturing towns, where the immense increase is undoubtedly owing to Irish immigration, there is, and has been, besides, a steady and considerable advance in the numbers of English Catholics. We have found, in towns where the congregation is decidedly and almost exclusively English, that a few years have sufficed to make churches, considered when built exorbitantly large, too small for the growing increase of numbers. We have found, that many active clergymen are never without a large number of converts on hand, going through a course of instructions. In fine, we have noticed with pleasure, though not without shame, that the most active and zealous members of congregations are very often converts. These general observations, incontestable we believe, will abundantly prove, without entering into Catholic statistics, that the number of English Catholics is decidedly on the increase; and that, not merely among the lower classes, but even among the well-educated ranks of the community.

And here a point comes to our minds, on which we fain would, passingly, touch. Dr. Pusey, in his *Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*, if we remember right, has made an assertion to the effect, that there are no instances of conversion to Catholicity from the Anglican Church, but only from the various dissenting sects. It is remarkable, that a similar

observation should have been hazarded lately, by a writer in one of the public prints, regarding the Scottish Presbyterian Church. Were both these remarks correct, they would completely neutralize one another as to their consequences. For Dr. Pusey's object is manifestly to prove that the Episcopal Established Church, based upon a principle of apostolical succession, ruling and teaching by authority, has a power of keeping men's faith and convictions under subjection, and satisfies all their wants of conscience; while this influence is wanting in other religions not grounded on the same firm foundation. Now if the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland have equal force over its members, it must follow, that so far from this being inherent in the episcopacy, or apostolicity or authority of the Anglican Church, (which the other pretends not to, nor is admitted by the Anglicans to possess,) it must be referable to the only qualities they have in common—their rampant dominancy through three centuries—their tenacious hold of all the elements of earthly prosperity—the *prestige* of fashion round each, in its section of our island, and of splendid endowments—the influence of education, which their abundant and wealthy institutions enable them almost exclusively to control—the nationality of each, and the connexion it has with political or domestic associations;—in fine, the want of an equally inquiring spirit in their members, who, being in quiet possession of all these good things, see no strong reason why they should look into arguments for abandoning them. But, in fact, we are confident that each assertion is equally groundless. The names of Trelawney, Tilt, Best, and Spencer, once clergymen holding promotion in the Anglican Church, afterwards Catholics, would be sufficient to confute one of them. Neither would it be difficult, without trenching upon the delicacy due to private life, to make a long catalogue of persons, who either by their works or by their social position are publicly known, who were educated in the Protestant universities, and continued church-men and church-goers till they became good Catholics,—never having frequented any dissenters' chapels, and having always held dissent in equal dislike probably with Dr. Pusey himself.

While the visible elements of a Church—its religious edifices and its members—are thus on the increase, it is not surprising that moral evidences of vigour and growth should become more palpable and striking. We do not think any institution could have been devised more suited to the times, more calculated to meet a multiplicity of various wants, more

pregnant with the seeds of mighty action on an unlimited scale, than the *Catholic Institute*. Its purposes, its organization, and, in part, its results, have been already laid so completely before the public, that it is unnecessary here to give any account of its origin and objects. Suffice it to say, that it is an engine for all Catholic purposes of defence or active warfare, for removing the prejudices of the misguided, or for repelling the calumnies of the bigoted. It presents a centre of action ready formed, to which may be attached any number of plans for Catholic purposes that require a similar organization and general co-operation. Great as has been its utility till now, we insist far more upon its capabilities; upon the acquaintance it is procuring us of the extent of Catholic resources and Catholic power; upon the experience it is giving us of the best modes of rendering these available for great undertakings; of the gradual training it is giving scattered portions of the body to systematic action; and the feeling and conviction it is necessarily producing among its humblest members, of their power to do good, by their slenderest contribution to works whose strength depends on aggregation. As yet its chief attention has been directed to the publication of Tracts, vindicative or explanatory of Catholic doctrines and practices; and in this part of its labours, it has been successful beyond our most sanguine expectations.

Its first Tract appeared on the feast of the great champion of ecclesiastical Catholic rights, St. Thomas of Canterbury, (Dec. 29) 1838. By the fifth of June of the following year, the Institute had distributed 36,185 copies of Tracts, ten in number, which it had printed, and for the most part stereotyped. Between that date and the 5th of November, during the space consequently of five more months, it sent out 48,571, making a total of 84,756 in ten months.* The demand has continued steadily to increase, and it will not be long before a press at constant work must be one of the appendages to the Institute. The Tracts, when sold, are given at a price which scarcely covers expenses of paper and press work: so that, had the numbers above stated been all sold, (for upwards of two-thirds have been gratuitously distributed), the cost to the public would have been 207*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*, whereas the value put upon them, at the ordinary charges of such publications, would have amounted to 1,101*l.* 11*s.* 9*d.* Thus have many valuable

* Since the above was written, we find that from Nov. 5th, till Feb. 20th, 1840, the number of Tracts distributed was 43,254, making a total till that day of 128,010. The Institute has also issued between five and six thousand Prayer Books.

Tracts been brought within the reach of thousands, who, without this valuable institution, might never have had the means of reading them. It may be asked, are these Tracts, so distributed, really read? We answer: we have had opportunities of ascertaining that they are, and that, with fruit to the dispelling of prejudices, and the bringing of many nearer to the truth. That they have been willingly received even at the public meetings of the Reformation Society, the report of the Institute sufficiently shows.*

Heartily do we augur the Institute a prosperous and ever-improving course. We hope it never will languish for want of that encouragement and support, which Catholic rank and Catholic wealth have always been found ready to bestow upon every undertaking worthy of their religion. We hope to see the Auxiliary Societies multiplied far beyond their present number, till in fact they are as numerous as our congregations over the entire country.† At the same time, we would recommend the committee to enlarge the sphere of their action, and to raise even higher the character of their publications. For instance, a frightful enemy of religion is erecting its hydra heads, and vomiting forth its blasphemies against the Christian religion. We allude to the Socialist System, the most anti-social and demoralizing which modern times have brought forth;—the last monster-birth, we hope, of the sectarian fecundity of the Reformation. Its seat is principally in the manufacturing districts, where it has a reading, semi-educated population to work upon. The Tracts circulated among these poor people are of the most immoral and irreligious tendency. Even works of greater apparent learning, such as *Volney's Ruins*, and abridgments of *Dupuis*, have been widely disseminated. And yet, though the country abounds with institutions for suppressing vice, diffusing Christian knowledge, home-missionary purposes, and what not; and, although these are all well-endowed, and levy no small contributions upon the public, we cannot learn that they have set on foot any active,

* The Colonies have participated in the blessings of the Institute, as the following returns, down to Nov. 5, will show:—

Sent to Australia.....	Tracts.... 1200	Prayer books.... 100
Bengal.....	Do.... 1362	Do. 250
Malta.....	Do.... 640	Do. 200
Demerara.....	Do.... 500	Do. 25
Nova Scotia.....	Do.... 800	Do. 50
Van Dieman's Land.	Do.... 2000	Do. 200
Gibraltar	Do.... 1500	Do. 105

Total.... 8002

Total.... 930

† The number of Auxiliary Societies on 20th of February, was Thirty-eight.

systematic measures for counteracting that spreading pestilence. The Institute, we trust, will turn its attention to this object, considering that infidelity is as great an enemy of Catholicity as Protestantism, and that its wager of battle is with error under every form that assails the truth. It should procure the assistance of able writers, to confute the miserable fallacies poured into the people's ears; and have answers written to the works that seem most baneful. And this is what we chiefly mean by "raising the character of the works they publish;" not that any fault can be found with the excellent Tracts already put forth; but that it should not content itself with republishing what has been already long before the public, but should have original, powerful, and engaging treatises drawn up, suited to the exigencies of the time, and the taste of every class of readers, not excluding the well-instructed. Something of this sort will, we doubt not, be done. The Institute, however, began in the right manner, and will certainly attain its best ends.

Another earnest of our growing strength we think we have in the increased number, and improved character, of our periodical literature. A few years ago, the Catholic public was either not strong, or not buoyant enough, to keep afloat one or two small works of this nature: we have now our principles represented by almost every class of them, from the quarterly to the monthly and hebdomadal journal; and we trust the day is not far distant, when we shall have a daily organ of public communication. It would ill become us to speak of the character of these various publications; we will only say, that we bear a willing testimony to the excellent spirit and ability with which our monthly and weekly periodicals are conducted. In fine, another proof of vigour in the Catholic body is deducible from the prosperous establishment of the *Association for the Propagation of the Faith*, and the progress which in a short time it has made amongst us.

We may now ask ourselves the question, what is our principal object in thus enumerating the signs of life, activity, and power, which in these late years the Catholic community has exhibited in England. It is, we boldly reply, to animate us to future, far more energetic, and, we trust, far more effectual endeavours. We look upon the past as merely the unit from which, a few years hence, we shall trace, in increasing progression, a series of far more splendid acts of generosity, of munificence, and of self-devotion, than have till now appeared, — of proofs far more conspicuous of the inexhaustible fund of these great virtues, which the principles of our holy religion

contain, and its spirit so magnificently displays. But still it may be asked, where is our machinery for working?—where are the points of our reliance for the future, likely to produce these great effects?

1. First, we rely much upon the immense improvements that are being gradually, but systematically, introduced into our education; improvements in which, we trust, all our great establishments for that great purpose, whether domestic or foreign, will vie with one another, in a holy jealousy seeing which can outstrip the other, only that it may then hold out its hand to help it, not merely to reach, but, if possible, to go beyond itself. On this head, we desire to have no partiality: we wish well to all. We believe that each will necessarily have some peculiar advantage over others, arising from locality, or some other fortuitous circumstances,—or from the possession of some inmate, whose abilities or application have raised him high in his own department of knowledge. But beyond this, we have reason to hope that all are animated by the same desire of raising the character and standard of their instruction to the highest pitch compatible with the nature of their institutions. Some have published the outline of their course, others the *programme* of their yearly examinations; and both classes of documents must convince whoever reads them, of the improving spirit and great activity which prevail in their superiors and professors. The modern languages—French, German, and Italian—have become ordinary branches of our elementary education; history, geology, and the higher branches of mathematical science, are systematically taught; the classical branches have been extended and enriched by attention to more accurate philology, and to archæological illustration; the scriptural courses have been enlarged, and suited to modern times. Other subsidiary studies, such as elocution and the principles of art, have been cultivated with great success.

In addition to this, much has been done towards providing many other requisites for a solid and useful education. The first of these is a good library, without which it is absolutely useless to think of making either steady or rapid progress in science or literature. Universities and colleges have been for ages the seats of learning, not merely because there men have resided who devoted themselves to its advancement, but because there also have been the means by which alone it can be successfully advanced. The warrior is nothing without the armoury; the workman is helpless without his implements;

the chemist is but a theorist without his laboratory. And just as useless, as dead to public purposes, will the greatest abilities be, without a storehouse of ancient and modern learning. A good library is the true sanctuary of knowledge; it inspires a species of awe and veneration to the very ignorant, that enter it; but it cheers and expands the heart of the scholar that understands its worth. It is to him a treasure-house or museum of precious gifts, wherein are the effigies, quaintly carved by their own hands, of the great wits of former times; where, laid up in choice vessels, are the essences and fragrant distillations of the meditations of ages; where, by a happy necromancy, we may call up, one by one, the spirits of the wise and good, in every generation, and treat with them, and question them as familiar friends. Next to the house of God, there is no other place whose walls so effectually shut out the turmoil, the chagrins and the anxieties of secular life, or which so soon and so effectually sooth the mind to peace, that has entered with them in itself. We believe, therefore, sincerely, that after providing a suitable edifice for the cultivation of learning, the provision of a well-furnished library is the next thing in importance. Now on this point, there has certainly been a laudable spirit of improvement in most of our places of education. The magnificent collection of the late Marquis Marini, of Rome,—complete in its principal departments of fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, classics, archæology, and science,—has been purchased by the zealous Bishop of the Midland-district, and presented to his new and beautiful Seminary of St. Mary. The library of Stonyhurst has been immensely increased, both by the munificent legacy of the late Lord Arundell, and by the acquisition of the best editions of the fathers, and other valuable works. In the department of comparative philology, or of works upon the character of every language, we can assert that this library will vie with any in England, and perhaps on the Continent. The liberality of a venerable ecclesiastic,* has enriched the seminary of St. Cuthbert, near Durham, with a select and valuable collection of books; nor is his zeal yet abated: and great efforts are making still further to augment the library, by the purchase of useful works. A similar desire is, we doubt not, working in our other institutions for education;—we have selected those with whose history we happen to be best acquainted. We understand, indeed, that a considerable library, formerly belonging to the Scotch esta-

* The Rev. T. Wilkinson of Kendal.

blishments in France, has been lately brought over from that country, and deposited in the episcopal seminary at Blairs. Nor must we omit other features of great improvement. Almost every college we have visited, has been embellished with works of art of foreign schools, and possesses some that would not disgrace choice collections. Most have laid the foundation of a museum, scientific or antiquarian, and have been provided with ample apparatus for the prosecution of physical studies.

With these, and many other immense advantages beyond what that generation could enjoy, which, expelled from their foreign seats of learning, had to create our present establishments, and to remain for a time as *squatters* (to use a transatlantic term) and settlers in a land hardly hospitable to them, though their own,—it will be surprising if the rising generation go not far beyond ours in general learning, and in readiness and power to vindicate and propagate the truth. That noble race of clergy is fast disappearing from the midst of us, who, in worse days, abandoned home and country, to study the science of religion under learned foreigners—then returned, to minister its comforts, to scattered congregations, or to small timid flocks, assembling together in some back alley of a populous town. They were men of the solid learning of a former age, of the school of the Gothers, the Mannings, the Hawardens, the Challoners and the Dodds; concealing, under a homely garb, hearts worthy of the ancient confessors; ripening often within a rough exterior, the rich mellow fruits of a charity, tender and heroic; men whose virtues were those of the olden Church, a zeal indefatigable, a spirit unconquerable, a trust in Providence unlimited, a disinterestedness impregnable, a character unsullied, a life unstained. Their memory is in benediction among the aged; and their names and sayings are handed down to the children in their congregations. They lie many of them without a record or a stone,—but their monuments are all over the land, in the altars they raised, and the flocks they founded.* The few that yet remain, have further claims upon our gratitude and reverence. They belong, for the most part, to the last generation of that glorious line, which the French Revolution found in possession of its ancient

* "And there are some, of whom there is no memorial, who are perished as if they had never been, but these were men of mercy, whose godly deeds have not failed. Their bodies are buried in peace, and their name liveth unto generation and generation. Let the people show forth their wisdom, and the Church declare their praise."—Ecclus. xlv. 9-15.

seats, and on which it vented its irreligious fury. They were cast into bonds; and, after long sufferings, endured with the spirit of the martyrs, never relaxing even in prison from the discipline, or departing from the organization of their former life,—they were, by the blessing of Providence, banished, so to speak, into their own country. But before they quitted their ancient homes, they caught up, and then bore with them, no small spark, but a burning brand from their domestic hearth; nor rested till they had transferred it to many altars;—first, humble and unsettled, but which soon grew up into others more magnificent and stable. No record has been kept,—at least on earth—of the privations endured, of the sacrifices made, of the perseverance held by these our fathers, in that intermediate state, that time of dwelling in tents and tabernacles, between their expulsion from their foreign seminaries, and the establishment of our present splendid colleges. Crowded into some small farm-house, or country-priest's residence, generally in some secluded situation, where sympathy could hardly reach them; straitened on every side by want, not merely of the comforts of ordinary life, but of those conveniences which almost the poorest can command; with hardly any of the accommodations which a place of education requires; often reduced to pinching want; always constrained to practise the most self-denying parsimony; feeling strangers in their own country; participating not in that charitable generosity, which first stretched out, and then opened so wide, the hands of their countrymen towards the Catholic clergy of France, their fellow-sufferers; these virtuous, self-devoted men, carried on the work of ecclesiastical education, and occupied themselves; in literary pursuits, with unconquerable endurance. It was in this condition, and under these circumstances, that the minds of some of our most illustrious men matured themselves; that characters like Bishops Poynter and Gradwell, and writers like Drs. Lingard and Fletcher, were formed. *The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, the exquisite *Durham Tracts*, several translations, (as the *Instructions of Youth*), and other standard works, were, we believe, the productions of this period. But the great glory of these poor and small communities is, that they became the foundation of those noble and ample ones, which we now possess.

It is obvious how many obstacles had to be overcome, how many difficulties removed, in the task of gradually building up again, the work of ages, in one moment overthrown; under what disadvantages the next generation laboured, in advancing

education, struggling particularly as it ever was with the trials of every infant Catholic establishment, want of means, and paucity of subjects, owing to the constant calls for clergy on every side. But now that many at least of these difficulties have, by patient perseverance, been conquered, and that new wants have arisen, and the means to supply them have been generously afforded, we have a right to expect much more from those that have to come upon the public stage, and take our places in the Catholic community. It will become the duty of all to whom the Church has entrusted the formation of her clergy, to instil that spirit of application and diligence, into the minds of all they direct, which is absolutely necessary at the present day, to meet new forms of error, some more hideous, others more cleverly masked than those of past times. It will be for them to supply the Catholic body with champions, able to stand in the place of those veterans, who have now nearly hung up the arms they have wielded with so much vigour: and practised in the use of those weapons, which may be best suited to the coming warfare. We shall require from them men familiar with the higher walks of theological science, who have drunk the waters of sacred knowledge at their various well-heads:—

————— “*Juvat integros accedere fontes
Atque haurire:*”

in whom the study of the Sacred Scripture has produced a thorough knowledge of its inspired oracles; in whom classical pursuits have been only introductory to an equally comprehensive acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquity—its writers, its practices, and its monuments. We shall require men not only deeply penetrated with the great truths of religion, but able with power and dignity to enforce them; who have cultivated the art of reasoning and persuading, and can bring home their own belief to the conviction and feelings of their hearers. In fine, the age wants doctors and apostles, men devoted to the cause they have embraced at the altar; with the zeal which our excellent clergy have displayed till now, and with those additional energies which the increasing demands of circumstances will doubtless require at their hands.

But it would be unreasonable to exact from our seminaries all this, if they are to be left to their own resources, and to the unsupported exertions of their immediate superiors. It would be an ungrateful, as well as most improvident, feeling towards those excellent establishments,—to which, under God, all the clergy and most of the laity owe all their good,—to consider all connexion with them ended the moment they have

left them ; or not to see that the future welfare of religion is mainly dependent on their prosperity. The college of a district is a responsibility upon it, wherein all should feel that they partake. It should be an object of solicitude and interest to every clergyman ; it should be the study of all of us, of whatever estate, to contribute to its means of usefulness, whether by personal concurrence, or by enabling it to support scholars in proportion to the exigences of the Church. No opportunity ought to be lost of improving its temporal position, and promoting its advancement in the great ends it has to attain. The seminary should be the point towards which all ought naturally to look for information on matters connected with religion ; where should always reside men ready to solve difficulties, or unravel perplexities. It is therefore a common interest to keep alive the spirit which can alone procure and preserve them. It should be the light of the clerical body. "If, then, the light that is in it be darkness, the darkness itself how great shall it be?"

2. Whatever is done for the preparation of pastors, is, of course, intended for the improvement of the flock ; and that, both by bringing their present members as near as possible to the standard of primitive perfection, and by adding as much as possible to their numbers. This is the twofold aim of that peculiar state in which the clergy of a *missionary* country are placed, comprising at once the parochial and the apostolic ministry. For it is manifest that, at the foundation of the Church, besides those ministerial and hierarchial powers which were given to the apostles, transmissible by mere right of succession to those that followed them, there was bestowed on them an extraordinary, personal, and sublime office of carrying the new faith to every nation, and founding and establishing churches among them. To the first class of powers refer such texts as enjoin the ruling, feeding, and directing the people of God, which would generally imply the formation of stationary congregations with resident pastors : to the latter, those which command the preaching of the gospel to all the world, and the bearing of testimony to the truth of Christ, even where it is to be attended with trials, obloquy, and persecution. Now in countries entirely, or in great measure Catholic, it is obvious that only the first of these ministries is committed to their spiritual rulers ; the bishops and parochial clergy have no commission beyond the limited territory assigned to them, their powers are of the ordinary character, and subject to severe restrictions. But in all ages, the Church has

considered herself empowered to depute pastors with faculties belonging to the second class, that is with commission, and with the necessary authority, to carry the gospel where it was not known, or to dispel heresy or error wherever it had crept in. It was in this capacity that Augustine was sent to England, and Boniface into Germany; it was thus that Lupus and Germanus visited our island, and Hilary travelled over the provinces of the East to confute the mischievous errors which infected them. After the so-called Reformation, the government of the Catholic Church in this country, by the ordinary system of parochial distribution, became impossible, from the violence of the persecution, and the want of clergy, and the dispersion of the flock. No remedy, therefore, remained, save that of having recourse to the extraordinary resources left in the Church, and appointing missionaries, whose powers should be most ample, and whose field of action should be undefined because unlimited. By degrees, as first calm, and then peace was restored to our persecuted Church, an approach was made to the establishment of a quasi-parochial system, under the government of vicars, with episcopal jurisdiction. This is in truth a state of transition, but while some resemblance has thus been attained to the normal system of the Church, our clergy have not lost the glorious title and prerogatives belonging to our former condition; and though stationary in their ministry, they are yet *missionaries APOSTOLIC*; the exercise of their powers is not restricted to merely a certain parish, or circumscribed territory, but is valid, and in due subordination, lawful, over their entire district: and these powers are among the most ample which the Holy See accords to those whom it sends to distant countries. It is evident, that a mission so conferred, and bearing an epithet so expressive and sublime, has annexed to it, duties of a corresponding character; that is, that while each one is bound to look with pastoral solicitude, because with pastoral responsibility, to the flock specifically committed to his charge under the present system, he has moreover a commission given him of a more general—of an *apostolic* character—to the whole of his country, and principally on behalf of those who are still ignorant of the truth, and live to die deprived of the spiritual treasures confided to the Church.

That this view of the twofold mission entrusted to the clergy of this kingdom is correct, the admirable conduct of that body itself abundantly proves. For what has been the system of propagation till now adopted among us? The

most common, and the most effectual one has been, we believe, to throw out shoots from missions already existing, and form smaller congregations on the outskirts of the present ones. These again, in their turn, give rise to filiations; and so by degrees chapels and churches become established where none before existed. This system is based upon the principle we have laid down, worked upon by the noble spirit which has ever animated our priests, that of considering their mission and commission commensurate with the extent they can reach, with their means and their power to do good. And here we may be allowed to say, that we, for our parts, are far from considering the missionary state of our ecclesiastical body as one of inferiority or reproach. As a state afflicting to us, from the causes which render it necessary, we must naturally consider it; for we would that our country was in no condition to need the appliances of the Church's extraordinary resources. But while it is in this unhappy state, we know not a more glorious title that a minister of the Church can bear, than that which reminds him that to him she has given part in the *apostolic* commission—that to him she looks for the performance of apostolic work—that in him she expects to find apostolic zeal, and apostolic virtue—in fine, that to him, among many brethren, she confides what she has so much at heart—the conversion and salvation, not of one small congregation, but of millions of his fellow-countrymen, his Israel according to the flesh. And hence we firmly and earnestly trust, that whatever changes may take place in our form of ecclesiastical government, however we may be made to approximate still closer to the state of Catholic countries, we never shall be stripped of this sacred badge—memorial of calamitous but most blessed times—epitome of duties arduous but most sublime—until of itself it become a dead letter, and remain as a title of the great ones that have received their crown, envied by the generation by which it can be no longer with propriety worn.

But, at the same time, while it *is* borne, who does not feel animated to correspond with its obligations? Who can see the fields ripe for the harvest, and their riches his who shall gather them, and having a sickle in his hand, not hasten to labour while he has strength? Who is not jealous of those who have got the start of him, and have already bound many sheaves to carry in gladness to an everlasting home? But courage—there is room for all. Alas! if there is any reason to repine, it is because of the vastness of this field, and the in-

adequacy of our efforts. Is it, then, impossible to do more than we have done till now?

It would indeed be cruelty to urge on the greater part of our clergy to greater exertion than they actually make. We know too well the hardship and toil of our missionary labour in large towns,—the certainty of its daily fatigue, and the uncertainty of its nightly rest; the hourly pressure of urgent duties not to be delayed, and the sure recurrence of periods of extraordinary exertion, whether weekly or monthly: the public offices of the Church, and the private claims of the confessional and sick-chamber; the infirmary and the poor house, the school and the gaol; the hovel and the cellar; hours spent in pestilential atmospheres, nights passed in hanging over squalid misery aggravated by disease; obligations towards the newborn and the dying, the living and the dead. And all this without intermission, almost without remission, or relaxation, year after year; surely it requires a heroic devotion to the state they have embraced, and to the God whom they serve, in those who endure it. God forbid that we should propose to add a feather's weight more unto their present burthens; to lighten them we would willingly bear our own share, or co-operate in any other manner most effectual. But this is not the worst. The weight they already endure, too often crushes the bearer beneath it: many a youthful constitution fails and sinks gradually, many a vigorous frame wastes into premature exhaustion; many a robust and active labourer takes his share not only in the spiritual, but in the bodily afflictions of his poor flock, inhales infection from their breath, as his lips open to speak over them words of eternal life, and is hurried away, by a brief but unrelenting malady, to render an account of a ministry in which he has cheerfully laid down his life for his sheep. The mortality among our young clergy employed upon laborious missions, principally in the manufacturing districts, has been of late years truly awful. Any idea of calling on those in such a situation for extra work, beyond the scene of their own already too laborious operations, would be unfeeling indeed. But this is not a sufficiently brotherly view of the case. Any plan that could be devised for transferring a portion of their toil to those whose easier circumstances (we speak of time and leisure) would allow them to add somewhat to their present duties, would be surely hailed with kindness and joy, by all the clergy.

Is it to be expected, then, that the rest of the ecclesiastical body should devote itself to the missionary task of enlightening

others, out of the immediate sphere of their own incumbencies? And if so, how is this to be done? Now, to answer either of these questions specifically, especially the latter, is, we fear, almost beyond our power, certainly beyond our rights. We presume not to prescribe, or even to insinuate duties to those who are qualified to know them, and sure to discharge them, much better than ourselves. In whatever we have till now said, or may yet say, we are far from wishing to imply blame, as if enough had not been done. We only contemplate new and urgent circumstances, under which, what we have hitherto found sufficient, may no longer prove so. If the reasoning which we have pursued be correct, if the very nature of our peculiar ecclesiastical constitution in England be such as to impose on us the obligation to labour generally, for the conversion to the truth, of the entire country to which we are sent, we see no reason, for our parts, why we should shrink from the consequence—even though our individual conscience should reproach us with past imperfect compliance,—that we are bound to turn our thoughts, bend our serious attention, and, if possible, devote our labours, to the exact fulfilment of the duty. As to the manner,—the modes of benefiting are so various, and must be so completely the result of each one's character, parts, and situation, that it would be impossible to determine it. One will have leisure and convenience to write works of a more profound character upon religion; another will be able to produce lighter publications of an interesting and instructive character. One may have a love for science, and opportunities for cultivating it, and may contribute towards the improvement of our education, or answer the objections of infidelity; another may be useful in the management of business, in public concerns. The spirit, who divideth His gifts as He listeth, will bless them tenfold, if employed for the spiritual benefit of His children. How many are there of our clergy, who having not only the means, but the inclination for study, have cultivated it assiduously for their own improvement and pleasure; but have not thrown, as they might have done, their acquirements into the common stock, into that treasury of the sanctuary, where a mite has its value! Would not their hours of fruitless application, have been a far greater comfort to them, if they had not been merely a solace of their solitude, but likewise a source of instruction and edification to others, or if they had produced works which we so much want for our college courses, sound and untainted with the poison of error or immorality. Or how usefully might many, who from diffidence, or consciousness of unfitness, could

not undertake such tasks, employ their hours, in translating some of the multitudes of valuable works, on every department of religious knowledge, which the Continent possesses, and adds to daily. In short, the time is coming, and now is, when we want the combined efforts of many, to obtain great but necessary results.

3. But certainly the way in which those who have leisure and ability for it, could best concur in the twofold work of charity,—that of relieving their more oppressed brethren, and that of diffusing the knowledge of truth,—would be by devoting themselves to preparation for the pulpit,—the most powerful means of conversion. It is certain that in all Catholic countries the custom prevails, of relieving the local clergy, at certain stated seasons of greater occupation, of the laborious duty of the pulpit, and at the same time giving the people the benefit of hearing the word of God preached, if not in better, in more carefully prepared discourses, than the regular pastor can provide. The best of our feelings as of our senses feed upon variety; neither the eye nor the mind will resist weariness, if always met by the same forms of things. They may be beautiful as you please,—bright, cheering and sympathetic,—but after a time you will want relief, even from less perfect objects. No one, not the most eloquent man on earth, will continue to address, for years, the same assembly, without either gradually wearing out, at least, the most striking of his thoughts, or begetting that familiarity with his mode, which, if it breed not contempt, at least diminishes awe. It is a wonderful relief to both preacher and audience, to have, from time to time, some one stepping in between them, whose turn of thought will necessarily have the charm of variety; whose leisure has enabled him to elaborate his discourses with accuracy and vigour; whose mature meditation has prepared them in a well-supported complete series; and who, independent of a thousand local influences and personal delicacies resulting from position, can urge home-points on which the resident instructor may but lightly touch, and cut up by the root abuses, which, from prudence, he can only gently attempt to lop and prune. The great and stirring truths of religion, coming thus powerfully enforced by the voice of one, the lines of whose character are not so familiar to the hearers, at seasons when the whole service and feeling of the Church invite and help to serious reflection, could not fail of producing corresponding effect. But such a gift is not granted to all, nor to many. It is therefore so much the more valuable, and should be therefore the more turned to account. If “the word of the Lord is precious” in

our days, as it was in those of Samuel, those should be put to good use to whom it hath been given in power. In other words, their abilities should be made available to as many persons and as many places as possible, during such intervals as they could spare from the lighter duties of their own situations, or could find others who could supply their places. Common fame has told us of the crowds brought together in Paris by the courses of Lacordaire and Ravignan, as by the sermons of Combailot and Mc Carthy. But these and other eminent preachers never confined their labours to the capital, but visited various towns in the course of the year, so as to give thousands the benefit of their eloquence. It is the same in Italy, and was in Spain and Portugal. Often a parish-priest, who, during the year, has the care of a small country parish, is invited, for the Lent to large and populous cities, there to utter before multitudes the meditations of his quiet hours. Could not something of this sort be done amongst us? Shall we venture further, and ask *ought* it not to be done? Ought not all false shame to be put aside, and ought not any one who believes himself able, by God's blessing, to go through such a fatiguing mission with some prospect of success, to step forward and tender his services to his bishop, to be so employed? Ought not any one, whose studies have led him to particular attention to the controversies of the day,—and who, having exhausted the results of his researches upon his own limited charge, has found their effects beneficial,—to be willing, and even anxious, to carry them where they may be profitable to many more, and where he may have fruit, as St. Paul desired to have, in more distant Churches?* And if he found that blessing attended his disinterested labours, wherever he had a point of support, in a Catholic congregation already existing, and where he had the friendly shelter of a Catholic roof over his head, would he not be tempted to try a bolder and more apostolic step; and with something of that spirit—though ennobled and hallowed by his cause—which animated the first mariner that ventured to leave the shore along which he and his predecessors had till then crept, and boldly committed his frail bark to the broad sea, trusting in God, and fixing his eyes upon some bright star to guide him, confidently but prudently strike into regions comparatively unexplored by the Catholic faith, and seek, where none have been sought before, sheep for the fold of Christ his Master?

* Rom. i. 13.

We own that such a step would be the most decisive yet taken in the discharge of the ecclesiastical ministry, since the days when persecution against us ceased. We feel that it would require extreme tact and delicacy; considerable moral courage; great readiness and practice in speaking; a varied fund of knowledge. It would require much of that apostolic faculty of being all to all, that all might be gained; a just mixture, in the character, of firmness and affability, of calmness and ardour; a sacred enthusiasm without a tinge of fanaticism; a zeal pure from all rancour, a boldness without bitterness—in a word, the spirit of a St. Francis de Sales when preaching in the Chablais. But no spirit is so sublime as not to be within the compass of the Catholic's reach, when animated by the sublimest of motives—Charity.

4. That considerable training, much preparation of materials, and a certain organized system, would be necessary for putting such an idea into execution, all will admit. Order and regularity would be essential for carrying out a system, in all its parts, such as we have detailed. Pioneers are required to break down obstacles and smooth the way, before the main body of an army can pass; and therefore, however valuable the assistance of clergy charged with parochial duties would be, it could only be as an *occasional* aid, not as reducible enough to system, nor capable of organization sufficient to cope with the first difficulties, requiring perseverent and well-conducted efforts to remove them. For this purpose, and to give the tone and character to the undertaking, we must look to some body of ecclesiastics who shall devote themselves exclusively to the task of commencing, and afterwards supporting it. That this is no new idea in our minds, our readers will be convinced by turning back to our twelfth number,* where this plan is suggested. But since we wrote what is there, much has occurred to confirm, and give consistency to our views. And first, we have the opinion of our opponents, the Anglicans, who seem anxious to undertake something of this nature, as the great means of promoting religion where it is dormant. The following extract from the *British Critic* will illustrate our meaning:—

“Since we are upon the subject, it may be satisfactory to add the testimony of two of our principal devotional writers, of very different schools of divinity, and in estimation among very distinct sections of the Church, who appear to hold the doctrine which

* May 1839, p. 429, On *Froude's* Remains.

Ferrar practised. It was, in the judgment of Leighton, ‘*the great and fatal error of the Reformation, that more of those (religious) houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglement of vows, and other mixtures, was not preserved. So that the Protestant Churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers.*’* Thus, Leighton thought the great and fatal error of the Reformation to be the doing away those very institutions which we are now told are so very corrupt in all their forms. Jeremy Taylor, in the most popular of his works, distinctly recognizes it, and used terms to designate that state, and lays down rules of a kind which move the scorn and indignation of our modern writers against the Fathers. The following will be enough: ‘Natural virginity, of itself, is not a state more acceptable to God; but that which is chosen and voluntary, in order to the conveniences of religion, and separated from worldly incumbrances, is, therefore, better than the married life,—not that it is more holy, but that it is a freedom from cares, an opportunity to spend more time in spiritual employments; it is not alloyed with business and attendance upon lower affairs: and if it be a chosen condition to these ends, it containeth in it a victory over lusts, and greater desires of religion and self-denial, and, therefore, is more excellent than the married life, in that degree in which it hath greater religion and greater mortification, a less satisfaction of natural desires, and a greater fulness of the spiritual: and just so is to expect that little coronet or special reward, which God hath prepared (extraordinary, and besides the great crown of all faithful souls), for those ‘who have not defiled themselves with women, but follow the Virgin Lamb for ever.’

“Such is the judgment of the seventeenth century; but strange things are circulated in the nineteenth. We hear, for instance, a wish has been expressed, that bishops should not prefer any one in their respective dioceses who should ever speak ministerially in favour of celibacy. The next step, we suppose, would be that a matrimonial engagement should be a necessary title for orders; or an extract from the marriage register might be one of the ordinary papers sent in, together with the *si quis*, or college testimonial. Expectations, we hear, have been entertained of the effect of the first open avowal of opinion on the subject of celibacy on the part of those who are said to be favourable to it. It is hoped that when ever broached by them, it will be protested against, and put down by the ‘good sense’ of the people of England with indignation and abhorrence. It may be so. Meanwhile, we would observe that that same English ‘good sense’ is not infallible, particularly on Church matters. At least we suspect that the ‘good sense’ of the majority of intelligent men, who had never thought on the subject, would at first sight decide that 2000*l.* is ample provision for a bishop, or that it would be an improvement to admit Dissenters to power and station

* Burnet's Lives, Ed. Bishop Jebb, p. 288.

in our universities. On the other hand, sorry as we are to disturb the peace of mind of many comfortable family-men, we are not over sure that the 'common sense' of the nation *would* be altogether opposed to the course under consideration. We are not so sure that the notion of persons abstaining from marriage in order to give themselves more to God, and not to be entangled with the affairs of this life, or from fear of becoming indolent amid domestic comforts, or covetous from anxieties about a family; or in order to devote themselves to works of charity and self-denial; nay, as a kind of severity towards themselves for trifling and thoughtlessness in times past, would offend people's common-sense, at least if they were people who knew what the Bible said on the subject, and especially when they were informed, that persons did not bind this in themselves by a vow, but only purposed in themselves so to abide, if God give them grace to do so.

"It is well that this subject should be brought before the public mind. We do not know whither the necessities of our times are tending. There is a strong and awakened sense of the appalling spiritual destitution of our great towns. The public mind is more and more drawn to it. Facts and figures are coming out; and men are beginning to realize this oppressing subject with definite statistical notions of its enormous magnitude, and the difficulty, and yet absolute necessity, for a remedy. Men of all ranks and professions are making sacrifices of money: other personal sacrifices will follow. The more the subject is brought out, the more will it be forced upon the public mind, that our existing parochial system (humanly speaking) is utterly powerless for making head against the tide of irreligion that sets in. But lately, there was a meeting for providing schools and churches for a single district in one corner of London, at which this fearful fact is stated, that there are 700,000 souls, and Church accommodation for but 5000. The Bishop of London, as everywhere, was forward with his munificent contribution. But what a time it must be before money can be raised, and Churches built, and clergymen settled to begin labour among these Christian souls. Specially then, we envy the lot of him who may have the boldness to make trial of associating a number of young men as a collegiate body, for the cheaper supply of an efficient ministry to operate on these dense and dark masses of sin and ignorance; to live with him, not tied by vows, but purposing in their heart, by God's grace, not to entangle themselves in the affairs of this life, that they may the more devote themselves to this great work. One word from that active prelate, and we doubt not some one would be found, under his sanction and encouragement, to make the attempt; some one, perhaps, with chance advantages of local connexions, which would prevent the experiment being scorned as not respectable, but might, from such chance influence, as it were, command a fair trial. It would be a noble addition to his lordship's munificent charity, to have brought into practice a plan, by which, under God's

providence, so much might be done, and which, if judiciously managed, under his advice and patronage, would soon be adopted elsewhere, so that his name might go down to posterity, as the *Christianizer of the great towns of our land*."—*British Critic*, Oct. 1839, pp. 455-6-7.

It seems, then, that members of the Anglican Church are impressed with the idea that the only possible means of reviving religion in large towns, is by the mission of a celibate clergy, living in community. Now, one of the great elements of the scheme, we already possess,—that disentanglement from secular and domestic cares which celibacy secures; and as to the dread of vows which the writer expresses, we think we can assure him, that as long as his imaginary community is composed of persons who look forward to a future more comfortable settling with wife and children, there will be too much *looking out* for this, to ensure very disinterested or active zeal. It is only where celibacy is the *final* determination, where the mind has already forbidden itself to calculate the possibility of a change of state, that it will annihilate *self*, spiritualize the feelings, and place a complete barrier between the individual and the world. Besides, such celibacy as is required for the object, must not consist in the renunciation of comfort for present purposes, but in a deep sense of its perfection and beauty before God and his angels, and an embracing of it as the sublimer state; and such feeling, to be sincere, must not even contemplate a possible decline from that higher to a lower sphere. It is incompatible with the love of the perfect, to imagine it may have to become a step to the less perfect. Now what is a vow, but the grasping at once that which is best, and sealing before heaven a deed of its acquisition, and a determination of possession, covenanting never to decline to the right hand or to the left, from the course pointed out by God's law as the most perfect, and humbly but confidently entrusting to His gracious and powerful aid the full execution of what has been undertaken? The old law had its Nazarites who allowed not the razor to go over their bodies, and who tasted not any drink that could intoxicate; and some were such even from their mothers' wombs.* They were counted among the fairest ornaments of God's inheritance;† and shall not the new law be able to boast as great, in men who renounce comfort and pleasure, and bind themselves to the

* Jud. xiii. 5.

† "Her Nazarites were whiter than snow, purer than milk, more ruddy than old ivory, fairer than the sapphire."—Lament. iv. 7.

renunciation, with equal confidence, of what they have engaged?

But we are wandering from our true purpose. We have not to deal with the probabilities of success for the Anglican scheme, but merely to allege the opinions of its proposers; as an indication of how the want of missionary establishments to work upon large populations, is felt by persons who have not the experience we must have, both of the practicability and of the success of such a system. For, in addition to our possessing already the celibate clergy, considered so important to the plan, we have a clergy trained from early years to the discipline of collegiate organization, accustomed, even after being grown up, to live under strict obedience, who would not consider the life here proposed as any extraordinary sacrifice, but, perhaps, as a return to what memory cherishes as the happiest portion of their existence. We, therefore, feel sure that a missionary body, at first limited in number, could be easily collected, to lay the foundation of more numerous establishments, ready to carry their services either to great towns, or to rural districts, either to Catholic congregations, or to parts yet uncatholicized, laboriously engaged on various points, multiplying our resources, by making available in many places their well prepared stores of study and reflection, either for moral or controversial instruction.

In addition, however, to the testimony of our adversaries, since we wrote our last remarks upon the subject, we have had reason to know that many have taken it into consideration, whose abilities and experience qualify them, at once to judge, better than ourselves, of its practicability and expediency. The concurrent opinions of all whom we have heard has completely confirmed our individual judgment, and brought us to the conclusion, that the time is already come for at least making some attempt. It would ill become us to pursue this subject further: its prosecution belongs to influence of another character than ours, the desire and authority of ecclesiastical rulers.

5. The grounds we have till now enumerated, for hoping that religion is likely to make greater progress in future than it has made in time past, refer principally to the state of the ecclesiastical body, which every day promises to be more and more efficient. Is there not something to be done with the people beyond what has been already tried? We answer, much. For instance, we think that the establishment of associations, or, to give them their Catholic designation, confrater-

nities, for all religious purposes, combining at once individual improvement and mutual support, spiritual and temporal, is an important means of promoting and benefiting religion. On this account, we have hailed with sincere pleasure the revival of our ancient English Gild, in the north of England, and have seen with interest the public manner in which its members have paid homage to their religious convictions. The immediate benefit of such associations is twofold:—first in diffusing brotherly feelings through members of one congregation, leaguering them together for mutual edification, countenance, and aid; secondly, in bringing into a closer bond of religious communion different congregations. For a member of this Gild will not only possess, when at home, all the advantages which benefit-societies, sick, or burial-clubs can confer, with the additional one of spiritual assistance and religious control, but upon removing to any other place, where the institution exists, he will find himself at once among brethren, who will hail him with cordiality, and receive him with affection. The more this confraternity can be diffused, the greater will be its advantages; and the more its unity is preserved, the more effectually it will answer its ends. We do not despair of seeing the time, when every town, village, and rural congregation will have its branch; and with it the means of propagating, through the country, many institutions, whether for piety or charity, which as yet are little known in our island. The members too, we sincerely trust, of such a brotherhood, will take more than ordinary pains to ground themselves in the principles of religion, and to become familiar with their proofs, that they may become not wrangling controversialists, but zealous, prudent, and mild defenders of their faith, and inculcators of its doctrines and practices. They should feel a pleasure in assuming such parts of the pastoral office as can be committed to their charge, such as instructing the children and the poor, serving the sick, and preparing converts for admission into the Church.

6. There is another prospect, now so much in men's mouths that there can be no delicacy in alluding to it; for it is one to which we look for much, in the way of advancing religion in England. This is the further division contemplated of the present episcopal Vicariates. We look upon it as a plan multiplying the centres of hierarchical energy, the fountains of authority and apostolic virtue. The experience of the United States has shown how favourably the subdivision of existing bishoprics acts, in diffusing over a wider circle the imme-

diate influence of ecclesiastical chiefs, whose presence necessarily gives life and activity to the clerical body, and animates the whole mass of the Catholic population. Other and many advantages we foresee from any such new arrangement; but they belong not to our present matter.

To sum up, in a few words, the result of this perhaps too desultory paper; we think we discern indications of a brighter day rising upon our country, after a long night of error and persecuted truth. Thanks be to the natural honesty and uprightness of the British heart, we have in it a splendid field to cultivate,—a noble, generous mine to explore. The pains taken, for so many years, to poison it with cruel antipathies and prejudices against our faith, are now acting in our favour. The re-action after undeceit will be strong in proportion to them. Our countrymen have now learnt that we have “senses, dimensions, and organs” like themselves, as capable of sympathizing as others in every public interest, and in every private claim. They have seen how the professors of a creed denounced as hostile to every good feeling, moral and political, form as estimable a portion, as any other, of the community; and whenever they take the pains to enquire into that creed, they are not a little surprised to find it full of harmonies and beauties of which they had before no conception; strongly built upon a Scriptural foundation, with the solid mass of an unbroken tradition, able to meet all the wants of the human heart and soul; powerful to curb the passions, and support the feebleness of humanity; giving comfort to the afflicted, resignation to the poor, and meekness to the oppressed. Many have been thus brought to a knowledge of the truth; and many more will follow them. It is upon this admirable ground that we would try to erect our edifice. We would throw ourselves with confidence on the candour and generosity of our countrymen; we would boldly call on them to hear before they condemn; we would “preach the word, be instant in season and out of season;” but always with that mild persuasiveness which makes its way to the understanding through the heart. Catholic truth needs no support from the angry passions, no ornament of harsh words. Let us leave these to such as are conscious of a staggering cause, or a human sanction only, for their Church. With us, all connected with religion should be deemed holy; the treating of it, as well as its materials; the frame of mind with which it is spoke of, as much as its principles. Charity to God who gave it us, as well as to our fellow-men for whom it has been given, should pre-

vent our contaminating the delivery of God's truth, by any contact with uncharitableness, or our ever delivering it save with meek and chastened lips. What is in futurity He alone knoweth; but the present is in our hands, and from it we may not only presage, but prepare, the future. Blessed be the hands that shall begin the work of rebuilding the desert places of Israel, and blessed be those that shall continue it until it be perfected!

ART. IX.—*The History of the Rise and Fall of Chartism in Monmouthshire.* Merlin Office, Newport; Bird, Cardiff.

ONE good turn deserves another, is a maxim all the world over. It is founded in justice, rather than generosity; and if it has pleased the Conservative press of England, from time to time, to sound alarms respecting secret confederacies against good order and the peace of society in Ireland, it seems to us that recent occurrences in England require at our hands something like reciprocity. Ours, up to a certain point, must be a different, and is comparatively an easy, task. No pains have been spared to detect the existence of such combinations in Ireland. Every encouragement and temptation short of pecuniary reward have been held out for evidence. Some *ex*, and some *in*-Dogberries have solemnly testified, not to facts, but surmises, before a committee of peers; trifling circumstances have been exaggerated; outrages of a purely local or personal character have been magnified into proofs of universal confederacy; and in the summer of last year, a conviction was undoubtedly expected, and hoped for in many quarters, with anxiety. There would have ended the difficulty. The short and ancient remedy for Ireland is coercion in one or other of its varieties. The prospect of another recourse to such coercion afforded infinite satisfaction: it promised the twofold gratification of punishing the Irish people for their past assistance to the cause of liberty, and of subjecting and disabling them for much time to come. But this expectation was premature—the bubble burst in disappointment; and even a committee, headed by Lord Roden, of which the duties were conducted almost exclusively by Tory peers, ventured not to pronounce a verdict of condemnation. The disappointment was a painful source of bitter resentment against the system which had led to this result, and, of course, against its founders and supporters. It would have been

undignified that so solemn an investigation should be utterly without fruit or effect; and Lord Normanby was pronounced guilty of the *unprecedented* and enormous offence of having tempered the administration of Irish justice with too much mercy. This must have been a severe infliction; though we imagine that the noble lord's remorse for having departed from precedent, was not as sharp as that of Lord Strafford, for having too closely adhered to it. The Irish are a clear-sighted and grateful people; and we are not without hope that Lord Normanby will find an ample and imperishable indemnity in the increased contentment, and in the warm and lasting affections, of millions of his fellow-creatures. But when, in the exercise of our duty as periodical writers, we glance towards England, how different the spectacle from that which is afforded to us in our own improving country! In England, unhappily, the question is not whether, by pursuing equivocal traces up to their cause, by means of a Tory committee, headed by an experienced and determined leader, like Lord Roden, and hallooed on by an eager and vindictive press, we can finally detect some secret conspiracy;—for there we are met at the outset by undisguised, plain, palpable rebellion; the matured fruit, doubtless, of concealed confederacy, and that, of course, not of short duration. Thus, whilst the willing mind of the English public was gloating over the assurances of the *Standard* and the *Times*, that a most wicked system, called Ribbonism, would soon be turned-up in Ireland, the mine of English convulsion was fast advancing under their own feet. The explosion followed quickly on the parliamentary abortion of last session. It did produce most melancholy consequences; but that it did not occasion much more extensive mischief, is to be referred not to legislative inquiry and precaution, but to accidents so singular in their concurrence, as to have led many persons piously to attribute them to a direct interposition of Providence.

We are entitled now to say that Ireland stands acquitted of the charge against her; but, had it been true,—had the lower classes here, indeed, conspired against their betters,—would there not have been some palliation? In the general distress, forcibly described by Mr. Grattan, as the hunger, raggedness, and destitution of the great mass of our people? In the want of the meanest food, in a land teeming with abundance? In oppression, such as no other country under civilized dominion has ever been made to suffer? In the fact, of numerous families being frequently and simultaneously ejected from their

wretched habitations by one edict of a cruel landlord; those habitations burning before their eyes, whilst the aged and enfeebled parent, the sick wife, and the helpless and innocent offspring, are consigned either to the unmitigated rigour of the elements, or to some friendly ditch for shelter? Under such circumstances, would it have been a matter of especial wonder, if the people had been roused to vengeance? To what, then, is their submission to be attributed?—not, certainly, to want of courage or daring,—they are proverbially brave and fearless; but it is to that religious principle, which teaches them that resignation is their duty, and that the revenge of a true Christian is to pray that God may be more merciful to their oppressor than he has been to them. This is the true cause of their tranquillity; and the agents who inculcate it are that indefatigable and exemplary clergy who have been stigmatized, nevertheless, with singular ingratitude, as a band of surpliced ruffians!

In England, on the other hand, what excuse can be found for the actual rebellion from which she has just escaped? Certainly not the want of physical comfort. The mining population of Monmouthshire are, to a man, in easy, or what we should call affluent, circumstances; having good houses, food in abundance, constant employment, and ample wages. The moral contrast we have depicted binds us the closer to our poorer countrymen. They have chosen the better part; and though their physical wants far exceed those of the lower classes in England, we exult in the reflection, that in a moral point of view, the comparison is so much in their favour.

But we return to the object of this article. We could wish to trace the late lamentable occurrences to their true source; and we desire to suggest such means for preventing a recurrence, as limited leisure and attention have presented to our minds. This we desire to accomplish; but there is one thing we shall certainly avoid:—that is, to reciprocate upon England any portion of the fierce and bitter spirit in which the affairs of Ireland are there too frequently investigated.

The first effort of an experienced and able surgeon, when he is consulted by a patient, is directed to ascertain the precise nature of the disorder which he is called upon to cure. It may be a local development of something radically wrong in the general constitution; or it may be a mere local injury. We have heard more than one medical friend assert, that to make this distinction well, is frequently a much more difficult task than it is, when made, to effect the thorough cure.

There is a close analogy between the individual system, and the body politic; and we are inclined to think that the disorders of Monmouthshire are rather local than constitutional, in their causes, and might be at least arrested, if not essentially healed, without much difficulty, were the state physician, the legislature, to give to these causes due consideration. We shall enable our readers to judge for themselves, by giving them the best outline we have been able to procure, of the local circumstances.

We are informed, by persons on whom we implicitly rely, that the mining district of Monmouthshire comprehends five or six adjacent and nearly parallel vallies, separated from each other by mountains of considerable elevation. Each valley takes its name from some mountain stream, beginning at the head and running along the centre of the valley, to its termination. There, or shortly after, the mountain stream finds egress into one of two or three small rivers, which again discharge themselves into the river Usk, near to the general sea-port town of Newport.

The vallies commence at a distance from Newport, somewhat varying from twenty to twenty-six miles. Their streams receive, in their course downward, various lateral contributions from minor brooks or rills, and the water-power near the head of the main or at the confluence of the lateral stream, generally affords what is locally called a "situation" for an iron-work. Almost every one of these is now occupied. Each iron work gives employment to a large population, and creation to a town more or less considerable in proportion to the extent of the work. In some, the number of inhabitants exceeds 6,000; in others, it varies down to 1,000, but at none, we believe, is it less than 1,000. Thus to select the Nanty Glo Valley, for an example;—at the head of it are the united works of Nanty Glo and Beaufort, belonging to Messrs. Joseph and C. Bailey, and the population is at least 6,000 persons. One mile lower down, Coal Brook Vale, with about 1000 persons. One mile lower, Blaina and Cwm Kellin, containing at present about 4000 persons, and rapidly increasing. Other iron-works are erecting still lower, and these again may be expected to collect about them a new population. The circumstances we have detailed, in regard to Nanty Glo Valley, correspond with those of the other vallies in which iron works are situate. The iron trade of Monmouthshire, is, comparatively speaking, of modern origin. Most of the works are new, and as they are situated in a wild and unproductive district, it is obvious,

that the mining population must be, and in fact it is, of an adventitious and heterogeneous character. It is collected casually and in proportion to the fluctuating demand for labour. We believe that when a labourer is hired, no enquiry is made into his previous moral character. He is to be paid by the piece, or the job, and physical ability to perform his work is all that is needed. Accordingly, persons from all the mining districts of the island are to be found in these works. A considerable proportion are from Staffordshire, Shropshire, and the more northern counties and Scotland. We believe that about one-sixth of the whole are Irish, and some are foreigners. We have been thus particular as to the local origin of the people, in order to correct an error, that has pretty generally prevailed, viz. that they are essentially or generally Welch, and that the late outrages may be attributed to some peculiarity in the Welch character. In a population thus collected, it is probable that there must be an infusion of desperate or doubtful characters; as the works afford convenient refuge against pursuit and detection, the mining operations blacken and disguise the countenance, and the levels and underground recesses furnish means of concealment and escape.

The persons employed earn wages much beyond the necessary demands of their families. They are not tempted, therefore, to theft or dishonesty, but they almost universally spend the surplus of their earnings in a beer shop. Could it be a subject of much surprise, then, supposing the ordinary means of preserving peace and enforcing good order existed in these remote places, only in their ordinary proportion, that they should hold out temptation of the most inviting character to the political incendiary and public disturber? But there are, in fact, no such proportionate means. First, there is none of the moral influence afforded by the residence of a country gentleman, where, in an agricultural district, his poorer neighbours, as their forefathers have done for ages, look up to him for example and protection. No country gentleman is to be found in this mountainous and ungenial region. At each iron-work, it is true, there is generally resident one proprietor or director; for the most part they are gentlemen of great respectability, but the terms and spirit of the contract preclude the existence of sympathy between the master and his man. These circumstances undoubtedly add much to the moral disadvantages of a district so situated; and yet we learn, that in the whole of the Nanty Glo Valley, there is not one resident magistrate; and the only conservators of the peace there, are

some three or four parish constables. Such is the condition of the district which the now celebrated John Frost chose for the scene of his recent agitation.

It will not be considered impertinent if we digress for a little, to communicate to our readers some of the particulars which we have collected concerning a personage who has lately occupied so much of the general attention.

His first public appearance, we believe, was in 1819, when he was selected as a person of great influence at Newport, to second the nomination of a gentleman who offered himself as a candidate to represent the united boroughs of Monmouth, Newport, and Usk, in opposition to the present Duke of Beaufort, then Marquis of Worcester. Up to that time it is said that he had conducted himself steadily and respectably in his calling of a draper and tailor; and we mention his being selected on the public occasion we have referred to, as proof that he was even then supposed to stand high in public opinion. In 1821, he was betrayed into a series of vindictive and malignant libels against a gentleman of high respectability, under the influence of some supposed, but we believe altogether imaginary, injury. For one of these libels, he was sentenced criminally to six months' imprisonment; for another, civilly, to 1000*l.* damages: he suffered the imprisonment, and we believe he paid the damages. When he was enlarged he returned to Newport, pursued his trade, and renewed his hold upon the good opinion of his townsmen. In 1831, he was again selected by the Hon. Baronet who now represents Marylebone, to second his nomination at a contested election for the united Boroughs.

His public exertions in the cause of reform procured for him the general gratitude of the reform party. The gentleman whom he had before libelled, became reconciled to him. He was applauded, his health was toasted at all public meetings, every mark of confidence which his fellow citizens could bestow, was stamped upon him. He reached, indeed, that dangerous and giddy eminence—the pinnacle of popularity.

When the Municipal Corporation Act came into operation, the gentleman whom he had libelled many years before, was selected by the Town Council as a Borough Magistrate, and his name was presented to the Home Secretary accordingly. Frost, who was always ambitious, desired the office for himself. He accordingly wrote to the Home Office, suggesting that the gentleman elected was in fact ineligible, being a practising solicitor. The Home Secretary adopted the sug-

gestion, and refused to make the appointment. We presume that this was in accordance with some rule which excludes solicitors; but if there be any such, we conceive it to be an antiquated absurdity which cannot be too soon annulled. There is no class of men in British society, whose character is of more importance to the community than solicitors; and surely to degrade them in practice, is not the way to elevate them in character. But there should be consistency throughout. If a solicitor may not be a borough justice, *a fortiori* he ought not to be mayor; yet, by a most fortunate inconsistency he may be mayor. The gallant mayor of Newport, on the late occasion, was and is a practising solicitor. Moreover, if the rule be not inflexible, a fitter opportunity, we understand, could not have occurred for relaxing it. The gentleman rejected, is represented to possess first-rate talents, great legal knowledge, an ample fortune, and in short every requisite for an able and independant magistrate. A reform minister might have remembered, for he must have once known it, that no county, in proportion to its means and extent, did more for the cause of reform than the county of Monmouth; and we hear that no one in that county made greater sacrifices to that cause than the gentleman in question. However, he was rejected; and on a new election, Frost was chosen by fourteen out of eighteen town councillors who voted on that occasion; the majority being composed of tories and whigs indiscriminately. The choice was confirmed, and he became a town justice.

We have been particular in this statement, because in and out of Parliament the appointment has been made the subject of vehement but unfounded accusation. Would it have been just, let us ask, to reject a person standing high in the good opinion and esteem of his fellow-citizens, both whigs and tories, as testified by the election, because, many years before, he had published some private libels, under the influence of supposed injury, which he had expiated by long imprisonment and heavy damages, and which the libelled party himself had generously pardoned? Many instances are before us of persons convicted of breaches of the law, in past and present times, who have been afterwards appointed to high office. But to select one nearly parallel in many of its features to the present;—is it not notorious that an honourable baronet, once a patriot of very extreme opinions, and now a tory, who was convicted of several libels, is in the commission of the peace for half-a-dozen counties; and who has been heard to complain? Nay, how would the bilious gentlemen of the press exclaim,—they

who daily libel our country and every class in it but one, and many of whom are known to be aspiring lawyers, aiming to arrive hereafter at judicial distinction,—if on a future day some libel in the *Times*, or the *Herald*, or the *Post*, should be held up as an insuperable barrier to their promotion? But perhaps the best vindication of Frost's appointment as a borough justice, is that in the year after that appointment, he was chosen mayor unanimously,—that the correctness of his magisterial conduct was never questioned,—and that this was handsomely affirmed by Sir Thomas Phillips, when cross-examined on the late trial. In the year 1837, another contested election took place: on that occasion, Frost having had some personal difference with the popular candidate, followed a well-known precedent in modern times,—sacrificed his principles to his resentment, and gave his support to the tory candidate. He had vainly imagined that he should carry over with him the great body of those who had hitherto been his friends and supporters; but in this he was disappointed: he stood alone in his apostasy, and from having been the idol of the friends of liberty at Newport, he became an object of their execration. He slunk out of the town on the day of election, a disgraced and degraded individual. This was the beginning of his downfall. He had sacrificed his principles and lost his popularity. Bitter mortification and disappointment entered into his very soul. He became desperate and reckless, and ready to grasp at revenge in any form. Chartism presented itself, and he eagerly embraced it as the means at once of gratifying his ambition, and of engrafting upon it bad ulterior purposes. He soon distinguished himself amongst his new associates, by his seditious violence, and was most justly dismissed from the magistracy. His correspondence with Lord John Russell on that occasion, has appeared before the public.

His dismissal as a magistrate gave him fresh claims on his cooperatives, and he soon became chairman of the Chartist Convention. Letters poured in upon him from various quarters, in which he was applauded for his manliness, styled the saviour of his country, and hailed as the future Lord Protector of a projected republic. A recess of the convention concurred with that of Parliament, and he retired into the country about the same time as the constitutional representatives of the people, but for a widely different purpose. He lost no time in endeavouring to carry his plans into execution; and he selected the population we have described, as the most fitting material for his purpose. They had been already worked up to the full extent of chartism; but chartism now

fell much below his mark, and a new topic was started. The unequal distribution of property was invidiously denounced as social injustice. The working classes were asked by what rule of equity they were doomed to labour to enrich their masters, for the paltry consideration of inadequate wages. They were reminded that these were evils capable of remedy, and that the remedy was in their own hands by means of numbers and physical force. To give these preponderance and effect, nothing was required but well organized combination. Delegates from distant districts and inflammatory publications lent their aid, and it is not much to be wondered at that the combined efforts were successful. The largest estates in the country were parcelled out to the golden dreams of the multitude, who were taught to believe that one good rising was all that was required to effect the division. A dash of justice was mixed up with the plan, in order to make it more palatable. Some gentlemen of large estate, but of popular and inoffensive habits, were to have a moderate provision charged upon their estate during life, or good behaviour. Nevertheless, the great bulk was to be distributed, and every chartist was led to believe that his share of the general plunder would enable him to support his wife and family thenceforward in comfort, without labour. One of them being asked sometime since, by a gentleman who suspected mischief, to explain their object, answered candidly, "I'll tell you what it is, sir; some has got too much property, some has got too little, and we means to put it all right."

This was the object which Mr. Frost and his confederates held out to his deluded followers amidst the mountains of Wales; and we doubt not that similar objects were presented to the multitude in other manufacturing districts also. The leaders no doubt had personal motives apart from a project which they knew could never be realised. These we confess it might puzzle us to divine, if we were to attempt it, but we do not think the mere personal objects of some half dozen worthless vagabonds worth the trouble of any serious enquiry. The plot proceeded; secrecy was urged as essential to its success; and so completely was it observed, that, although arms were constantly manufactured, and meetings regularly held, the plot was wholly unknown to all but the conspirators, until, from a circumstance we shall mention, it was suspected,—but only on the very eve of its development. This is the more remarkable, as the iron-masters and their agents and foremen live in the midst of the people, and in hourly contact with them. They all knew that strangers had been amongst them,

preaching discontent in the name of the charter; that their efforts had not been unsuccessful, and that the people were generally discontented with their political condition. But the first circumstance which created positive alarm, as indicative of a wide spread combination for some bad purpose, was a general desertion of the hill markets on Saturday the 2d of November. This neglect on the part of the workmen to make the usual provision for their families for the ensuing week, led the proprietor of Tredegar iron-works to apprehend that some mischief was intended; and early on the following morning he communicated his apprehensions to the mayor of Newport. But the mayor was already on the alert. Reports had reached him that Newport was to be attacked on the following day; and he was then engaged in those useful and discreet precautions, to which not less than to his coolness and gallantry in the actual hour of danger, Newport became afterwards indebted under Providence for its preservation. Nothing can more strongly illustrate the extreme secrecy with which the proceedings of the rebels were conducted, than an anecdote which has just reached us. One gentleman, an ironmaster, having the direction of extensive works, and being likewise an active and intelligent magistrate, remained in ignorance of any movement, or of any combination for the purpose, until two o'clock on the Monday morning. He was then roused from his bed to be informed that his furnaces had been just stopped by armed men, who were marching in array towards Newport, and that to this array his own works had furnished a contingent. The details of the movement itself are already before the public; Newport was preserved, and the insurgents were defeated by a small band of the 45th, containing about thirty men, partly consisting of Irish Catholics, headed by a gallant Irishman, and directed by the intrepid mayor. The capture of the leaders, their trial, and conviction, are fresh in the general recollection, and require no repetition. Much blundering marked the legal investigation, and partially defeated public justice, yet we hope there is enough of moral in the winding up of the tragedy to act as a warning, that illegal combinations against the peace and security of the country are a very hazardous experiment.

The conduct of the mayor eminently entitles him to all the marks of distinction he has received from his sovereign and his country; but it would be unjust to others that their claims to public gratitude should pass altogether without notice. The other borough magistrates zealously and courageously co-operated: they were exposed to imminent danger. The

county magistrates poured in immediately to render their assistance, and sat daily to conduct the public examinations. In fine, we believe that every one nobly performed his duty. There is, however, one gentleman whose elevated condition calls for particular mention,—we mean the lord-lieutenant of the county. Possessed of an ample fortune, derived to him from his ancestors, and inheriting from them, moreover, those true principles of constitutional liberty which have raised this country to her preeminence, and by which only she will be able to maintain it, this honourable gentleman had been content to reside on his estates, dispensing hospitality and kindness around him, and enjoying in its truest sense the position which even Napoleon envied, that of an English country gentleman; he lived respected and esteemed by all who knew him. On the demise of the late Duke of Beaufort he was urged by his friends to accept his present high and important, and, as it has proved, arduous and difficult office. Of habits formed in comparative retirement, and unused to popular struggle or commotion, he found himself nevertheless placed, by the seditious demonstrations of last spring, in a position which called for the utmost vigour and energy. He exerted both in a manner which convinced the demagogues that they would not be allowed publicly to disturb the country with impunity; and, by way of retribution, it is well known that he was marked out by the conspirators on the late occasion as their first victim.

He escaped only by accident. On the morning of the 3rd of November, this gentleman received confidential information, that in the course of that night, his mansion house was to be assaulted by a band of armed insurgents. This was followed by a letter from the mayor of Newport, who corroborated this intelligence, and informed him likewise of the attack intended upon that place, and solicited his attendance there, in his character of lord lieutenant, that they might together make the necessary arrangements for resistance. The lord lieutenant readily obeyed the summons. The mayor generously pressed on him, for the protection of his mansion, a portion of the small military force stationed at Newport; but this he declined, not choosing to put his individual interests or security in competition with those of Newport, against which, it was understood, that the main effort of the insurgents was to be directed. He was finally prevailed upon, however, by the joint solicitation of the mayor and the commandant of the Newport force, to accept of a corporal's guard of four men.

His movements on that day were watched, and he was to

have been intercepted on his return ; but, by one of that chapter of accidents, which we do not call mere chance, he returned sooner than was anticipated, and thus was his valuable life saved to the community.

In pursuance of their intention, a body of the insurgents did march upon his mansion ; but finding, on their approach, that it was in a state of defence, being guarded by soldiers, (whose numbers were exaggerated), and garrisoned by his friends, they retreated. We trust that the interest of this episode, will be admitted as its excuse ; and we now proceed to glance at the causes of this insurrection, and at the means by which a recurrence may be prevented.

We do not join in the general outcry in part adopted by the author of the little history which we have selected for our consideration, and from which we derive a great part of our information ; we mean the outcry against chartism. We believe that the advocates of chartism have as much right to maintain and uphold their opinion, as any other class of politicians. Every one of its five ingredients, has received support from persons of unquestionable loyalty and integrity. The ballot is supported by many, even in the Cabinet. The payment of wages to the representatives of the people, was the ancient practice of the country. Parliaments were undoubtedly annual, in the early periods of our constitution. The no-property qualification is still a rule in one part of our empire ; and even as to universal suffrage, many honourable and able men, real lovers of their country, consider that it would be beneficial to adopt it. This was the opinion of the celebrated Duke of Richmond, of Prynne, and, with a small modification, of that most learned and able man Sir William Jones. Chartism, therefore, is not such pure and unmixed evil, in its theory, as of necessity to drive its abettors into secret meetings, or confederacies, or prevent them from fair, open, and constitutional agitation of the subject. But the evil, so far as it is local, and connected with the mining districts, arises in our judgment more from the circumstances of the population, than from any other cause. The remedies which have been prescribed are various, but two have principally attracted attention. One is, the building and endowment of churches, the other, the establishment of schools for general education. With regard to the former, we are disposed thoroughly to concur in the belief, that religion affords the only true means for improving the dispositions and habits of large masses of people, such as these which are collected in the mining and manufacturing districts. Of the advantage of the religious feelings of our own Irish countrymen, in repressing

disorder, and in the patient endurance of real grievances, we have daily experience; but true religious feelings do not necessarily come with the erection of churches; and, as a proof of this, the people of the Tredegar iron-works, where a large church was built and endowed several years since, were not more backward in the recent outrages than their neighbours. Moreover, there is really no want of places of religious worship, nor of the practice of religious observances, in any part of the district in question. The inhabitants are, for the most part, dissenters it is true, but they go regularly to their meeting houses, and the churchmen of the establishment have surely not yet abandoned that fundamental principle of Protestantism, the right of private judgment. If churches were built, would dissenters go into them?

With regard to education, it must be remembered, that whatever mode may be adopted, it must still be a plant of slow growth; whereas the evils to be corrected require a speedy remedy. We entertain no doubt that a judicious system of public education, on liberal principles, would gradually conduce to lasting benefit; but in the meantime, and before the benefit could be matured, and even afterwards, something more is, and would be, wanting. We consider it to be quite clear, that some improvement is at once called for in the local administration of justice. Magistrates should be appointed—a police force be established—beer-shops be put down—and secret meetings of a dangerous character subjected to severe punishment. We believe that so long as these can be prevented, there will be no danger to the general peace of the community; and we are not friends to legislation beyond the strict bounds of necessity. Still, after what has happened, a power to search for arms—properly restrained, so as not to be abused—might, for a limited period to come, be useful and justifiable. The peace and security of the neighbourhood being thus enforced by the arm of the legislature, we see no reason why other measures of a less coercive character might not be afterwards adopted. We believe it to be a cause of great and natural contentment amongst large masses of people, of what country soever, if they can feel that they have some share in their own municipal government. It is a practice in one of the most despotic states of Europe, when the population of a particular locality amounts to a given number, to grant them something like a municipal charter. We know of no reason why this system might not be followed in our own free country. The eligibility to authority would be a stimulus to good conduct, and would operate as a great check upon secret combinations for bad pur-

poses. It would likewise satisfy to a considerable extent the appetite for power and advancement, which is amongst the natural consequences of increased knowledge and capability. Education would be a most useful ally in the progressive improvement, and other moral means might be beneficially resorted to. But, above all, we believe that if the proprietors of these enormous establishments would draw more kindly to their inferiors, and consider themselves, as they ought to be, responsible, to a great extent, for their physical and moral wants, a better feeling would grow up, and the frame of society would become more united. There is an establishment called Bllanavon, in the county of Monmouth, of which the founder attended to the happiness and moral improvement of his dependents, at least as sedulously as he did to the aggrandizement of his own fortune. He has many years since departed to another world, and his iron-works have become the property of strangers: but the good seed sown by him has grown up, and produced good fruit; and it is a remarkable fact, that in this establishment Frost and his associates made little or no impression, and that the insurrection derived from it little or no contribution. If his example were now followed by others, no doubt it would be attended by similar effects.

We have treated the Newport Insurrection as a local disorder, because we think it had more of a local than constitutional character. We believe nevertheless that it was not wholly unconnected with the general disarrangement in the constitutional condition of the country, which cannot escape the close observer. But the consideration of this disarrangement would open to us a field much too complicated and extended for our limits: for the present, therefore, we are compelled to avoid it. Before we conclude, however, we revert to our own country for an instant; and in a spirit not pharisaical, we bless the Almighty for the symptoms of improvement and regeneration which manifest themselves around us, and of which we are the more sensible, from the contemplation which has just engaged us. Another Moses seems to have arisen in our day, who is leading us out of the house of bondage; and we pray sincerely that, prolonged as his life has been, it may yet be extended, so that he may enjoy for many years the benefits which, under Providence, he has, by his talents and unconquerable perseverance—and by open and constitutional, as opposed to secret agitation—secured for his country.

We have been just reminded by the printer, that it is time to bring this article to a close; we are therefore without the opportunity of revision, and we fear that we have forgotten to

introduce in its proper place a fact which justice to Ireland requires to be stated, viz. that only two or three Irishmen were implicated, amongst the thousands engaged in the late rebellion; and that, of the sixty persons indicted for it, only one was an Irishman.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Literary Class Book; or, Select Lessons in Prose and Verse, selected by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Fourth Series.

The want of a reading book for the advanced classes which in its selections might keep pace with what is excellent, without adopting what is objectionable in the spirit of the times, has long been felt in Catholic seminaries.

The above-mentioned remarkably cheap publication is a valuable acquisition in any school and to any class of students. Many of the articles it contains are original, and convey much information, calculated to animate and stimulate the attention of the young reader, without attempting to make a reading-book a work of profound study. Neither has it been forgotten, that the chief end of a reading-book should be to form correct and graceful readers; and for this purpose, the articles are as various in style as in matter.—Amongst those in prose we were glad to find extracts from the works of the celebrated Pere G rambe, whose unpretending *P lerinage* has passed through so many editions, and is, even to worldly readers, so much more delightful than the bombastic and often false sentiment of *Lamartine's Voyage*. It contains also passages from the Abb  Mac Carthy, so well known in France as one of the first ecclesiastical orators of his time—though all but unknown in his native country. The poetical selections are copious. The work is well got up, and cheap, and the introductory article contains a more concise and simple arrangement of *Walker's Rules for the Management of the Voice*, &c. than any we have seen. The volume is concluded by an ample list of prefixes and affixes, and a reasonable quantity of Greek and Latin roots for exercise.

Published by Powell, Dublin; in plain cloth, 2s. 2d., and in fancy cloth with a gilt stamp, 2s. 6d.

INNISFOYLE ABBEY.—By Denis Ignatius Moriarty, Esq.—Dolman, 1840.

This writer is known as the author of several amusing and clever novels: into the present work he has introduced the controversy between Catholics and Protestants, but he has taken what may be called an Irish view of the question, showing how it has been handled by Protestants in Ireland, and the way in which, practically, it has been brought to bear upon every class of society in that country. These more serious topics he has interwoven into a

rambling, spirited, and amusing tale, eccentric and even absurd sometimes, but very original and entertaining. Some of the incidents are taken from facts,—from the Rathcormac massacre for instance; and, indeed, could the wildest fiction have dared to represent anything so astounding or incredible as these *facts*?—these incidents are related with the energy and pathos, with which such records should be handed down to posterity; but in general the story is of a lighter character, full of broad Irish humour, and placing the sayings and doings of our Orange fellow-countrymen in a point of view fully as ludicrous as it is horrible—truly, they form a startling array! and would be utterly incredible were they not borne out by references, authorities, and quotations that at once challenge and defy contradiction. When dropping this light strain, the author grapples in earnest with the argument, he displays extraordinary talent. He has thrown light even upon this hackneyed subject, given point to arguments with which all are familiar, and on some heads,—as for instance, the degree in which Catholic and Protestant persecutions have been prompted by the *principles* of their respective creeds—he has brought forward facts that will be new to a great majority of his readers. Some of those Irish grievances which are here so forcibly recorded, are, thank Heaven! passing away, but the spirit that forged those chains is alive and active; and in this work, the liberal of all classes will see it depicted in all its hateful and dangerous ramifications. To those, who, like ourselves, have no idea of reading a dull story, however excellent the moral it is intended to convey, we can safely recommend this work as racy, original, and full of entertainment.

We have great pleasure in announcing the formation of a society at Rome, for the publication of a complete and uniform edition of the Fathers, down to the twelfth century, under the title of *Patrum omnium opera quæ supersunt universa*, Romæ, 1840. Several learned men of different religious orders have promised their assistance; and the list of guarantees for the fulfilment of the conditions of the undertaking, comprises the names of noblemen of various countries; the collection is to be published at Rome, where the greatest facilities for the collection of MSS. and securing the superintendence of men of ability, exist. It is to be issued in quarto volumes of 120 sheets each, and containing at least 960 pages; a double index arranged alphabetically, and in the order of the subjects, will be appended to each volume, with a double titlepage—one for the collection, the other for the particular work to which it belongs;—12 volumes will appear in each year, and twice that number if a larger number of subscribers can be obtained; an annual premium of 2000 Roman crowns is secured in favour of the first 2700 subscribers; each volume will cost about 14 francs; according to the wish of the subscribers, the copies will be drawn in Latin only or in Greek and Latin. The former series will occupy, it is thought about 200 volumes, and the latter about 300.

We recommend to our readers an early perusal of Dr. Cox's excellent translation of Döllinger's admirable History of the Church, of which the first volume is just published by Mr. Dolman. This work will ere long be reviewed at length.

Contents of the "Université Catholique."

OCTOBER.—Rome, by the Abbé Gerbet; Physical and Mathematical Sciences (Astronomy, XII Lecture) by M. Desdoutis; Literature (History of Christian Poetry, IX Lecture) by M. Douhaire; *Review*, Innocent III by Audley; Abbey of Cluny, by M. de Riancey; Life of St. Hugh of Grenoble, by M. Guyot; La Thebaïde des Grèves, by M. Duquesnel; St. Aignan, bishop of Orleans, by Mme. de Larnay; Prisons of Italy. Short literary notices of Books.

NOVEMBER.—Rome, (No. II) Gerbet; Physiology, (Christian Psychology No. V.) Steinmetz; Social Sciences, (Criminal Law, No. VIII.) Du Boys; Philosophy of Law, (No. IX.) De Moy. *Review*, State of Catholicity in Armenia, Eugene Borè; Life of St. Louis of France, Daniello; Perè André, S. J.; Etude sur un Grand Homme du XVIII siècle, Griveau; Ozanam's Dante. Short notices of books.

DECEMBER.—Origin and influence of the Monastic Orders, (Historical, No. IV.) M. Chavin; Physical and Mathematical Sciences (Astronomy, No. XIII), Literature and Art, (Architecture of the Churches of Russia, (No. III) C. Roberts. *Review*. Innocent III, Audley; Cranmer, (No. II) by Maury; Review of German Literature, by Axinger. Short literary notices of books.

Mr. Pugin has lately received a flattering communication from the Holy See, of which the following is a translation.

*Prefecture of the Holy Apostolic Palaces
From the apartments of the Vatican.*

January 2, 1840.

His Holiness Gregory XVI, having been informed of your exertions to promote the interests of the Catholic religion in the British Capital, by assisting indefatigably in the erections of new Churches, both by furnishing designs for them which prove your distinguished talents, and superintending their erection, has experienced the most lively pleasure, and assures you of his great satisfaction: and has moreover commanded me, as his *major domo*, to express to you his fullest thanks; and as a slight testimony of his grateful acknowledgment, sends you a medal of the five saints canonized in the last canonization of the 26th May, 1839, and also a rosary blessed by his Holiness, to which are annexed various indulgences for each time of its being recited. Having fulfilled the charge imposed on me by the sovereign Pontiff, I have the honour to subscribe myself, with sentiments of particular esteem,

Your most devoted obedient Servant

FRANCESCO SAVERIO.

de' Principi Massimo.

TO AUGUSTUS WELBY PUGIN, ESQ.
*Architect, and Professor of
Ecclesiastical Architecture.*

We are sure that our readers will be gratified by the following :
Warrant to St. Mary's College, at Oscott, in the County of Warwick, to issue certificates to the Candidates for degrees, in the University of London.

VICTORIA, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty and well beloved the President, Vice President, and Professors, of St. Mary's College, at Oscott, in our County of Warwick, Greeting.

Whereas, we did by our letters patent, under the great seal of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing date at Westminster, the fifth and twenty-sixth days of December, in the first year of our reign, will, grant, declare, and constitute the persons therein named, to be one body Corporate and Politic, by the name of the University of London. And whereas, we did therein amongst other things, will and ordain, that all persons should be admitted as Candidates, for the respective degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, or Doctor of Laws, to be conferred by the said University, on presenting to the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, and Fellows thereof, a certificate of their having completed the requisite course of instruction from the College, called University College, or from the College, called King's College, or from such other institutions, corporate or unincorporated, as now are, or hereafter shall be established, for the purposes of education, whether in the Metropolis or elsewhere, within our said United Kingdom, as We, our Heirs and Successors, under our or their sign manual, shall hereafter authorize, to issue such certificates. Now know ye that we, reposing great confidence in your learning, ability, and discretion, do hereby authorize you, to issue to such persons as may be desirous of becoming Candidates, for the respective degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Laws, or Doctor of Laws, to be conferred by the said University of London, certificates to the effect, that such candidates have completed the course of instruction, which the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, and Fellows of the said University of London, by regulation in that behalf shall have determined.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the eighteenth day of February 1840, in the third year of our reign. By her Majesty's command,
 NORMANBY.

NOTICE.—The Table set forth in Vol. VII. p. 482, exhibiting the Religion of the population of Great Britain and Ireland, is founded on the Returns of 1821. Our readers will recollect that these enumerations, as regards Ireland, have been lately tested with the utmost accuracy, and that the proportion of Catholics has been found much larger and of Anglicans much smaller than the Table represents.—EDITOR.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MAY 1840.

ART. I.—*Mores Catholici*; or, Ages of Faith. Books I to IX.
London: 1831—39.

WE have great pleasure in announcing to the public a new volume of the *Ages of Faith*,—a continuation of a work which is an ornament to the literature of our age, and such an acquisition to Catholics in particular as they cannot appreciate too highly. Amongst the difficulties to which a Catholic in this age, and in a Protestant country, is exposed, there is perhaps none more trying than the discrepancy which constantly arises between what he believes to be the natural, and what is represented to him as the actual result of Catholic influence upon the manners and happiness of mankind. And this is most particularly felt by those who, like the learned author of the *Ages of Faith*, have embraced the Catholic religion at a mature age. Catholics educated in the Church, are trained in a sort of salutary distrust of the statements of those whose bitter prejudices, and want of good faith in religious matters, are amongst their earliest experiences. But converts are educated under the direct influence of those prejudices; they have consequently to alter not only their religious opinions, but upon every subject upon which religion can be brought to bear, some modification must take place in their views. The first object of attention to every philosophic mind, must ever be the destinies of humanity, and the different circumstances by which they are affected; the first enquiry of a convert conscious of greater fervour and happiness in his own heart, and a more Catholic warmth of charity towards mankind in general, will naturally be, “In what degree has this powerful religion affected the happiness of my fellow-creatures?” And never could this enquiry have suggested itself with more force, than to the profound and fervent mind of Kenelm Digby: but he never doubted the solution of the

difficulty; and plunging boldly into the history of those times when Catholic influence was prevailing and universal, has undertaken to prove, that although the Church and her children did not enjoy that unmixed felicity which would not be suitable in this world of trial, yet that out of all her tribulations "her issue was most glorious," and that to her children was fulfilled in great measure "the promise of this life as well as of the world to come." The difficulty of this undertaking was incredible. For, in the first place, in all history, especially that of remote periods, wars and crimes, violent actions and calamities, rise like an exhalation to the surface. It was necessary to look beyond this concealing veil, and to show how sound, how fervent, how full of spiritual and internal life, was the great heart of society. Again, it cannot be questioned that in those ages vice took a more energetic and desperate character than at present; but, newly emerging from barbarism, the passions of men were fiercer, their habits more bold and turbulent than in our times; and the institutions of civilized and free society, although rapidly maturing under the shelter of the Church, had not as yet attained the solidity necessary for the control of these reckless spirits.

"They [the ministers of the Church] were not permitted in the first instance, as Socrates required, to take as a piece of plain canvas the city and the manners of men, and make it clean, which he acknowledges would be no easy matter. They enjoyed no such distinction over all legislators, that they never were required to touch either an individual or a state, or to make laws before they either received or made it pure and clean.* They found the world polluted with all the vices of the old pagan civilization, and the new elements entrusted to them were wild and barbarous: yet their deep and sweet colours succeeded at last, in overpowering the almost inveterate and loathsome forms over which they had to work. Their labour cannot be better described than in the very words of Plato:—'While painting the form of the state, they continually turned their eyes from one to the other, that is, from what is essentially just and beautiful and wise, and all such things, to what actually takes place among men, blending and fashioning from these models the ideal of humanity, τὸ ἀνδρείκελον, taking as their point of departure, or as their model, that which Homer called as being among men θεοειδές τε καὶ θεοείκελον. And parts they effaced, and parts they refreshed and re-painted, until they rendered the manners of men, as far as is possible, worthy of being the objects of divine love.'—vol. ii. p. 174.

* De Repub. lib. vi.

Thus the holy fervour of the children of light produced then, as in the first ages of Christianity, and, as it ever will, an intense re-action. In proportion to the zeal of the saints, the antagonist principle—the zeal of their ancient enemy—raged more fiercely. The ancient war, interminable while earth shall last, betwixt Babylon and Jerusalem, the children of this world and the children of the kingdom, is still carried on, and with undiminished assiduity and determination: but it assumed a fiercer character when opposed to the burning zeal of those early and Catholic ages—the contrasts in character were also brought out in deeper relief—ungovernable human nature, unwilling to emulate the holiness by which it was as it were oppressed, endured not a middle path of what we call “respectability,” but flinging itself fiercely into the antagonist camp, sought notoriety in extreme opposition; and thence resulted crimes of a more violent and desperate character than is common amongst us. The author had to prove that these were not indications of the general spirit of the people, but wholly alien and in violent opposition to it. He had to show how innumerable and how glorious in those days were the children of the kingdom; how great was their devotion, their charity, their patience, their self-denial, their contrition, their humility, and their zeal; and as the good of those days were holier than the good of our own times, so also the bad of those times were less hopeless in their condition and state of mind than the bad of ours. Consumed with zeal for God’s service, the good men sought to reclaim sinners, even in the strongholds of vice.

The monasteries, with their austerities, their silent and deep seclusion, offered an asylum to those who otherwise would have had no course open to them save to “despair and die;” and the fervent spirit of the age was as favourable to repentance as to holiness. There was none of the practical scepticism—the *denigrante* ridicule—of modern times, to force back the remorse of the criminal on his own heart, to corrode it, and to turn to despair or to insensibility. On the contrary, the sinner awakening to a sense of his awful condition, found the world around him as alive to a spiritual sense, as terror had rendered himself. The institutions, the spirit of the age, the awful mysteries of the Church, all combined to arouse him to repentance; but *also*—and herein is a great difference—all combined to throw open the doors, and smooth for him the paths of reconciliation. Hence came those acts of profound humiliation, of austere penance, of splendid reparation, which

are now decried as “priestridden, superstitious acts,” but which, in truth, were the energetic efforts of souls to whom God had given the grace “to will and to do,” and who thought everything too little to obtain reconciliation with Him, and to testify their sense of it. Had the author of the *Ages of Faith* concluded his enquiry here, it must to Christians have been satisfactory ; for what is the object of this world of trial ? to fit souls for heaven ; what must be the happiest ages of its history ? those in which the greatest number of souls have sought and found that all-absorbing happiness. Yet we have a natural feeling that those who have done the will of the great Creator must in the end obtain his benediction even here ; and it is sanctioned by many promises, to the effect, that “to those who seek first the kingdom of God and his justice, other things shall be added.” It was, therefore, necessary for the completion of his noble plan, that our author should show that these children of God, in spite of the commotions and trials raised around them, were happy—happier than physical science has since been able to render their successors : and to do this it was necessary to contemplate the whole range of human society ; to show their hardy simplicity, and the keen enjoyment which it preserved to all classes, of the charms of nature,—the heartfelt gaiety of their sports, the holy peace of their homes, the blessings that attended their wealth,—the humble, almost joyful, acquiescence which deprived poverty of its sting ; and the countless sources of intellectual and spiritual happiness which were opened up to them, and which gave to their lives elevation without ambition, and fervent interest without contentiousness. And in those sorrows which overtook them how many were their sources of consolation,—what strength and patience did they derive from their religion,—what inconceivable efforts were made by the charitable to relieve them ! They were not turned over to the tardy, grinding aid of the law and its hired minister. They did not suffer that desolate loneliness of heart which impels so many now to seek refuge in self-destruction. They had comfort in that strong *fellow-feeling* which bound all classes together in sincere unostentatious sympathy. For them the doors of the Church stood ever open ; in every one who worshipped God they found a friend ; they were surrounded by hosts of recognized protectors in the ministers of his altars ; and above all was the Catholic Church ever ready to mourn with the sufferers, to expend herself in efforts to serve them, and to interpose between them and their oppressors.

Such is the picture presented to us of our forefathers; where is the Catholic heart that will disavow them? where is the Christian who will not, in spite of all their tribulations pronounce them 'Blessed?' It was, however, impossible that through vague assertions, generalities, and fine writing, we could entertain a fit conception of the all-pervading spirit of those Catholic ages; and accordingly the author has sought to *prove* his theories in the only way in which the subject admitted of proof—by such immense research, such stores of illustration, as we confidently assert to be unparalleled in modern literature. We are quite astonished at the quantity of learning which is dispersed through this work; but so completely is it rendered subservient to the author's main object, that we lose sight of it in the train of new and interesting ideas the book excites in us. The author is not only familiar with the whole range of the classics, and perfect master of the Greek and Latin, but of Italian, Spanish, French, and German: in these languages, and in his own, he has read probably every work that is worth notice, and that not of one period only, but including the whole range of their literature: nor upon one class of subjects only—he has left none of them untouched. Divinity, History, Poetry, and Memoirs, have been his favourite studies; his mind is imbued with them; he appears to have delighted in the old romances, from which he has selected many beautiful passages and illustrations. Works of science seem less to have interested him, yet they have not been altogether passed over: he has read and caught the substance even of those publications, of which the principles are most abhorrent to him. Indeed the profusion and variety of the illustrations drawn from all these sources, have occasioned what is by many considered as a defect in the work; we have heard a complaint that there is a want of arrangement and method, which renders it fatiguing to the attention, and difficult to follow the argument, which is the essential basis of its utility. Yet the plan adopted by the author is obvious, and even simple, and he has adhered to it faithfully; but it is one which does not admit of logical conciseness. He has not subdivided his vast subject; but has considered all the nations and periods it includes under one point of view. The essence of Catholic christianity is comprised in the eight beatitudes, and these he has taken as the text of his disquisition; dividing each into two portions, and considering how far its spirit was understood and acted upon by the people of Catholic times; and in what degree the consequent promise was fulfilled to them.

It will be seen that this method of treating the subject is exceedingly voluminous ; and the heavenly virtues which these volumes exemplify, though they differ like the prismatic colours of the rainbow, yet like them arise from a common source, and blend into a common glory. It was inevitable, therefore, that the actions which they prompted should have a great character of resemblance ; and this has increased the difficulty of keeping the divisions of the subject in proper distinctness ; and the tendency which the book must necessarily have to assume the character of a *collection of anecdotes*, which to many readers is a decided objection. We think, moreover, that in the arrangement of these anecdotes, there is a want of classification, which, though it by no means diminishes the charm of reading them, takes something from the force of their testimony, when considered as *proofs* of a great theory. Satisfied that his main point is kept steadily in view, and following the chain of his own associations, our author brings facts bearing upon the habits of whole classes, which must startle the most incredulous, into contact with the lays of a poem, or an incident in a romance, which will be received as evidence only by those who are *desirous* of admitting them as such ; and occasionally both are intermixed with anecdotes,—charming in their way—but in which, minds, differently constituted from his own, may not perceive the exact point he wishes to deduce from them. All are good of their kind, but the effect, the weight of the work suffers occasionally by their juxtaposition. Mr. Digby is certainly not ignorant of the meaning of what artists call the *keeping* of a picture ; something more of this requisite, in the noble *moral* picture with which he is presenting us, would (we venture to suggest) bring it out into clearer and more distinct relief. But it is time to let the author speak for himself, although the sketch we can give of this voluminous work cannot possibly do justice to its merits. We will begin with the first volume, the beatitude of “Blessed are the poor, &c.” in which the writer gives an account of the plan of the book, and of his motives for undertaking it. Let us hear him first upon the subject of those ages, in the spirit of which he has so deeply embued his mind :

“The middle ages, then, I said, were ages of highest grace to men ; ages of faith ; ages when all Europe was Catholic ; when vast temples were seen to rise in every place of human concourse to give glory to God, and to exalt men’s souls to sanctity ; when houses of holy peace and order were found amidst woods and desolate mountains, on the banks of placid lakes as well as on the solitary rocks in the ocean :

ages of sanctity, which witnessed a Bede, an Vleuin, a Bernard, a Francis, and crowds who followed them as they did Christ; ages of vast and beneficent intelligence, in which it pleased the Holy Spirit to display the power of the seven gifts, in the lives of an Anselm, a Thomas of Aquinum, and the saintly flock whose steps a cloister guarded: ages of the highest civil virtue; which gave birth to the laws and institutions of an Edward, a Lewis, a Suger: ages of the noblest art, which beheld a Giotto, a Michael Angelo, a Raffaello, a Dominichino: ages of poetry, which heard an Avitus, a Caedmon, a Dante, a Shakespeare, a Calderon: ages of more than mortal heroism, which produced a Tancred and a Godfrey: ages of majesty, which knew a Charlemagne, an Alfred, and the sainted youth who bore the lily: ages too of England's glory, when she appears not even excluding a comparison with the eastern empire, as the most truly civilized country on the globe; when the sovereign of the greater portion of the western world applied to her schools for instructors; when she sends forth her saints to evangelize the nations of the north, and to diffuse spiritual treasure over the whole world; when heroes flock to her courts to behold the models of reproachless chivalry, and Emperors leave their thrones to adore God at the tombs of her martyrs! as Dante says,

No tongue
So vast a theme could equal, speech and thought
Both impotent alike."

And again, when in the following solemn words he introduces to us the plan of his work :

"Returning to that cloistral meditation, how many, thought I, throughout the whole world have heard this day the grounds and the consummation of the saint's felicity! how many have been summoned onward! and told that the steps were near, and that now the ascent might be without difficulty gained? and yet

A scanty few are they, who when they hear
Such tidings, hasten. O ye race of men!
Though born to soar, why suffer ye a wind
So slight to baffle you?*

But for those who seemed to feel how sweet was that solemn accent eight times sung, which taught them who were blessed! would it not be well, when left alone, and without distraction, if they were to take up histories and survey the course which has been trod by saintly feet, and mark, as if from the soul-purifying mount, the ways and works of men on earth, keeping their eyes with fixed observance bent upon the symbol there conveyed, so as to mark how far the form and acts of that life, in ages past, of which there are still so many monuments around them, agreed, not with this or that modern standard of political and social happiness and grandeur, but with what, by heaven's

* Dante, *Parad.* XII. Carey's translation.

suffrance, gives title to divine and everlasting beatitude? Such a view would present a varied and immense horizon, comprising the manners, institutions, and spirit of many generations of men long gone by: we should see in what manner the whole type and form of life were Christian, although its detail may have been often broken and disordered; for instance, how the pursuits of the learned, the consolations of the poor, the riches of the Church, the exercises and dispositions of the young, and the common hope and consolation of all men, harmonized with the character of those that sought to be poor in spirit; how again, the principle of obedience, the constitution of the Church, the division of ministration, and the rule of government, the manners and institutions of society, agreed with meekness and inherited its recompense; further, how the sufferings of just men, and the provisions for a penitential spirit, were in accordance with the state of those that were to mourn and weep; then how the character of men in sacred order, the zeal of the laity, and the lives of all ranks, denoted the hunger and thirst after justice; again, how the institutions, the foundations, and the recognized principle of perfection proclaimed men merciful: moreover, how the philosophy which prevailed, and the spiritual monuments which were raised by piety and genius, evinced the clean of heart; still further, how the union of nations, and the bond of peace which existed even amidst savage discord, wars, and confusion; as also how the holy retreats for innocence which then every where abounded, marked the multitude of pacific men: and finally, how the advantage taken of dire events, and the acts of saintly and heroic fame, revealed the spirit which shunned not suffering for sake of justice.—vol. i, pp. 6-7.

And continuing in the same deeply religious spirit, our author points out the wide discrepancy between the beatitude inculcated in his text, and that sought for by the ancients: “The Athenian, with Plato, would make a law in every state to this effect: ‘Let there be no poor person in the city, let such a person be banished from the cities, and from the forum, and from the country fields, that the country may be altogether pure and free from an animal of this kind.’”* (vol. i. p. 51.) The author fails not to remind us, in how great a degree the same spirit of *hatred of poverty* has revived under the modern system: then quitting this false philosophy, he exalts by a thousand beautiful instances, the veneration in which Catholics held this state of holy poverty, to them a means of grace, and the visible image of Christ’s life on earth; he points out how willingly men of all ranks embraced its habits—how the poor in station, their sufferings sanctified by religion, and sweetly consoled by the brotherly sympathy of all around them, become models of edification to their richer brethren.

* “Ὅπως ἡ χώρα τοῦ τοιούτου ζώου καθαρά γίγνηται τὸ παράπαν.—De Legibus lib. xi.

“The poor, to behold whose sweet and saintly countenances, at moments of devotion, the artists, as at Rome, repair to the Churches ! For, in the Churches, before the divine altars, or following those that walk and sing solemn litanies, in the delight and transport with which all their senses minister to the soul, is already partly fulfilled the promise from the mount, that their's is the kingdom of heaven. To the Church they repair humbly at morning and at eve, enjoying that privilege which was felt to be so great by David, that he said in allusion to it, ‘One thing I have asked from the Lord, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, and visit his temple.’” —vol. i, p. 79.

Passing on from these beautiful sketches, our author dwells more fully on poverty of spirit, as it pervaded all ranks and conditions ; proving how the Church held its great wealth so entirely in reference to this beatitude, that her individual members continued poor in fact, as well as in spirit ; that it was not forgotten or overlooked, even amidst the gorgeous and warlike usages of chivalry ; that in fact, it pervaded all conditions :—“Whether we regard the poor, whose external condition corresponded with that spirit, or the great and noble, who studied humility, or the learned, who retained it, or the young, in whose nature it seemed inherent ;” * and he then directs the attention “to the many and great sources of felicity, which appertained to all, even in the present life, the sphere to which these enquiries are confined, in consequence of their moral dispossession and spiritual poverty.” † Glancing at the supernatural joy which filled the hearts of the most glorious of these poor in spirit, until they exclaimed with St. Francis Xavier, “Satis est, Domine, satis est,” he proceeds to show how “the root of bitterness was cut off.” “They had taught to find peace and gladness in the love of creatures ; and in them, even Cicero could exclaim, ‘Oh, how many, and how bitter, are the roots of sorrow.’ ‡ And now from these they are delivered, by embracing poverty of spirit, which expects and finds light out of darkness, and, amidst privation, food on which they live, and never know satiety. That joy which might spring from natural sources, was exalted and secured to them, by being sanctified ; for they learned to offer the expansion of their hearts to God, as well as to their earthly friend, and they looked up to him in their mirth and playful hours, as well as in times of serious meditation ; for even in the lowest things, they saw as Dante says,

— The printed steps
Of that eternal worth, which is the end
Whither the line is drawn.” ||

* Vol. i. p. 211.

† ib.

‡ Tuseul. lib. iii. 83.

|| Vol. i. p. 228.

The whole of this chapter is edifying, almost inspiring,—nor has it less charm for a reader of taste. We will give one instance (out of multitudes), of the manner in which the deep thoughts of this author illustrate all he touches upon ; and how in turn he can draw from all sources the sweetest words, wherein to express his own overflowing ideas.

“ Well does the poet represent them, (men of delicate and susceptible minds), in describing Tasso :—

—— from my very birth
My soul was drunk with love, which did pervade
And mingle with whate’er I saw on earth ;
Of objects all inanimate I made
Idols, and out of wild and lonely flowers,
And rocks, whereby they grew, a paradise,
Where I did lay me down, within the shade
Of waving trees, and dreamed uncounted hours ;
Though I was chid for wandering, and the wise
Shook their white aged heads o’er me, and said,
Of such materials wretched men were made,
And such a truant boy would end in woe,
And that the only lesson was a blow.*

“ They judged rightly ; for they took not into account the resources of faith, and they saw that, in a world of incurable disorder, so intense a love of what is beautiful and perfect, must needs of natural necessity bring with it disappointment and the keen bitter sense of discord, and the cruel pangs of having to witness, and perhaps endure, the triumph of injustice and wrong. Had they, indeed, looked upwards, and conceived the charm of that substance of things not seen ; had they remembered the offers of eternal truth, to give rest to the wearied spirits that would follow him who was meek and lowly of heart, that end of woe would not have seemed inevitably awaiting the object of their solicitude. For O ! what a balm has the Catholic religion provided for these eagle spirits, when confined in the net of earthly calamity ! Its effects may be witnessed by referring to the words which the same poet ascribes to Tasso, where he represents him afterwards in the dungeon, saying,—

I once was quick in feeling,—that is o’er ;
My scars are callous, or I should have dashed
My brain against these bars, as the sun flashed
In mockery through them.

“ He once was quick in feeling. How much is expressed in these few words ! Could we behold a heart thus delicate and susceptible, ah me ! what wounds would it display, recent and old, as if inflicted by those flames which had already begun to prey upon it ; tormented,

* Byron, Lament of Tasso.

as if by demons, whose instruments are every brief and vile contingency! But he adds, "that is over." In fact, all is changed, all is reversed: he is no longer what he was. No one can now tear the impatient answer from his tongue; no indication of neglect, no cruel injustice, no merciless wrong, can any more trouble that heart; for it has found rest and peace unutterable, peace everlasting. That rest has been found by entering upon the way of the holy cross; he has been taught how to endure, how to sanctify sorrow. Objects have been made familiar to him, before which he loves to kneel and weep in lowly reverence. The passion of his Saviour, the crown of thorns, the drink of vinegar and gall,—these have taught him what he could never have gained from all the consolations of philosophy,—these

Have from the sea of ill-love saved his bark,
And on the coast secured it of the right.

teaching him to estimate the value of being condemned to suffer bitterness, and yielding him in return, for that proud and lofty spirit which he renounced, the power of preserving his peace while beholding man's unkindness; the power of reducing to a sweet calm that once restless and troubled sea of the heart, swollen and agitated with a thousand passions; nay, even the faculty of converting pain and misfortune, and the dire events of a calamitous life, into images of quiet beauty, on which the memory and imagination may dwell, almost with a poetic fondness; for now he can say with *Lovelace*, that

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage,
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a heritage;

or apply to himself what *Richard Plantagenet* says of *Mortimer* :—

In prison hast thou spent a pilgrimage,
And like a hermit overpass'd thy days."*—vol. i. 241-44.

We have not space to analyse the second volume, upon the Blessedness of the Meek; yet we cannot refrain from giving a few specimens of its power; how fine, for instance, is the following passage, where the author has been dwelling upon the miseries arising from its absence.

"The last extravagance of human error is to make a religion of independence. The sentiments of eternity which the Christian revelation has imparted to men left without authority in faith, expose the human mind to speedy destruction. Physicians themselves have remarked the fact, that the spirit of sect favours the development of mental alienation, while Catholicism imposing obedience, that burden of Christ which has wings, not weight, presents to it the greatest obstacle. The extravagance of a religious zeal without discipline

* *Hen. VI. I. ii. 5.*

and order, to which every ardent mind without the Church is subject, is one of the primal sources of insanity ; and this is for ever excluded from the meek communion of Catholics : for

In its devotion, nought irregular
This mount can witness, or by punctual rule
Unsancion'd ; here from every change exempt,
No influence can reach us."*—vol. ii. p. 50.

The author quotes Guizot, who was struck he tells us, by observing the moral unity,

"which prevailed in France during a period of such multitudinous divisions of territory as took place under the feudal system. He endeavours to account for it in this way. 'It is because in the life of a people, the exterior and visible unity, the unity of name and of government, however important, is not the first ; the most real is that which truly constitutes a nation. There is a unity more profound, more powerful ; that which results, not from an identity of government and destiny, but from the similitude of social elements, from similitude of institutions, manners, ideas, sentiments, and languages, the unity which resides in the men themselves who are reunited in society, and not in the form of their approximation ; in short, moral unity, far superior to political unity, and which can alone form its solid foundation.†"—vol. ii. p. 176.

Do we not find the source of this unity pointed out in the following powerful remarks?—

"The moderns practically divide the human race into two classes. It is either their country, their political party, their school of philosophy, their domestic circle, their immediate family, and the whole rest of mankind, whom they are willing to dismiss from their thoughts, or to speak of them with contempt or anger, as the impulse of the moment may direct them. In the ages of faith also, men divided the human race into two classes, but only one of them had a real, visible, and present existence, and this was the Church of Jesus Christ ; that immense society, embracing men of all ages and all nations, and all schools of philosophy, and descending by a series of saints and great men, from Jesus Christ, and thence, from the patriarchs and the cradle of the universe. The other, the world condemned by Jesus Christ, was known only in theory as an abstraction, and referred to the Omniscient Judge, who was to make the final separation."—vol. ii. 58.

How true is this ! and who does not see even in the present day, how the Catholic, escaping by a happy vagueness from the charge of condemning any one, makes wide the pale of his sympathies, until it includes members of every race, and tongue, and clime, from the beginning of the world to the end

* Dante, *Purg.* xxi.

+ *Cours d'Hist. Mod.* tom. vi. l.

of it. And the fruit of this holy and charitable unity was peace; the spirit of meekness taught men the limits of their duty, whether in obeying or commanding. The world was not convulsed by struggles betwixt despotism and democracy, each striving for power, which, on either hand, would be arbitrary. But against the arbitrary will of men, the meek of those days were secured, even by the principle of their holy obedience; venerating all authority in its degree, it followed that they most deeply venerated the authority, which was the source and centre of all: and in their childlike submission to it, they found the secret of invincibility.

“Under a despotism, the will of a tyrant; in a democracy, that of the people, is sufficient to make a thing legal, but it does not follow that it is therefore to be allowed. Modern governments drawing from this double source of despotism, pronounce many things to be according to their legal order, which the ‘non possumus,’ of those who adhere to the wisdom of faithful ages will never suffer to pass into execution. ‘O Church of Jesus Christ,’ exclaims Bossuet, ‘from thy birth thou didst already confound all the magistrates and powers of Jerusalem by the single firmness of this word—non possumus. We cannot keep silence as to the things which our eyes have seen—non possumus. But holy disciples of Jesus Christ, what is this new impotence? Within these few days past, you were trembling, and the boldest of the troop cowardly denied his Master, and now you say—non possumus! and why can you not? Because things have been changed; a celestial fire has fallen upon us; a law has been written in our hearts; an all-powerful spirit impels us; charmed by its infinite attractions, we have imposed upon ourselves a blessed necessity of loving Jesus Christ more than our life. This is the reason why we can no longer obey the world; we can suffer, we can die, but we cannot keep silence, as to the things which we have seen and heard.”*—vol. ii. 142-43.

Having shewn how deeply the spirit of meekness pervaded all the ramifications of Catholic society, our author proceeds to shew, that to them was fulfilled the promise of possessing the earth; many are the indications of temporal prosperity which we are presented with, cheering to the heart, and which may excite the surprise of the uninformed reader.

“The moderns in vain attempt to account for the difference of manners in these Catholic cities, and in their own, by referring to their present prosperity and accumulation of wealth. These cities in point of magnificence incomparably surpassed theirs, and with respect to riches they were not inferior; for peace was in their strength, and abundance in their towers. An able writer has shewn that the commercial prosperity of Christian nations was owing to that universal

* Serm. pour le Jour de la Pentecôte. Dan. vi.

church which broke down the barriers between different nations, developed and assisted the spirit of proselytism by withdrawing religion from national and political forms, and by means of that spirit, opened new channels to maritime commerce and to the intercourse of men. St. Louis, in his establishments, laid down the principle of free exportation as the simple dictate of universal charity. It is true men had not for sole motive of activity, the desire of making a fortune, tempered by the fear of the executioner; but riches flowed into the Catholic states, as they had been promised in the Gospel, in the way of a surplus; and temporal prosperity was added unto those who sought first the kingdom of heaven and its justice. In 1764, the Abbe Intieri founded at Naples the first chair of political economy, and the author who remarks this fact, establishes his proposition that Catholicism comprises in its practical consequences the most admirable system of social economy which has ever been given to the world. In fact, from the tenth century, a multitude of free cities had risen in Flanders and on the Baltic, the ancient territory of the Germans, which rivalled Venice and Genoa in riches. It is admitted that in the fifteenth century, Florence, Venice, and Genoa, possessed as much wealth as is now found in London, and without the desolation of its poor. Two millions of florins in gold, in effective money, circulated at that time in the former city, while it was the centre of learning and the arts. Boniface VIII said to Charles of Valois, who was going to Florence, 'I send you to the fountain of gold.' Nevertheless Pignotti remarks that the merchants there still lived, even in the midst of riches, far removed from the parade of ostentation. They would not have ventured to put either gold or silver upon their garments, nor make use of silver plate at their tables; and it would have been accounted a shame for a citizen to have made use of it.* 'For this disposition and greatness of mind' was inherent in a Catholic community, to which these words of Cicero are strictly applicable, 'that while in their private affairs and domestic expenses, being content with the least, they lived on the most slender allowance, in the empire and in public dignity they referred all things to grandeur and magnificence.'—vol. iii. pp. 45-46.

But this wealth was not made subservient to the purposes of Mammon; it was meekly enjoyed, and sanctified by that spiritual sense, which the happy people cultivated in and through all things. How different an atmosphere must these magnificent cities have offered to the soul of man, from that of those tumultuous haunts of traffic and violence, from which, in our days, the more gentle of their kind are fain to escape, where escape is possible.

"The streets of cities in the middle ages, as indeed those of Italy and Spain at present, were not a scene of constant commotion and

* Hist. of Tuscany, III.

bewildering activity, from the din and dust of wheels, like those of modern luxurious cities,

— where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage.

Men were taught, as in the time of St. Chrysostom, to walk through the streets of cities with the utmost modesty, having their eyes rather cast upon the ground than directing them from side to side, lest their enemy should take occasion to wound their soul. The inhabitants seemed employed but not dissipated. Every thing indicated that they had heard the holy warning, '*potes citò fugare Jesum, et gratiam ejus perdere si volueris ad exteriora declinare.*' The streets were not disturbed by that confusion of hideous discords which pervade the towns of France and England, where the haste of those who have deserted the place of virtue to become the restless slaves of sordid gain, gives rise to a multitude of sounds distracting and ignoble: they were not a stage of continued agony for poor animals, sinking under the blows of merciless tormentors, who seemed in every stroke to think of their political enemies. The streets from the thirteenth century, as at Rome till lately, and as at Florence to this day, were flagged across like the pavement of a church, being less designed for wheel-carriages than for passengers on foot or on horseback. The latter were sufficiently numerous, for nobles used to pay their visits on horseback, judges to proceed to the courts, and even the clergy to go about on horseback; monks used sometimes to preach from horseback; kings went to be crowned on horseback; and it is even recorded that the Constable of St. Pol went on horseback from the Bastille to the Place de Grève to be beheaded.* It was not necessary to be rich and to have a vast palace, in order to sleep in the city;† the sweet refreshment of the first rest was not excluded there. Guillaume de Champagne, Archbishop of Rheims, gave to that city the ground called '*culturam*' in the suburbs, in order to build upon it houses for the cartwrights, carpenters, coopers, and all who exercised a noisy trade, that the streets of the city might be tranquil.‡ Their silence was only broken by the cheerful sound of human voices, or by the sweet tinkling of innumerable bells; for such was the number of clocks that struck minute divisions of every hour, from churches, convents, palaces, and portals, that it was like a constant shower of hours and beautiful harmony; or else it was by the chaunt of the solemn Litanee, begun within a church, and then continued in the adjoining street by the kneeling crowd. In the south of France, at the present day, as we read was the case in Avignon in the time of Petrarch, the stone benches at the doors of the houses are occupied every evening by persons of all classes, not excepting even the noblest, conversing familiarly together, as if members of one family, while children play in the

* Monteil, *Hist. des Français*, Tom. iv. 301.

+ Juv. Sat. III.

‡ Anquetil, *Hist. de Rheims*, ii. 341.

centre of the streets, and poets recite their verses to the plaintive melody of a guitar. Such seats are found outside the house of Ariosto, in the street of Mirasole at Ferrara.

“To account for the different character which architecture, customs, hours, and all things relative to life in cities assume with the moderns, and with those who followed the Christian philosophy, would not be difficult. The moderns are only pleased by distraction, and their cities are expressly required to supply them with this ingredient, so essential to their enjoyment. Each house seems to proclaim the character of its inhabitant: the whole man drawn out to things external, and resting on things without.

His hours fill'd up with riots, banquets, sports,
And never noted in him any study,
Any retirement, any sequestration
From open haunts and popularity.

Γαστήρ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα, πανταχῇ βλέπων
Ὁφθαλμός.

And, as Messenio jests in the old play, every city under their influence might have been called Epidamnus, even by themselves; for they never left one without suffering loss;* whereas our Catholic ancestors were most cheerful when the interior life was not injured by things external, but rather assisted; and therefore even the form of their cities was calculated to favour meditation and peace, insomuch that as St. Benedict prescribes to the abbots of his order, ‘All things seem to have been purposely tempered and disposed, so that souls might be saved.’ It was clear that a meek placid feeling was diffused through the state. Those narrow modest streets, in which the people seem to live as one family, and to walk as dear children before God, with their eyes continually presented with gracious images of the saints and of our blessed Lady, however disagreeable in the judgment of those who seek to live well by means of horses and chariots; who are accustomed to cities where both nature and Christianity are banished; in which the public ways seem so expressly designed for the purposes of dress and display, that men are afraid to speak or move there, excepting with an air which denotes that they are rich, seem expressly made to favour a form of life for men who rather shun than love distraction.”—vol. iii. pp. 41-43.

And again,

“In a modern city, men in the evening leave their houses for a banquet; in a Catholic city they go out for the benediction. The offices of the Church, morning and evening, and even the night instruction, were not wanting to those who were still living in the world; and if the intervals were past in study, or other intellectual exercise, it was a life scholastic and almost monastical. The number of churches

* Plautus Menæ. ii. 1.

always open, the frequent processions, and the repeated instructions of the clergy, made the whole city like a holy place, and were, without doubt, the means of making multitudes to choose the strait entrance, and to walk in the narrow way. There are many who have no idea of the perfection in which great numbers, in every rank of society, pass their lives in Catholic cities, not excepting even that capital which has of late been made the nursery of so much ill."—vol. iii. pp. 43-4.

We have no space for further extracts ; otherwise, there can be nothing more striking than the details, by which we are made to perceive the sanctity, which in those days was attached to the haunts of men ; and the ease of circumstances which was so generally enjoyed, and which enabled each man to "possess his soul in quiet," and cultivate his aspirations for a better life. And how were these aspirations cultivated ! how abundantly were the wants of the imagination, the heart, and the soul, supplied ! We must not attempt to follow Mr. Digby through his account of the cathedrals and churches, which in those days rose as continually, and it would almost seem as easily, as the aspirations of the grateful hearts that founded them. This part of the volume cannot be read without unspeakable pleasure. Here we see how our ancestors sought to sanctify at once, and to enjoy their wealth ; and they judged wisely, for how they must have enjoyed it ! With what visions of beauty and enchantment were they surrounded, at those holy hours of morning and evening, and in those glorious festivals when their hearts sought recreation. Most sublimely has the author penetrated the mysteries, and developed the beauty, of these sacred monuments ; we feel as if we were standing within their precincts, and that our feelings were raised by a strain of holy music. Few can have penetrated so deeply as Mr. Digby, into the secrets of cathedral architecture : we rejoice that there is one who has, and that one is an architect, (we need not name him), who seems to have been raised up by an especial Providence at this time, that the Church in these kingdoms, while regaining her former stature and strength, may not miss her accustomed crown of beauty. The author proceeds to shew how the meek "possessed" the beauty of the earth ; and striking is the view he takes of the deficiency of modern feeling, even upon this the chosen theme of their imaginations.

"Abandoned to nature, the man who is endowed with a delicate and sentimental soul, is found to breathe only the vague desires of the modern poet, whose ideal may be seen in that Burns, of whom we read that 'he has no religion ; his heart indeed is alive with a trem-

bling adoration, but there is no temple in his understanding; he lives in darkness and in the shadow of doubt; his religion at best is an anxious wish, like that of Rabelais, a great Perhaps.* The error of the modern poets consists in their not viewing the visible world in union with the mysteries of faith, and in supposing that a mere description of its external form can satisfy even the thirst after poetic beauty, which is inherent in our nature. Dante is blamed by them for mixing scholastic theology with his song; but it is precisely this very mixture which gives that charm to it which attracts and captivates the thoughtful heart. The same error is committed with regard to life; and while spirituality and faith, with all their beauteous expressions and sublime affecting symbols, have been effaced, instead of increasing, proud and sensual men have forfeited the possession of the present good. The earth is infected by its inhabitants, and its joy is passed away. Observe the character of those cantons of Switzerland, where the Catholic religion is unfelt, and men are left in presence of nature alone, without an object or a sound to recall the images of faith. What overpowering melancholy reigns in those valleys, notwithstanding all that dressing, fattening, harrowing, and distillation of the earth, in the hopes of gain! What a silence is there, excepting when interrupted by the fall of avalanches, the roar of torrents, and the eternal sighing of the winds! What a moral blight has attended the political demarcation of the territory! There are indeed, here and there, some immense enterprises for the sake of profit and pleasure, some unsightly buildings, the fruit of careful speculations to afford luxury and ease to the distempered inhabitants of licentious cities, who come here in the summer season, in hopes of enjoying some vague dream of Arcadian life, united with the solid advantages of the Epicurean form; but no where do you see the beautiful chapel or the venerable cross; nowhere anything to realize a tender or a sublime idea; no sacred sentences, no devout image, to exalt men to the spiritual life. You pass, as on the borders of those Berne Lakes, whole villages without a church; and upon the sloping lawns you can only hope to find some ruins of a convent, or the tower of some ancient church, which you will find converted into a barn or a magazine. Yet even amidst the devastated valleys, covered with sand and rocks and the bare trunks of broken pines, ploughed up with rains, and burnt by the fire of a summer's day, which now present that pale and horrid aspect of a fearful nakedness, the Catholic religion would have planted her peaceful and her beauteous trophies. That religion has left the stamp of her genius and the imperishable monuments of her faith in the deserts of the east, and on the wildest rocks of Alps or Pyrenees; amidst the lions under the fires of the tropic, as well as amidst the bears and icebergs of the pole. Where is there a garden of more rich and beauteous variety, than in the very valleys surrounding the tracks over which heresy has passed? Even to the

* Edinburgh Review, 1828.

mere poetic soul, what a delightful accompaniment to the silent hymn of nature is that chiming of angelic bells which rises at evening and at noon, and at the sweet hour of prime, from all sides of a Catholic valley?—bells that may well be termed of the angel, that are not rung, as in other lands, by base hands, through love of sordid gain, to celebrate some occasion of sensual joy, temporal and vain, soon to change to mourning as vain;—but by pious hands, through the devout intention of inspiring men with thoughts of prayer. How inspiring is it to hear the great bells of the abbey of Engleberg, at the fourth hour of the morning, awakening the echoes, amidst the rocks and eternal snows of Titlis, and piercing the vast forests of the surrounding Alp! What consolation to the weary pilgrim, when stopping to shelter from the storm under some covered bank which charity has erected by the mountain's side, he beholds, even there, some poor prints, representing, in successive stages, the sacred passion of our Lord, and dictating some seraphic aspiration! How sweet and cheering,—and, in a philosophic point of view, how important,—is all this, and how it cherishes and strengthens our young affections! But as the swimmer in the blue flood of the arrowy Rhone sees the pale line of snow-fed waters issuing from the devastated bed of the Arve, and no sooner plies his right arm to be borne up that new channel, and enters its sullen wave, than instantly a sudden cold and deathlike chill strikes through his whole body; so is the full glow of youthful devotion checked and chilled, when we pass from Sarnen to the Scheidek, or from Soleure and Freyburg, to the shores of the Lemman Lake.”—vol. iii. pp. 210-12.

We are next shewn, how these ancient Catholics “possessed” the treasures of the intellect, how diligently they sought for them, and with what astonishing abundance they had collected around themselves schools, universities, libraries, instructors, all means of knowledge, by which the human mind may be informed, and elevated to a truly royal dominion over the earth; and lastly, we are shewn, how in their cloisters, monasteries, and all other abodes sacred to meek obedience, they secured to themselves the enjoyment of friendship, in its highest and purest form.

“The Blessedness of those who mourn,” is a sweet but more abstracted strain, full of beautiful passages, and a deep insight into the spiritual life, and the unspeakable joy attainable only by the way of the cross. But we must pass it over, for the beatitude of those “who hunger and thirst after justice,” which opens with the following splendid words:—

“At the fourth counsel of the mystic song, a sudden lustre, like the golden beams which brighten up the horizon at the evening hour, illuminated my heart. Methought a countless multitude of men, of every age, and order, and degree, passed before me. Emperors and princes were there, and mitred fathers, and whole hosts wrapped up

in sable weeds; nor were wanting the ideal comrades of our youth, steel-clad knights, and gentle poets of the bower and hall; grave magistrates, too, followed amidst a throng of citizens and peasants, in which were some who toiled in trades laborious, which seemed base to the pride of mortals, and others who craved alms for sweet charity, and around each did shine an unimaginable light, encircling him as a luminary of eternal vision, which, clearer than with any voice proclaimed his everlasting principedom. These were all they whose wishes tended to justice; for they shouted forth 'Blessed,' and ended with 'I thirst.' O how after each pause the harmony sounds more and more strange to ears of flesh and blood. We know, indeed, that all spirits on this earth hunger and thirst, as all mourn. Who has not observed, while wandering on the shore of brief life with wretched men, the careful provision made to satisfy the thirst for riches, the thirst for singularity, the thirst for novelty, the thirst for change, the thirst for honours, the thirst for the first seats, and for hearing Rabbi, the thirst for knowledge, perhaps, so praised by that Chæronean sage, who says, 'that letters and philosophy should imprint in our soul a passion similar to thirst and hunger, which would evince its power if we were deprived of them;' but unless when enjoying such visions from reverting to the traditions and monuments of ages of faith, where, O where is there any indication discernable among Adam's children, of attention to the thirst for justice?"—vol. v. pp. 1-2.

The picture here presented to us, is fully realised in the first part of this volume, in which the author undertakes to shew us this thirst for justice, existing in a degree, almost to us unintelligible. Of this supernatural grace, the Church, the human means by which it lives, must also be the continual exponent; her voice must give utterance to the deep feelings which she has been the means of implanting; and accordingly, in a disquisition of even greater learning and poetry, than that in which he treats of the material beauty of her cathedrals, Mr. Digby penetrates into all the exquisite analogies, all the hidden meaning, all the divine graces veiling themselves beneath the finest creations of human intellect, with which her offices are so replete. Thus filling the souls and senses of her followers, with unspeakable joy, she yet suffered them not to rest there: contrary to all human laws, they were to find their only peace in that intense desire, which could not be satisfied in this world; and faithfully in those Christian ages were her invitations responded to. Astonishing is the number of instances Mr. Digby has collected, to shew the prevalence of a deep religious feeling in those days.

The beatitude promised to this grace must have been in part at least accomplished even in this life; and, accordingly, early in the second part of this treatise we are reminded that the

Church, "by such indications of spiritual thirst, understood something more than barren sighs or empty symbols. 'Constitutum est,' says an ancient author, 'veram devotionem non tam in precationibus quam imitatione consistere.'*" She knew of no justice towards God, which did not include analogous duties towards man; of no beatitude for those who were unwilling to combat, and who did not exert all their efforts to win by perseverance the celestial crown."† And the author thence proceeds to trace this love of justice in the institutions of the people; this was exquisite where they owed their existence to the Church, and where it was otherwise, they were still so deeply modified by the sense of the divine presence and justice, that it might with truth be said that there was more of human compassion in the working out even of what might be termed abuses than in the best modern institutions. And not only in the spirit of their institutions, but in the religious peace of families, and in the holy simple lives led by such multitudes of souls, thirsting for the blessedness of heaven, did Catholics of the middle ages experience the promised blessing even on earth.

We are compelled from want of space to pass over the next beatitude of the merciful. It seems to us that of all subjects this is the one upon which the *least* injustice has been done by Protestants to the middle ages; the one upon which indeed injustice was least *possible*: so many and so various are the charitable institutions of our ancestors, which have come down even to our days, that the moderns are compelled to admit the facts, even while depreciating the motives from whence they sprang. The author of the *Ages of Faith* has put together so rich a compilation of works of mercy, spiritual and temporal, that we are tempted to think that those must indeed have been the times when God designed "to wipe away the tears from all eyes." If it was not literally so—if the tears of suffering humanity still flowed,—at least no pang was left unsoothed by pitying tenderness. Blessed indeed must have been those who could at all times have recourse to this boundless charity—*twice* blessed, in every feeling of their souls, in every prospect which they took of their lives, past or to come, whether that contemplation were spiritual or temporal, were those who acted under its influence.

The eighth volume opens in a solemn strain; the author seems awed on approaching that beatitude which would enable men "to see God." Let us learn what was this mystic virtue which

* Instruct. Novit. iii. c. 4.

† Vol. vi. p. 7.

stood, as it were, in the gate of heaven. "As health is the nature of the body," says St. Bernard, "so purity is the nature of the heart; for with a disturbed eye God cannot be seen; and the human heart is made for this end, that it should see its Creator."* By cleanness of heart was understood, therefore, a restoration of the original state of the human character, and consequently something very different from that condition of conscience at which men arrive by natural means; the purity of which may be estimated by one single observation, that there is no inconsistency between the sense of the modern proposition, "that the majority of men, by a happy necessity, are constrained to be moral," and the conclusion to which Socrates came, "that men do much more evil than good, beginning from their childhood;"† a testimony of human reason to its own misery, which is borne also by the ancient poet, who declares, "that few there are whom just God loves, or ardent virtue raises to the sky."‡ "The purity of heart which led to blessed vision, was understood in ages of faith to consist in conformity with the divine image."§ There follows a profound disquisition upon this cleanness of heart extending itself to the senses, the passions, the whole nature of man; of which, says the author, "They [the moderns] have yet to learn that the abuse, not the use, of nature was condemned by it."|| The source, the intention, of Catholic austerities, is here admirably fathomed; and the distinction is drawn betwixt them and those Protestant imitations of them, which are so often practically injurious, and seem, in fact, rather drawn from the Manichean principle, than from any heaven-inspired knowledge of the nature and condition of man. Having thus afforded us a glimpse of this purity of heart, he proceeds to show us how the promise was fulfilled, and the intellect being purified, with the desires, was enabled to penetrate all wisdom, and even to its source. The book may be termed a hymn of gratulation and triumph to the ages and saints (for the terms were then synonymous) of the middle ages; and it is a splendid one. And when the author, descending from this high theme, shows us how the human mind—deprived of that cleanness of heart which faith alone can give, yet following still its natural instinct in seeking a power and intelligence beyond its own—becomes lost in the mazes of magic sorcery, and other diabolical deceptions, the interest of the book is thrilling, and the depth of the author's investigations startles us. There are times when we feel

* De Divin. Serm. XIV. † Plato Hippias major. ‡ Æneid, tom. vi. 129.

§ Vol. viii. p. 6.

|| Ibid. p. 8.

inclined to censure in Mr. Digby a want of his usual gentle philosophy, when speaking of "the moderns : " the ancient sages of Greece and Rome he ever treats with compassionating veneration. It has evidently been his noble purpose to collect the scattered rays of human wisdom, and to shew them all pointing towards the high climax to which the Catholic Church brought the men who lived under her dominion : but the bitterness of controversy has touched even his spirit, so that acknowledgments of their own fallacies are what he has chiefly culled from the "modern philosophers ;" yet many of these have been men, who, amidst indescribable contradictions and discouragements, have worked out from the depths of their own hearts—holding fast by the lights they possessed—truths that the saints of Catholicity would not have disdained. In this volume, where most frequently Protestants are directly addressed, the author has shown how deeply he can discriminate the natures even of those most opposed to him. We quote one passage, of which the concluding portion struck us as being peculiarly truthful and tender.

"The moral restraints of the Catholic religion, and her correcting hand, are more than sufficient to shut out her truth from passion's slave, and him who still to worth has been a willing stranger. The great characteristics of men who oppose it on this ground are not those of Plato's philosopher, 'a hatred of falsehood and a love of truth,'* but a hatred of what is not habitual and pleasing to them—of what is not associated with ideas that inspire self-esteem, and a love of what custom, domestic interests, and the innumerable bonds of the world have made dear to them. Such lovers of glory, as Plato would call them, are very angry if we only mention the name of authors who have written to prove the truth of the Catholic religion : 'We feel no inclination to look into them,' they say, with an expression of contempt,—nay, like Epicurus, they are ready to make war against dialectics, and deny the sense of the words, either yes or no, thinking to be acute too ; though Cicero asks, in allusion to such reasoners, 'Quo quid dici potest obtusius?' 'Tis passion hangs these weights upon their tongue. But what is this, unless being angry with truth ? And how stained must be the heart in which such aversion dwelleth !

"Whoever attempts to recommend it must then expect to hear such words as Paris addressed to Antenor, 'do not persist in saying to me that this creed is true, for it pleaseth me not.'

— σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις·
οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοῆσαι.†

* De Repub. lib. vi.

† Iliad, vii. 357.

“Indeed, if you will hear men, of deep mysterious vision into the secrets of the spiritual world, you will be inclined to think that the implacable hatred, which some in different ages have evinced against this holy cause, could only be accounted for by tracing it to a certain instinct, which tells them, as St. Anselm says, ‘that the consummation of the saints will be to such as perish interminable grief and everlasting ruin.’ Doubtless, ancient poets say with more truth than is often imagined, ‘that the crimes of ancestors cause men to experience the enmity of the avenging ministers of Heaven.’ How else can one explain the language that now finds favour among men of noble descent, and in every other respect of gentle manners? ’tis like the drops from the heart of the Furies bearing death to mortals. Who will appease the bitter strength of the black wave? But every where the mists are gathering between truth, and all but the clean of heart. Where nations have been separated, the very affections of nature interpose, as they did in the first age of the Church. St. Clement of Alexandria met the difficulty in this manner. You say, ‘it is not well and honourable to turn aside from the custom of our fathers. Why, then,’ he adds, ‘do you not continue to use the nurse’s milk to which they first accustomed you? why do you increase or diminish the substance they left you? If they left you an evil and Atheistic custom of life, why should you not seek the truth, and your real true Father? * Where the heart is not purified by humility, wisdom herself becomes an obstacle, and men conclude that their position without the Church, verifies the maxim of Cardan, that it is sometimes better to persist in a bad choice than afterwards to vary one’s course by choosing a better. † Though Homer would suffice to convict them of error in following it, since he makes a heavenly tongue declare, that the minds of the good can be converted; *στρεπταί μὲν τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν*.

“Nor is this all; for the mind is blinded to the light of truth, oftener, perhaps, by regarding the dazzling brightness of its own virtues, than by involving itself in the clouds of vice. Men of the best and sweetest natures engage in holy offices of charity and instruction, in emulation of what they read in Catholic books; and the very zeal and energy with which they pursue them, may, unknown to themselves, be in exact proportion to the depth of the secret wound, which the fiery dart of truth may have inflicted on their conscience, at some former period of their lives, and they remember it not.”—vol. viii. pp. 101-3.

The intention of this work is “illustration and not controversy;” yet throughout it runs a strain of pure and profound theology, which must refresh the heart and renovate the ideas of every divine; and this volume, of which the purpose is to show the different effects of the light which is derived from heaven, and that sought on earth, abounds in it.

* Protrepticus, c. x. † De Vita propria, lib. i. c. xi. ‡ Iliad, xv. 213.

We have arrived at the last-published volume, which it was our immediate purpose to introduce to our readers. It is one of great interest, for there is no proposition that to modern readers appears so paradoxical as that which in this volume Mr. Digby has undertaken to prove,—that in those days when wars were so continual, and even the amusements bore so warlike a character, peaceful desires and a peaceful nature were the prevailing characteristics of the children of the Church. It must not be supposed that the author denies the turbulence and horrors of war with which they were afflicted;—on the contrary those awful calamities which from time to time ravaged the earth, are set forth at the very commencement with great power: their horrors are not diminished; but we are warned to consider them as they were then considered by the humble Catholics, as interruptions to the general order of things,—scourges, the chastisements of God's wrath upon a guilty world: but the heart of the people was not with them; a sort of moral reprobation rested upon the disturbers of peace, and wherever the fear of God remained in the breasts, even of the greatest warriors, remorse was certainly awakened for peace broken and suffering occasioned. Where war could not be prevented, how earnest and successful were the endeavours to mitigate its horrors. With our ancestors arose all the many restraints which chivalrous courtesy and honour threw over human passion, and all those “laws of Christian warfare” which it is still held infamous to break. And how fervent were the efforts of the Church, and of all her faithful children, to reconcile differences, to release captives, to procure the observance of truces, and to improve every opportunity for obtaining peace. At times the desire of the people for this inestimable blessing assumed an intensity and religious character truly sublime. As for instance, those processions of the “Whites,” as they were termed, when, in the fourteenth century, Italy being exhausted with war, the people rose spontaneously, and, clothing themselves in white, formed themselves into peaceful and pious processions, which went through the country singing litanies, and imploring “peace and mercy” with such fervour, that all enmities were reconciled upon their passage. We cannot resist the desire to make an extract or two from Mr. Digby's account of this curious phenomenon in human history.

“Another ancient writer* thinks that this devotion first began in Ire-

* *Annales Forolivienses*, ap. Murat, tom. xxii.

land or Scotland. It is curious to hear how the learned Leonardus Aretinus speaks, while lamenting the cause which led to these processions. 'At this time there was no rest from war. All works were martial. Louis of Anjou now came into Italy, and at his coming the Florentines and people of Arezzo were alarmed. In the dreadful night when our city was taken, that most cruel of all the nights I can remember, my father was cast into prison, with John bishop of Arezzo, and other great men of the side opposed to the conquerors; but because I was a boy, they placed me, not with the other captives, but in a more decent chamber, in which there was a picture of Francis Petrarch, which I daily gazed upon; and I was inflamed with an incredible ardour for his studies. Shortly after the departure of the French, there was a wonderful movement of the people, for all the multitude put on white, and with certain penitential exercises proceeded to the neighbouring cities, crying peace and mercy. Truly it was an admirable and incredible thing. The peregrination lasted generally ten days, and the fast was on bread and water. No one was seen in the cities otherwise clad. There was free access to all towns, though but lately hostile. No one then attempted any kind of deceit or oppression. There was a tacit understanding between enemies, to keep peace. The movement lasted about two months. Wonderful was the hospitality and benign entertainment then exercised by all the cities one with the other. Whence this began is obscure. From the Alps it came into Cisalpine Gaul; and the people of Lucca were the first to come to Florence. At the sight of their procession the Florentines were seized with ardour, and they who before derided what they heard, were the first to put on white; and, as if impelled by God, joined the processions. An innumerable multitude of the Florentines proceeded then to Arezzo, and others went to other places; and wherever they came, the people of the place did the same."*

"Let us hear a Dominican friar speak of this devotion. 'In 1400, in the month of September, there was a wonderful event in Italy, for at that time multitudes of men and women clothed themselves in white, and went about carrying the cross or the standard of some saint; and when the body of Christ was raised at the altar, they used to cry often 'Misericordia, misericordia.' And I remember, while celebrating at the altar of St. James, that I was terrified at the novel kind of clamour. But, they went processionally like brothers, some singing 'Misericordia, Signor' Iddio, non guardate al nostro errore,' and others sung, 'Stabat Mater dolorosa;' and thus each society had its song: and they fasted nine days, and some went barefoot. Some bishops and some monks went with them to lords of states and castles too, and preached to them; and many were reconciled to each other, who had before been mortal enemies, and some bore candles in their hands;

* Leonardi Aretini Comment. ap. Murat, tom. xix.

and they went thus, singing day and night: and coming from the mountains and other adjacent places, there were about twenty thousand persons in the great square of Friuli. And the same occurred in all other cities excepting the wise Venice.”*—vol. ix. pp. 82-84.

And again:—

“And on the Sunday the blessed company, which by this time was estimated at sixteen thousand persons, all clad in white, came to Lemen; where it remained also on the Monday and the Tuesday, making peace between an infinite number of persons; only that on the Monday two hundred of the company went to Zonio to make peace between the men of Ultra Agugia and those of Cornello, of St. John, and certain others of the communes of the valley of Brembana; and on the Wednesday the blessed company came to the mountain of Fara; and celebrated peace between many; and one most remarkable was that between Bertosolo and the brother of Bosellis, and their adherents, on the one hand, and John de Bosellis and his sons, and Patasellus and Lotta of Bosellis, and their adherents, on the other; and about nones on Wednesday they left the mountain, and went to pass the night in the territory of upper and lower Alzano and of Nimbo, making peace between multitudes; and on the Thursday the said company, which now amounted to twenty thousand persons and more, remained there and in the adjoining districts; and peace was made between those of Cumenduno and of Desinzano and their adherents, and of upper Albino on the one hand, and those of lower Albino with their adherents on the other; and on that day about one thousand of the blessed brigade went to Gazanica and Vertua, and made peace between many Guelphs and Gibellines. On the Friday, the blessed company, all clad in white, came back to the mountain of Fara; and it was about the eighteenth hour; and then peace was made between innumerable persons, and forgiveness was passed for all homicides, robberies, and injuries of every kind; and the sermon was preached by brother Aloysius de Scalve, of the order of St. Francis; and he dismissed the multitude with benedictions, and all returned to their habitations; and the said brother, in his sermon, said that every one of them ought to say a Pater and an Ave ever afterwards, in memory of the said blessed company, and in order that the Lord God might preserve a good and tranquil peace.”†—vol. ix. p. 86.

And when this blessed peace was granted, how sincere it was!—how guileless! Amidst much to deplore and to grieve for, the civil wars of Spain have afforded us an instance of this quick, joyful return of the hearts of Catholics to their natural state of peace. Civil war had raged for years,—the passions of men had been excited to the fiercest pitch of animosity,—but

* Fra, Hieron. *Chronicon Foroliviense*, ap. Muratori *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xix.
 † *Chronicon Bergomense*, ap. id. tom. xvi.

they became sensible that the objects sought on either side were unattainable—that further strife served only to waste human life—and the arms dropt from their hands. Within a week, as we were told, the soldiers, in their blood-stained dresses, were working in the fields along with those who had been their deadliest enemies. Vengeance was not sought—woes and losses were forgiven—and this desperate and bloody strife has left behind it less of rancour, or of the seed of future misery, than an ordinary electioneering contest in an English town;—a fact unnoticed by those who with hard-hearted contempt or insolence, triumphed or sneered at this deadly contest; yet it is one worthy deep attention. And such was the peace of the middle ages—so guileless, so profound—and this peace pervaded their society. Eternal wrangling was not heard amongst the good and the peaceful; they at least knelt at the same altars, and together prayed for the peace of the same “Jerusalem.” National hatred did not raise up barriers. The Church was the common mother of nations; their families were peaceful, for meekness and humility ensured peace. Science was purified from strife, for men knew and recognized in each other one common motive. Their law courts were silent—idle—for the love of gain did not possess men’s hearts; and when, through frailty, dissensions did arise, the solemn offices and tender remonstrances of the Church invited men, in a language all understood and loved, to lay aside their differences, and accept the benediction of peace and charity from her holy ministers. We must not further weaken Mr. Digby’s arguments by detailing them. We conclude by earnestly recommending this work to our readers. It contains food for all minds. The wisest will find in it a strain of a high, clear, pure, and (in these days) a new philosophy. The historian and the antiquarian will find light thrown upon the manners of many times and many people. The poet will be charmed with the strains of lofty eloquence, and the many touching and beautiful stories it contains. Many we think will desire “to build up their minds” upon the wisdom of the Christian schools here collected and illustrated: and none, we are sure, can read it without being soothed by its harmonious eloquence, and entertained by a diversity of pleasing and new ideas.

ART. II.—*Autobiography of Charles Waterton*, (annexed to his "Essays on Natural History.") London, 1838.

AS a writer on natural history, Mr. Waterton has long been well known, and we can add nothing to the just meed of praise which public opinion has already awarded him for his efforts in this way. We feel grateful to him for having combined our instruction and our amusement so skilfully together, and we acknowledge that he has given us that most salutary of all pleasures which proceeds from a revival of the feelings of our youth. We have been for an hour or two birdnesting with him in his woods, as blithely as if we had never read a syllable of newspaper or black-letter in our lives. He has recalled to us, for a passing hour, the serenity of soul, more delightful than accidental pleasure, with which we too used once to contemplate the scenes which he loves to describe. For be it known to you, good sir, that we have not always worn a dressing-gown and spectacles, and these fingers have held other things than this stump of a pen. We were not born a ready-made writer, with a quill growing behind our ear, taking to ink as soon as we could waddle, with as natural an instinct as that which guides a duckling to a puddle. There are two kinds of ornithologists. Those who kill birds to stuff *them*, and those who kill birds to stuff themselves. Mr. Waterton belongs to the first class. We used to belong to the other, and enforced the game laws stoutly against those anomalous creatures, which being themselves of most harmless natures, have caused the deaths of more men than all the tigers in Bengal. But that was never our chief pleasure in the woods and fields. We always thought the keeper's office much more interesting than that of the sportsman; and many is the hour we have spent in the grey mornings, when the sun used to shine brighter than it does now, crouched under the thick covert, to watch the bright-eyed jay, as it peered into every nook and crevice for objects of food and mischief, and chattered to itself in such grotesque and varied tones as have made us laugh outright. We have loved to see the energetic little weasel run briskly and busily about, stopping here and there to look and listen, with the air of one who was seeking something he had lost; and then, after rustling away under the grass and dry leaves, we have seen him return with the poor dormouse or wren which he had surprised,—and with his high and powerful neck outstretched, to keep his burden off the ground, toddle away with

it into his hole in the mossy bank. We remember, too, those still cool evenings, when having hurried from the dinner-table, and resumed our shooting-dress, we used to take our stand where we could wait for magpies or woodpigeons coming to roost, or surprise the rabbits, sacred to juvenile sportsmen, as they popped in and out of their burrows;—and think how pleurably we used to watch the wheeling bat and sailing owl, labouring in their vocation among the flies and field-mice! Mr. Waterton's book renews in us the freshness of those days, and makes us long to bring them back again. There is a new bloom upon the heart of young life more delicate and lovely than that which adorns its cheek. Contact with the world immediately brushes it off, and it returns no more. There is a delicate warmth of soul which remains in man for the first few years of his existence, as if he brought with him from his Maker's hand something of its celestial temper. It is soon lost in this cold sphere; but by a secret and mysterious affinity, the scenes of beautiful nature, where the work of God is yet uncontaminated by man's polluting touch, revive that latent sympathy within us towards all that is innocent and serene. Undefined and inexplicable emotions flutter in the heart. Our soul for a moment seems to taste again long-forgotten sweets. We feel joy and light-heartedness. We think of the days of our youth, and wonder what there is in green fields and sunny days which causes such delicious dreams. If the study of nature be not in itself a virtue, it assuredly has a strong tendency to make men virtuous.

It is from this secret connexion with the sweetness of early innocence, that pastoral writers who have studied nature from herself and for her own sake,—who have sought her, simply intending to enjoy the sight of her beauty, and not of making books to explain, by specious theories, how it comes to pass that she is so charming—have derived their fascinating power. They seem to have written rather to revive their pleasure than to parade their experience, and to be musing aloud upon their goddess's perfections rather than to be heralding them forth. Your men of high talent and deep research in styles of book-making, who betray in every page a consciousness of publicity, and a hankering after note-books; your scientific gentleman, with half the capital letters of the alphabet dancing attendance after his name, whose learning for the love of wisdom has long given place to learning for the love of fame; your celebrated naturalist author, who would rather write nonsense than not

write at all, who prefers to risk a dozen erroneous suppositions rather than endure the reproach of producing nothing new; your philosophic idler, whose connexion with choice museums and societies, industrious in trifles, tempts him to that little half-understood reading which generates a little writing less than half comprehensible; the whole tribe of those who think by deputy, and observe by deputy, and are convinced by deputy; those who send other people to rummage nature for them, and appeal to other people to know what they are to think of what they see, who adopt an argument only when it is popular, and have no satisfaction in their own, until the public, who know nothing of the matter, has approved of it—all these fail to win the secret of this charm. The pampered inhabitant of the city, who lounges about with fashionable nonchalance, in self-satisfied certainty that he has but to show himself, and nature will reveal all her loveliness to his exquisite comprehension, is usually most wonderfully disappointed. His very look carries profanation in it, and she shrinks from his advances. Though late improvements have enabled him to summon, for his luxury, many of her rarest and choicest productions, which till lately were denied to all but those who would seek them in the valley where they grew,—still, thank heaven! she will not yet allow herself to be ordered up to town, like fresh fish and asparagus. The same law which requires her waters to be still, before they can give back the reflection of her beauties, denies the like privilege to the anxious and agitated soul of the worldly-minded man. The same unsearchable Providence, which gives a health and vigour to the wild rover of the hills, denied to the tame and captive animal, seems to impart to the intellect of him who searches for wisdom in the freshness of nature, a healthiness which we vainly pant for in the feverish lucubrations of those whose minds are morbidly excited in the fermenting mass of urban society.

In both writing and painting it is easy to perceive something more true and grateful in the rude sketch from nature, than in finished copies from works of art. There are certain characteristics which all notice in the original. The more cultivated the eye is, the greater the number of these beauties which it will observe, and each observer selects some which another might have neglected. There is no mistaking the copyist for one whom nature herself has taught to describe, either by pencil or by pen. How strenuously have popular writers at all times, and never more than now, laboured with artificial ease to walk as naturally in the track of those primi-

tive pastoral writers whom all generations have praised; and how few have succeeded! And why? Because they write on what they have heard and read of, and not what they have *felt*. Indeed, it too commonly happens that they do not write at all for the sake of their professed subject, and that has nothing to do with any part of the book except the titlepage. There are people perpetually trying, under cover of green leaves, to smuggle into our notice their unmerchanted speculations upon all sorts of topics; who avail themselves of our natural liking for all that relates to nature, to cheat us into looking at their book; and calculate that we must be in a tranquil and patient mood when we seek such subjects, and therefore much enduring of their impertinence. With what intense disgust have we thrown down the frequent volume which had tempted us, by the promise of an intellectual treat, to taste what was merely a device for cramming the author's favourite theory down our unsuspecting throats. In these days, this propensity to convert innocent matters into stalking-horses for a writer's hobby, this literary swindling, this plotting to obtain readers under false pretences, knows no bounds, and we think government would do well to look to it. If a fanatic cannot get for his controversial arguments, and his religious ravings, all the attention he desires, he sugars over his villainous compound with a mass of loose dialogue and second-rate anecdote, and begs you to swallow that, as a religious novel, which you would refuse as a dose of polemics. If a desperate politician has to disseminate newly discovered, but doubtless most important doctrines, among that enlightened public, which authors always find in darkness upon the one point on which they can enlighten it; if he is desirous of making covert attacks upon a personal or political foe, and to cut deeply without exposing himself to retaliation,—he knows better than to affront the received opinions or principles of mankind, and so he writes a book on history, or grammar, or familiar letters on some subject as unlike his real topic as possible, and gradually misleads you, by inuendoes and digressions, into a suggestion of the idea he would have you adopt. And if a scientific person should accidentally discover among the sweepings of his mind, a certain stock of unfinished materials for thinking, of which in his ordinary occupations he can make no direct use, he takes some leisure hour on his sofa, which he will poetically describe as his sickbed, to trim them up into handsome plausibilities, and writes a book on rural subjects—fly-fishing for example—to introduce them to the world. To use

a simile, which on such a subject may be excused, they act as gamekeepers say the fox does, who will walk round the hare he means to have home for dinner, in gradually diminishing circles, without once turning directly towards his victim, or appearing conscious of his vicinity, till the last fatal dash makes escape impossible. For our part, we have been so often sacrificed to these cruel tricks, and suffered so much disappointment from "the deep damnation of our taking in," that we scarcely dared to trust our full attention and interest to Mr. Waterton's little book of *Essays* till we had made considerable progress through it. We certainly jogged on together sociably enough from the first page, but we could not help eyeing our companion suspiciously at every turn which looked like a digression, lest in the crafty experience of age he might have lost the ingenuousness which beamed over his youthful *Wanderings*; and we might suddenly find ourselves in company with a horrid lecturer on politics, or metaphysics, or some other abominable invention, when we had hoped to meet with a hearty admirer of beautiful nature. However, (except in the chapter about the Hanoverian rat, at which we could not find it in our hearts to take offence) we arrived safe at the end of his volume, without having seen the cloven foot, and we humbly thank him for some hours of delightful society. Since we read Izaak Walton's unrivalled book, nothing of this kind has pleased us so much. Mr. Waterton's style is very different from Izaak's; especially because he so often refuses to trust his own language with the expression of his meaning, and runs into endless Latin quotations; but still in its effect it produces as much pleasure, and much the same sort of pleasure, to his reader, as that which comes from *The Complete Angler*. We wish there were more of this class of writers, to make one forget the anxieties and turmoils of life, and relieve one's aching nerves from the weight of manhood's world, by causing us to forget it among boyhood's feelings. But they are scarce, and will be scarcer. While there are such multitudes of persons making themselves miserable with scrutinizing the constitution of England, how few are there, who, like Mr. Waterton, will make themselves happy in a familiar contemplation of her rural loveliness. In our times men are too much occupied in speculations on the economy of man to be fit for noticing the economy of birds. The history of political parties has put natural history out of countenance, and political leaders have so far outstripped tomtits in the noble art of feathering their nests, as, in parliamentary phrase,

to have kept politicians "in," and pastorals "out." The country is deserted even by the country gentlemen. The hills are delivered over to railroad companies to be cut down, and the vallies are built up by factories. Instead of the graceful curling of the cottage smoke, there rolls a volume of ponderous vapour from a steam furnace. The once limpid streams have taken all the colours of the rainbow from dyes and minerals, and the fish are poisoned. The very birds can hardly hear themselves sing, for the blasting of rocks and the roaring of engines. The old Squire is come to town. The heat of crowded Houses delights him more than the warmth of the wide blazing hearth in the old hall. He will forget the boasted fireside of his ancestors in the heat of debate, and learn to represent their hospitality by a visiting card. The new game-laws, and the great national improvements in poaching, have destroyed his pheasants. His fox-hunts are cut up by railways. He is plagued every two or three months by finding some new variety of parliamentary commissioner in the neighbourhood. The village parson is not what he used to be, but talks of church-rates, and the Bishop of Exeter; and shakes his head mysteriously when the Queen's health is drunk. No wonder that all this should have driven the squire to London. Poor old gentleman!—you may see him any day sauntering about Parliament-street. He generally dines at one of the Clubs, and goes to the House in the evening; but since, for aught we know, it may be a breach of privilege to say what he does there, we leave him, with a sigh, that the interesting race of people to which he once belonged, should, like several of the choicest of our British birds, as Mr. Waterton assures us, be rapidly growing extinct. Mr. Waterton (we judge only from his writings) must be himself a fine specimen of an old English country gentleman. He seems to have a frankness and goodness of heart about him that delights us much. His is quite a different mind from that of Izaak Walton. Izaak never seems to have contemplated the possibility of having an enemy. He is all simplicity and kindness. Mr. Waterton, on the contrary, has been unable to shut his eyes to the fact that *he* had many enemies, when all his ancestral monuments and records told him of the persecution his family had endured for their faith, and he himself in his youth had felt that he belonged to a proscribed race. We trace the effect of this consciousness almost in every page. Had he lived in freedom he would perhaps have troubled himself as little with political allusions, and spoken as gently and serenely on natural his-

tory and rural matters, as old Walton himself; but politics would not let him alone; and under the smart of penal laws, who could be oblivious of his degraded state? It is wonderful that his spirit should have remained so elastic after so long a depression. He does occasionally say severe things of Protestant government; and seems to hate Henry VIII, Queen Bess, and Dutch William, with the same sort of hatred with which he hates the gamekeepers who shoot his hawks and owls; but there is little more of malice in his anger than would be expressed by a shake of the head, and an exclamation that they are "sad scoundrels!" The prevailing tone of his mind seems to be a strong religious feeling. He appears to love nature more, because it is the work of God, and to love God the more because He is the author of nature. He evidently has found a suggestion of piety in every object, and a time to praise Providence in every occasion, though he seldom obtrudes his reflections upon the reader. His references to religion are not as to something morose and gloomy, which could damp his ardour for amusement or science, or clog his energies in his daily avocations; but he looks on it rather as an influence which had comforted him when he most lacked comfort,—the companion of his solitude, and the pride of his life. He tells us of his schoolboy scrapes with a schoolboy's gaiety; records his vow of temperance with a cordiality that would astonish the Temperance Society; and even alludes to the wrongs which his family and his country have borne from the Church establishment, in a tone where there is more of sorrow than of anger. But we shall have to speak more particularly of his political opinions presently, as we proceed to notice some of the chief points of his autobiography, making here and there such remarks as occurred to us while we perused it.

Here is his picture of himself, by way of frontispiece:—

"I was born at Walton Hall, near Wakefield, in the county of York, some five-and-fifty years ago: this tells me I am no chicken: but, were I asked how I feel with regard to the approaches of old age, I should quote Dryden's translation of the description which the Roman poet has given us of Charon:—

'He seemed in years, yet in his years were seen
A vernal vigour and autumnal green.'

In fact, I feel as though I were not more than thirty years old. I am quite free from all rheumatic pains; and am so supple in the joints, that I can climb a tree with the utmost facility. I stand six feet high, all but half an inch. On looking at myself in the glass, I can see at once that my face is anything but comely: continual

exposure to the sun, and to the rains of the tropics, has furrowed it in places, and given it a tint which neither Rowland's Kalydor, nor all the cosmetics on Belinda's toilette, would ever be able to remove. My hair, which I wear very short, was once of a shade betwixt brown and black : it has now the appearance as though it had passed the night exposed to a November hoar frost. I cannot boast of any great strength of arm ; but my legs, probably by much walking, and by frequently ascending trees, have acquired vast muscular power : so that on taking a view of me from top to toe, you would say that the upper part of Tithonus has been placed upon the lower part of Ajax. Or, to speak zoologically, were I exhibited for show at a horse fair, some learned jockey would exclaim, he is half Rosinante and half Bucephalus."

The reader may think this a droll account for a man to give of himself. The author tells us that he is induced to give it, not out of vanity or egotism, but because he cannot endure sitting to an artist for the usual sort of headpiece to his book ; and he is obliged to have some sort of frontispiece to the volume ; for that the portrait of the Nondescript at the beginning of the *Wanderings*, has been supposed to be a likeness of his owner. The mistake was an amusing one ; but we confess we think that if the Yorkshire baronet read this account, though he will at once perceive that the person described is not the nondescript, he may not be at all inclined to forego his former sentiment, and may still exclaim, "what a very extraordinary looking man Mr. Waterton must be !"

He goes on to give us some account of his pedigree, which he suspects of being as old as Adam, and recounts some of his ancestral honours, to show that his family had deserved well of their country, and belonged to that fine old Catholic nobility, who won for England her glories abroad, and gave her her constitution at home ; who, when profligate sovereigns, for want of virtue to follow her morality, persecuted the Church, submitted to be persecuted too ; who, when ruffians violated the sanctuary, and drove forth into the cold world the shrinking holiness which had been sheltered there, harboured the poor outcast at their own peril ; and who, when the legislature, forgetting to protect, began to plunder, the patrimony of the poor, and to "squander amongst gamesters, harlots, mountebanks, and apostates," the sacred inheritance which dying saints had left to perpetuate their piety, preferred to suffer penalties, privations, tortures, and death, rather than share in the price of their country's ruin. We heartily concur with Mr. Waterton in thanking heaven that "we Catholics" have

had no hand in that general perversion of all the ancient institutions, which makes the modern demands for reforms so loud and emphatic. England's polity was constructed on Catholic principles, and calculated for being managed by Catholic morality. The machinery of the constitution was beautiful, but it has been worked by unskilful and impure hands, and therefore its operation has become disordered. Reform your people and the constitution will reform itself. England is now in the situation of a spendthrift, who, having got his affairs into confusion by his own fault, is suffering the penalty. Her people had once free-schools, colleges, universities, to instruct them in all their duties to God and their country. The rich can scarcely afford to send their sons to those places of free education now. They had an aristocracy to whom they looked up with respect, for they were virtuous; whose riches they did not envy, for they were honourably spent, and whose power they did not covet, for it protected them. What do they think of the aristocracy now? The poor had then, in the accumulated wealth of the Church, a perpetual source of relief for their necessities; and the hand that administered to them had parental gentleness in it. Libertines have since wasted the funds that should have given the poor protection, food, and education. They told those children of the Church that they would provide better for them than she had done, and then they took them from her care, and made the mother an outcast. What was the protection they received? Mr. Waterton tells us, as a specimen, that in Henry VIII's merciless reign, 72,000 of them were hanged for thieving, being driven thereto by distress. What was the relief they received? Poor laws, charity by statute, and laws against vagrants and beggars; which, though they cannot fairly be said to go the length of making poverty a crime, do at least make it an offence for a man to show that he is poor. They require him to indulge his rich neighbours with the luxury of seeing none but happy faces around them, to trust for relief to abstract ideas of charity, and to abstain from making a direct appeal, by an exhibition of his sufferings, to those better feelings which prompt a man to be charitable. This class of legislation has the great defect of interposing a public functionary, a kind of official representative of the national sympathies, between the person who should feel the charity, and the object who is to receive it. A legal provision for the poor becomes a species of blackmail, a concession to a Christian duty, which, being complied with, is thereafter to prove an exemption from further demands. It

makes generosity come from the hand and not from the heart, and the gift is received as something which a member of the state has a right to claim from it, and for which no thanks are due to any one, as it could not be withheld. It substitutes a civil for a moral obligation, and makes a public command take the place of a personal duty. The rich man gives without compassion, and the poor man receives without gratitude; for besides being ungracious, it is ineffectual. A Procrustean standard of mercy is fixed, adapted to the greatest number of cases, but probably fitting none exactly. Some are not "within the act," and those are not relieved at all; and even with respect to those which are, there is a rudeness exercised upon the most sensitive of feelings, to adapt them to the law. All this may be very necessary if a nation knows no principles but those which lawyers give; but the system habituates all classes to the idea that no duty is necessary that cannot legally be enforced, and hence statutes and decisions upon them become grievously multiplied, and a counsellor has more practice than a confessor.

To return to Mr. Waterton. He tells us that one of his ancestors, in good Queen Mary's days, was High Sheriff of York, and that was "the last public commission held by his family."

"The succeeding reigns brought every species of reproach and indignity upon us. We were declared totally incapable of serving our country; we were held up to the scorn of a deluded multitude, as damnable idolators, and we were unceremoniously ousted out of our tenements; our only crime being a conscientious adherence to the creed of our ancestors, professed by England for nine long centuries before the Reformation."

They also had to pay the usual fines for recusancy, and that so lately, that the father of our author "paid double taxes for some years after he came to the estate." We record these things not in reproach to those whose religion was connected with the maintenance of the penal laws, but simply to contradict those, and they are not few, who affect to disbelieve that the penal laws were really acted upon, by the testimony of the sufferers themselves. We could, if it were necessary, supply many more instances of injustice done to Catholics in very modern times; not only cases in which the penal laws gave colour to bigoted proceedings, but cases in which their enemy calculated that he could act in defiance of all law, and break through the slight protection which the constitution afforded, to even the most rejected of its members, without any fear that

a Catholic could obtain redress from magistrates, juries, or even the judges of the land. But we will not dwell on these sad subjects—sad both to those who endured, and to those who acted such iniquity. We live in better times. But, by the way, Mr. Waterton tells us, that “he, individually, is not much better for the change, for he will never take Sir Robert Peel’s oath,” and is thereby disabled from holding even a commission of the peace, and forced to walk like a stricken deer, apart from the rest of the herd. We think, if our memory serves us right, that his opinion was quoted by the Bishop of Exeter, in one of his speeches, for the purpose of shewing, that the construction which the Right Reverend prelate imputed to the oath, was not so absurd after all, being held by a much better Christian than himself. We will not stop to discuss the point; but we must say, that whatever may be the real meaning of the oath, and whether it can, or cannot, bear the interpretation which Dr. Philpotts suggests, it is quite clear that the terms of it *do* furnish grounds of debate, and that from thence spring up many misrepresentations and reproaches against the Catholics, which, at a time when it was pretended that all their disabilities were to be removed, and they were to have been put on an equal footing with the other subjects of this empire, they ought not to have been exposed to. When we see how excellently well the present wording of the oath serves the views of a particular party, we are inclined to suspect that this was not accidental, but a deliberate, profane purpose, most unworthy of the sincerity of Englishmen. Assuming for a moment that the oath means what the Bishop of Exeter says it did, who, but the party to which he belongs, would not have been ashamed of the paltry treachery, of plotting to make our too easy belief in their sincerity, furnish them with a pretext for taunting us with disregard of oaths? Fie! Fie! see what Protestant fanaticism brings Englishmen to.

Mr. Waterton’s taste for Natural History seems to have been early developed. At eight years old, he does his best to break his neck for a starling’s nest; and at nine, he becomes a species of confessor for the science, under the hands of a country schoolmaster. He goes near to drown himself, by navigating a wash-tub, and dreams so eagerly of his favourite occupation, as to be hardly saved from walking in his sleep out of a window three stories high, fancying himself “on his way to a neighbouring wood, in which he knew of a crow’s nest.” He next goes to study at Stonyhurst College, under the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. We subjoin his own expres-

sion of feeling towards his former masters. It is not a mere complimentary notice of them, but a heartfelt tribute of mature gratitude and manly respect, well worthy of the masters and their pupil. His own character and unsophisticated mind are the best attestation that their management of him was judicious; and that he should duly appreciate, and express so warmly his grateful sense of their care, is part of his character.

"Voltaire said repeatedly, that he could not subvert Christianity, until he had destroyed the Jesuits. Their suppression was at last effected, partly by his own impious writings, and partly by the intrigues of kept mistresses at the different courts, who joined their influence to the already enormous power in the hands of the infidel ministers of the day. The woes unutterable which these poor followers of Jesus Christ had to endure at the hands of the wretches who had caused the breaking up of their order, seemed to have made no alteration in their disposition; for on my arrival at Stonyhurst, I found them mild, and cheerful, and generous to all around them. During the whole of my stay with them, (and I remained at their college till I was nearly twenty years old), I never heard a single expression come from their lips, that was not suited to the ear of a gentleman and a Christian. Their watchfulness over the morals of their people was so intense, that I am ready to declare, were I on my deathbed, I never once had it in my power to open a book in which there was to be found a single paragraph of an immoral tendency.

"My master was Father Clifford, a first cousin of the noble Lord of that name. He had left the world, and all its alluring follies, that he might serve Almighty God more perfectly, and work his way with more security up to the regions of eternal bliss. After educating those entrusted to his charge, with a care and affection truly paternal, he burst a blood-vessel, and retired to Palermo, for the benefit of a warmer climate. There he died the death of the just, in the habit of St. Ignatius.

"One day, when I was in the class of poetry, and which was about two years before I left the college for good and all, he called me up to his room. 'Charles,' said he to me, in a tone of voice perfectly irresistible, 'I have long been studying your disposition, and I clearly foresee that nothing will keep you at home. You will journey into far distant countries, where you will be exposed to many dangers. There is only one way for you to escape them. Promise me that from this day forward, you will never put your lips to wine, or to spirituous liquors. The sacrifice is nothing,' added he, 'but in the end, it will prove of incalculable advantage to you.' I agreed to this enlightened proposal, and from that hour to this, which is now about nine and thirty years, I have never swallowed one glass of any kind of wine, or of ardent spirits.

"At Stonyhurst there are boundaries marked out to the students, which they are not allowed to pass: and there are prefects always

pace to and fro within the lines, to prevent any unlucky boy from straying on the other side of them. Notwithstanding the vigilance of these lynx-eyed guardians, I would now and then manage to escape, and would bolt into a very extensive labyrinth of yew and holly trees close at hand. It was the chosen place for animated nature. Birds in particular, used to frequent the spacious enclosure, both to obtain food, and to enjoy security. Many a time have I hunted there the fowls and the squirrel. I once took a cut through it to a neighbouring wood, where I knew of a carrion crow's nest. The prefect missed me, and judging that I had gone into the labyrinth, he gave chase without loss of time. After eluding him in cover for nearly half an hour, being hard pressed, I took away down a hedgerow. Here, (as I learned afterwards,) he got a distant sight of me, but it was not sufficiently distinct for him to know to a certainty that I was the fugitive. I luckily succeeded in reaching the outbuildings which abutted on the college, and lay at a considerable distance from the place where I had first started. I had just time to enter the postern gate of a pigsty, where most opportunely I found old Joe Bowren, the brewer, bringing straw into the sty. He was more attached to me than to any other boy, for I had known him when I was at school in the north, and had made him a present of a very fine terrier. 'I've just saved myself, Joe,' said I, 'cover me up with litter.' He had barely complied with my request, when in bounced the prefect, by the same gate through which I had entered. 'Have you seen Charles Waterton?' said he, quite out of breath. My trusty guardian answered, in a tone of voice which would have deceived anybody, 'Sir, I have not spoken a word to Charles Waterton these three days, to the best of my knowledge.' Upon this, the prefect, having lost all scent of me, gave up the pursuit, and went his way. When he had disappeared, I stole out of cover, as strongly perfumed as was old Falstaff, when they had turned him out of the buckbasket. * *

"The good fathers were aware of my predominant propensity. Though it was innocent in itself, nevertheless it was productive of harm in its consequences, by causing me to break the college rules, and thus to give bad example to the community at large. Wherefore, with a magnanimity and excellent exercise of judgment, which are only the province of those who have acquired a consummate knowledge of human nature, and who know how to turn to advantage the extraordinary dispositions of those entrusted to their care, they sagaciously managed matters in such a way, as to enable me to ride my hobby to a certain extent, and still, at the same time, to prevent me from giving bad example.

"As the establishment was very large, and as it contained an abundance of prey, the Hanoverian rat, which fattens so well on English food, and which always contrives to thrust its nose into every man's house, when there is any thing to be got, swarmed throughout the vast extent of this antiquated mansion. The abilities which I showed in curtailing the career of this voracious intruder, did not fail to bring

me into considerable notice. The cook, the baker, the gardener, and my friend old Bowren, could all bear testimony to my progress in this line. By a mutual understanding, I was considered ratcatcher to the establishment, and also fox taker, fowmart killer, and crossbow charger, at the time when the young rooks were fledged. Moreover I fulfilled the duties of organ-blower, and football-maker, to the entire satisfaction of the public. I was now at the height of my ambition.

‘Poteras jam, Cadme, videri
— felix.’

I followed up my calling with great success. The vermin disappeared by the dozen; the books were moderately well thumbed, and, according to my notion of things, all went on perfectly right.

“When I had finished my rhetoric, it was my father's wish that I should return home. The day I left the Jesuits' college was one of heartfelt sorrow to me. Under Almighty God and my parents, I owe everything to the fathers of the order of St. Ignatius. Their attention to my welfare was unceasing, whilst their solicitude for my advancement in virtue and in literature, seemed to know no bounds. The permission which they granted me to work in my favourite vocation, when it did not interfere with the important duties of education, enabled me to commence a career, which, in after times, afforded me a world of pleasure in the far distant regions of Brazil and Guiana. To the latest hour of my life, I shall acknowledge with feelings of sincerest gratitude, the many acts of paternal kindness which I so often received at the hands of the learned and generous fathers of Stonyhurst College, ‘Præsidium et dulce decus meum.’”

We trust that the foregoing testimony of one, who, for so many years, had practical evidence that these good men are not the fiends incarnate which some of their enemies represent them to be, may be considered at least as well worthy of credit as the dicta of those who never saw a Jesuit in their lives, who have been trained never to think of one without horror, nor to enquire about them except for the purposes of slander. We can bear testimony that the character of the college and its inmates has not deteriorated, but on the contrary is greatly improved, since Mr. Waterton's days; and the peace and happiness which their former pupil has established in the valley of Walton Hall, among his feathered favourites, is but a type of that which reigns over the district of country which is blessed with their presence. The riots of manufacturers, and the terrors of Chartism, alike disturb it not, when they rage all around that populous neighbourhood. But it will be long before public opinion does justice to the Jesuits. The standard of perfection to which they address themselves, is above the understanding of the world; and ordinary minds, among Catholics

as well as Protestants, will never estimate it. Their self-devotion, their zeal, their calm judgment, in promoting the cause of the true faith, makes them too terrible to its enemies, to allow them to be regarded with less than mortal hatred. They may embellish literature, elevate philosophy, destroy Paganism, form the only connecting link between the civilized and some portions of the uncivilized world, and deserve the proud motto assigned to them by Swift, "*Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris*,"—but their motives are not of this world, their efforts are against the spirit of the world, and the world will have no sympathy with them, nor will it award to them the tribute of its praise. Still will be heard the prayer of their illustrious founder, pleading that their efficiency may not be thawed away in the sunshine of popularity; and from the envy of some, the malice of others, and the hostility of many more, they will continue to suffer persecution for justice sake.

After having left Stonyhurst and finished a week's foxhunting, Mr. Waterton travelled into Spain. He gives an interesting anecdote of Colonel Lyon, of St. Roque, one of those Irish gentlemen whom the penal laws had driven from the armies of England into a foreign service, but whose heart still yearned towards his own inhospitable land, while she had classed him among her enemies.

When Mr. Waterton was at Malaga, the city was visited by the plague and an earthquake, and in spite of quarantines and harbourmasters, he resolved to hazard an escape from the closed port, on board of a fruit ship.

"Our captain had taken the precaution to make out false papers in case of need, on account of the war between Great Britain and France. My brother was entered as a passenger, myself as a Swedish carpenter. We slept on board for many successive nights, in hopes of a fair wind to carry us through the straits. At last a real east wind did come, and it blew with great violence. The captain, whose foresight and precautions were truly admirable, had given the strictest orders to the crew that not a word should be spoken whilst we were preparing to escape. We lay in close tier amongst forty sail of merchantmen. The harbourmaster, having come his usual rounds, and found all right, passed on without making any observations. At one o'clock, post meridiem, just as the governor had gone to the eastward to take an airing in his carriage, as was his custom every day, and the boats of two Spanish brigs of war at anchor in the harbour, had landed their officers for the afternoon's amusements, our vessel worked out clear of the rest, and instantly became a cloud of canvass. The captain's countenance, which was very manly, exhibited a portrait of cool intrepidity rarely seen: had I possessed the power, I would have made

him an admiral on the spot. The vessel drove through the surge with such a press of sail, that I expected every moment to see her top-masts carried away. Long before the brigs of war had got their officers on board, and had weighed in chase of us, we were far at sea; and when night had set in, we lost sight of them for ever; our vessel passing Gibraltar at the rate of nearly eleven knots an hour.

"The wind headed us the following night. After thirty days of cold and stormy weather, we ran the risk of following a fishing boat for want of a pilot, and anchored off Brownsea Castle, near Poole in Dorsetshire; an adverse wind not permitting us to proceed up channel. Here we sent our papers and Consul Laird's certificate up to London. Contrary to my expectations, we received permission in due time to proceed up the Thames."

He had not been long in England, before a desire to 'bask in a warmer sun,' took our author off to Demerara, to superintend his father's estates there. He sailed in November 1804. In 1812, he "gave up the estates to those concerned in them," and his subsequent visits to Guiana were in pursuit of his favourite science of natural history. He recounts several adventures in diplomacy, in peace, and in war, which befel him during his residence on the estates, for which we refer the reader to his little book. We will only quote one passage, which is very characteristic.

"A little before this, (11th September, 1807,) I had received from Colonel Nicholson my commission of Lieutenant in the 2nd regiment of militia. As no declaration had been previously required from me against Transubstantiation, nor any promise that I would support the nine-and-thirty articles of faith by law established, nor any inuendo thrown out, touching the "the devil, the Pope, and the Pretender," I was free in conscience to accept of this commission. It was the first commission that any one of the name of Waterton had received from Queen Mary's days. During that long interval, not a Waterton could be found vicious enough to regain his lost birthright, at the incalculable sacrifice of conscience."

The *Wanderings* include a history of what Mr. Waterton was doing from the spring of 1812, to the beginning of 1825, but he gives some additional anecdotes in his Autobiography, and the Essays which follow it, which are well worth the reading.

In May 1813, Lord Bathurst offered him a commission to explore the interior of Madagascar, but bad health compelled him reluctantly to decline it. An accident which befel him while shooting in England, gives him occasion to expound to the reader the course of medical treatment to which he sub-

jected himself in his solitary travels. It is at least simple enough, but we know not what the College of Physicians would say to such a system. He considers inflammation as the origin of almost all diseases.

"To subdue this at its earliest stage, has been my constant care. Since my four-and-twentieth year, I have been blooded above one hundred and ten times, in eighty of which I have performed the operation on myself with my own hand. This, with calomel and jalap mixed together, as a purgative, with the use of rhubarb in occasional cases of dysentery, and with vast and often repeated potations of powdered Peruvian bark, as a restorative, has enabled me to grapple successfully with sickness when I was far away from medical aid. I am now, I think, in as perfect health as a man can be."

He proposes to try the wourali poison in desperate cases of hydrophobia; and since the publication of this book, we recollect having read in the newspapers that he had once set out with a physician to make this interesting experiment, but the patient died before the philanthropic traveller could reach him. He then makes a defence of his motives for concealing the history of the Nondescript, and of his veracity in the tales of "hair-breadth 'scapes," which appear in his *Wanderings*. As to this latter subject, we profess implicit faith in all the adventures he relates. There is a frank bluntness about Mr. Waterton that is quite inconsistent with the idea that he should be capable of inventing or embellishing with fiction the story he is telling. Besides, his coolness and recklessness of danger are so often apparent in cases where they do not form a prominent part of his narrative, that we never doubt their reality when he describes himself in a situation where an exhibition of those qualities was necessary.

In concluding his autobiography, Mr. Waterton indulges himself with a few parting kicks at the Established Church. There is a burlesque ode in Latin and English for the Fifth of November, and an allusion, (full of the feeling of one who suffers like a man, enduring much without lamentation or yielding), to the continued sufferings of those who think as he does, on the ground of their religion. As to the practice of preaching sermons and firing squibs and tar-barrels on Cecil's holiday, he does not exactly understand how necessary it is, for the moral atmosphere of Protestant England, that these annual explosions should come to clear the air. He does not justly appreciate the quantity of noxious vapour which forms these thunders, and is consumed by them.

For our part, these exhibitions excite in our minds more of sadness than of indignation. We look upon the annual rejoicings for their escape, as a confession by those who utter them, that their Church is not inaccessible to dangers, but that human attacks might have prevailed against it; and the name of the pope sounds mournfully in our ears, as if out of the mouths of her deluded sons there came year after year a warning to England that she had apostatized. However, we trust that the time is fast coming, when the wounded spirit of our autobiographer will no longer be annoyed by these remnants of blind bigotry; when the faith of his fathers will once more be treated with the respect with which England ought to regard the source of her glories; when the rare grace of reconversion for the second time shall have inspired her with a grateful zeal, worthy of her natural warm-heartedness, to repair that which she has done ill, and to make the future more than a compensation for her temporary falling off. There will be many glad hearts in England on that day. We pray that Mr. Waterton may live to see it; and, at least in anticipation of that bright hope, that his spirit may never in future smile less sunnily than it seems to do among the scenes which he describes in his *Wanderings* and his *Essays*.

- ART. III.—1. *Origenes Liturgicæ, or Antiquities of the English Ritual*. By the Rev. William Palmer, M.A., of Worcester College, Oxford. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford: 1832.
2. *A Treatise on the Church of Christ; designed chiefly for the use of Students in Theology*. By the Rev. William Palmer, M.A., Worcester College. 2 vols. London: 1838.
3. *A Sermon, preached at the Chapel Royal in St. James's Palace, on the First Sunday after Trinity, June 17, 1838*. By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D. London: 1838.
4. *Tracts for the Times*. By Members of the University of Oxford. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1838.

LET not the reader infer, from the obvious tendency of the publications, the titles of which are prefixed to this article, that we intend to inflict on his patience a long and tedious theological disquisition. Our object is historical, not controversial; the investigation of facts, not the discussion of doctrines. Hitherto it has been generally believed, that the reformation in England was in reality the work of the civil

power, which ousted the old Church, and intruded a new Church by act of parliament: and truly, when we read that the actual governors of the Church were changed, the bishops in possession being ejected, and new men put into their places; that the public worship of the Church was changed, the sacrifice of the mass being abolished, and another service substituted for it; and that the acknowledged doctrines of the Church were changed, many of its former tenets and practices being condemned, and new articles of religion promulgated; when, in a word, we behold bishops, worship, doctrine, all swept away, and little remaining of the old establishment but the bare walls of the religious edifices which it had raised and consecrated; we do not see how it was possible for reasonable men to come to any other conclusion. Lately, however, a new light has burst upon us from Oxford, to dispel the darkness which covered the ecclesiastical transactions of former times,—we mean those of the reigns of Henry, the meek reformer; of Edward, his theological child, and of Elizabeth, his immaculate daughter. To these distinguished characters, it now appears, that much injury has been done by history as it has been hitherto written. They may, indeed, have filled their own coffers and the purses of their flatterers with ecclesiastical plunder—that is not denied; but placed in this new light, they stand forth to our view, the two first as nursing fathers, the latter as a nursing mother, to the Church of their time: they are represented as aiding her efforts with their secular influence, and respecting her spiritual independence. Instead of reforming her by force, as we had been led to suppose, they only enabled her to reform herself: so that the English Church of Protestant times is the very same with the English Church of Catholic times; exactly, says Dr. Hook, “as a man who has washed his face in the morning, remains the same man as he was before he had washed.”* Hence it follows that the Church of the Augustines, the Anselms, the Grossetests, still rears her venerable front among us: she has never been ousted of her original seat, never replaced by another: she experienced nothing more than the renovation of washing, under the pious sway of the monarchs whom we have mentioned. She had been, indeed, a true daughter of the scarlet lady of Babylon,—a daughter as deeply steeped in iniquity as ‘the foul, filthy, old withered harlot,’† her Roman mother; but she profited by the opportunity,—cast off her garments of

* Hook, Sermon, p. 7.

† Homily against Peril of Idolatry, p. 2.

defilement, plunged into the lavatory of the Reformation, and then came forth to the world, robed in truth and holiness, the pure and apostolic Church now established by law in this country !

We must own, that to us, Catholics, professing that faith which was formerly professed here, and priding ourselves on our legitimate descent from that ancient Church, this tale appears marvellously strange. We can look upon it in no other light than as a theological novel, composed after the model of those historical novels, in which a few grains of truth lie concealed in the midst of an immense mass of fiction. It forms, however, a very important part of the creed promulgated by the new teachers at Oxford, men of whom we are wishful to speak with respect,—honouring them as we do, for their industry and piety, their candid and fearless disclosure of their sentiments, and their undisguised advocacy of certain ancient doctrines and practices in preference to the fancies of more modern speculatists. We must, however, be allowed to suspect that they still retain some relics of that anti-Catholic leaven which Protestant education is careful to deposit in the infant mind ; that they still cherish religious prepossessions, which, though they may permit the inquirer to see clearly on certain subjects, create a mist before his eyes, if he turn them in another direction. Of this we do not complain : it was to be expected ; it arises from the position which they occupy : for, the more they approximate on some points to the Catholic creed, the more it is necessary for them to recede from it on others. Their doctrine has already earned for them the imputation of popery : the more reason then have they to labour in support of their credit for orthodoxy.

It is admitted by all parties that at the commencement of the Reformation there was a Church in England which had existed here, ever since the first conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity. Was that Church a living branch of the true apostolic church of Christ, or not ? They reply without hesitation that she was ; and, be it observed, they are compelled so to reply, for without such admission, what would become of their alleged claim to apostolical succession ? Without it “how could the Anglican bishops of the present day shew that by ordination they derive their mission from the apostles and our Lord” ? Without it “how can every bishop, priest, and deacon, trace his own spiritual descent from St. Peter and St. Paul” ?*

* Palmer, *Antiquities of Ritual*, ii. 249.

If you reject that Church, the chain is broken,—you may go back to your female head, Elizabeth, or to her father Henry; but there you stop,—a chasm of fifteen hundred years opens between you and the apostles.

But how, the reader will perhaps ask, could that un-reformed Church be a living branch of the true Church of Christ? Did she not teach doctrines which the present Church condemns as errors in faith? Did she not practice a worship which the present Church pronounces superstitious and idolatrous? Did she not prosecute, excommunicate, and deliver for punishment to the civil magistrate, the professors of opinions, which the present Church has sanctioned in her articles of religion, and which she binds all her ministers to subscribe and to uphold? Is it possible that two societies, of which one is so opposed to the other in matters of the highest import, can be each the true Church of Christ? Yes, exclaim the Oxford theologians, both are the very same Church, but in a different state; the present Church in a state of comparative purity, the ancient Church deeply immersed in error, yet not so deeply as to cease to be a part of the true apostolic Church. This they pretend to show by three reasons: 1st. “No one can prove certainly, or even probably, that those errors were universally held by the ancient bishops and clergy, or that they were viewed by them as matters of faith, and not of *probability*,” though every one knows that they condemned men to the stake for disbelieving them. 2nd. “Admitting that many of the British bishops were formerly infected with errors in matters of faith, yet this alone does not prove them heretics; for many illustrious fathers and doctors have erred on particular points.” 3rd. “Even supposing that some of these prelates were pertinaciously erroneous and actually heretical, yet as those heretics were not publicly known to be such, nor excommunicated and deposed when they acted, they had the power of conveying mission to their orthodox successors.”* How far such reasons may satisfactorily solve the enigma, we leave to the judgment of our readers; but will venture to express a hope, that some share of that indulgence which is so liberally vouchsafed to our fathers, may also be extended to us, their Catholic descendants. We believe as they did; we worship as they did; we obey the same head whom they obeyed. Do not we then belong to the true Church as well as they? Oh, no, is instantly replied;

* Palmer. *Antiq.* ii. 255-7. Tracts for the Times, No. iv. p. 10.

their case is very different from yours. They lived before the questions in dispute had been fully discussed, you live after the discussion; they were in error, but through ignorance; you are in error, and through obstinacy; they were excusable, and therefore remained in the Church; you are inexcusable, and therefore a dead branch lopped off from the parent vine. "To call you Catholics, would be a profanation of that holy name; and to do so knowingly, would be highly sinful, and come under the condemnation of them that call evil good, and good evil." *

Well, be it so. Instead of wasting our time on matters of mere opinion, we proceed to matters of fact. It is admitted by both parties, although on different grounds, that there was established in England before the Reformation, a true, Catholic, and apostolic Church. Now there is established in England a *Protestant* Church. We are aware that our opponents reject with scorn the word "Protestant;"† but we must be allowed to speak a language intelligible to our readers, whom no special pleading will ever convince that that Church is not Protestant, the head of which, by the law of the country, must be a *Protestant*. How then, we ask, happens it that the Church of England of former days was Catholic, and that the Church of England of the present day is Protestant? Because, we are told, the Church reformed herself. "In the reign of Henry VIII, the yoke of Roman dominion became intolerable, and the bishops and clergy of all England and Ireland determined that the Roman patriarch had no jurisdiction in these realms; and declining any further submission to that prelate, concurred in the several acts of the civil power by which his usurped jurisdiction was rendered illegal and extinguished. The jurisdiction of the Roman see was therefore lawfully, rightly, and canonically abolished in the reign of Henry VIII, and was as perfectly extinct as if it had never existed: having been formally abolished by the Church, it needed to be canonically *created*, before its exercise could be in any way permissible."‡ And again, "In the sixteenth century the Church of England withdrew the jurisdiction which she had for a time *delegated* to the bishop of Rome, and resuming her original liberties, reformed abuses, &c."§ Nothing can be more vexatiously tantalizing, than the easy, off-hand manner in which

* Palmer, *Antiq* i. 289.

† "Our Church claims to be reformed, not Protestant; and it repudiates any fellowship with the mixed multitude which crowd together, whether at home or abroad, under a mere political banner." *Traacts for the Times*, iii. 32.

‡ Palmer, *Antiq*. i. 264-5.

§ *Idem*, *Church*, i. 387.

Mr. Palmer throws out extraordinary statements without a hint of the sources from which he derives his information. What made the yoke of Roman dominion more intolerable during the reign of Henry than it had been in former reigns? We know of no cause but the refusal of Clement to divorce the king from his wife. Where did Mr. Palmer learn the important but hitherto unknown fact, that the exercise of the papal supremacy in England was in virtue of powers *delegated* by the English to the Roman Church? We cannot say; unless perhaps the original documents are preserved in the archives of the submarine church of Pennanzabuloe, to which we have not access. Unacquainted therefore with his authorities, we shall venture to compare his statements with official records, the authenticity of which has never been questioned.

The first and most important step towards the abolition of the papal authority in England was the recognition of the king's supremacy; and this was effected in the following manner. When the king determined on the ruin of Cardinal Wolsey, he ordered the attorney-general to file two informations against the fallen favourite, under pretence that he had offended against the statute of provisors by the acceptance and exercise of the legatine authority. The charge was groundless; for Henry by warrant had permitted Wolsey to accept and exercise that authority, and such warrant the law had empowered the king to issue. But the Cardinal, aware that he could gain nothing by the contest, suffered judgment to pass against him, and threw himself on the mercy of his sovereign. Two years later Henry ordered the attorney-general to file a similar information against the whole body of the English clergy. They had submitted to an authority, which, by the conviction of Wolsey had been proved illegal—they had therefore been his fautors, aiders, and abettors, and of course had incurred, every individual among them, the penalties of premunire, that is, forfeiture of property, and imprisonment for life. A more iniquitous proceeding is not perhaps to be found in our annals. By granting the royal warrant to Wolsey the king had placed the clergy under the necessity of submitting to his authority, and now he prosecuted them for that submission, as abettors of the Cardinal in his pretended offence. The clergy, however, thought like Wolsey, that there was no wisdom in contending with a sovereign of Henry's character. It was supposed that money was his object; and the convocation, in January 1531, voted a present to him of 100,000*l.* in return for a full pardon. To

their surprise and mortification he sent back the resolution, with an intimation that the grant was not worth his acceptance, unless it were accompanied with the admission that "he, and he *alone*, was the protector and supreme head of the Church of England;" and also that "the cure of souls, which they exercised under him, had been committed to his charge." This communication filled them with alarm. Their eyes were opened to the danger which threatened them, and to the ulterior objects which the king had in view; they appointed deputies to confer with the lords of the council; and after three meetings, prevailed on Henry to recede so far from his second demand, as to be content with the admission, that they "exercised under his protection the cure of the souls of the people, who had been committed to his charge," an amendment which was supposed to take away entirely what was most objectionable in that demand. Still, on the first claim he remained inexorable. The Lord Rochford informed the convocation that the only concession which the king would make, was to allow the introduction of the words *after Christ*, to follow the word *head*; that was his final determination—he would receive no more remonstrances or proposals on the subject. Still their reluctance was not subdued, their deputies obtained another audience; and at last a sort of compromise was effected, that the recognition should run in these words, "Of which Church we acknowledge that his majesty is the singular protector, the only and supreme lord, and also (*as far as is allowed by the law of Christ*) the supreme head." In this form the archbishop conjured the convocation to accept it, remarking at the same time that there was no necessity for any individual to express his mind in words, his silence would be taken for consent. "Then," exclaimed a voice, "we are all silent." Nothing more was said, and the grant, including the recognition in the preamble, was entered on the journals as having been passed unanimously.* We may vouch for the accuracy of this narrative, for it has been extracted with great care from the record itself; and we cannot believe that any man who has perused it attentively, will venture to maintain, even within the atmosphere of Oxford itself, that this recognition was the spontaneous act of the English Church seeking emancipation from "the intolerable yoke of Roman dominion;" or "withdrawing delegated powers from the Roman Church," and not an act extorted from it by the command of an imperious

* Wilk., Con. iii. 725.

master, with the penalties of *premunire* hanging over the heads of its representatives. And, after all, to what did it amount? The obvious tendency of the claim on the part of the king was completely neutralized by the qualifying clause, "as far as is allowed by the law of Christ." Henry, indeed, affirmed that he had assented to the introduction of that clause, merely to cut off all pretence of charging him with aspiring to the administration of the sacraments; such administration was reserved by Christ to men regularly ordained; though it was his duty to watch over the conduct of the ordained, and over the manner in which they administered the sacraments.* It is, however, plain that he was brought to consent to it by the protracted opposition of the convocation; nor could he conceal from himself that the object of its advocates was to confine his headship under it to a mere supremacy in temporal matters. Thus it was understood for some time. The English Church still admitted the spiritual supremacy of the pope—he was prayed for in the first place in the public worship; and the bishops continued to receive institution from him.

In the spring of the year following, the payment of annates or first fruits to the pope, was prohibited by act of parliament. But this was in fact a political experiment to try the resolution of the pontiff. Henry intended to work upon his hopes and fears, by leaving to his choice the preservation or the loss of so valuable a source of revenue; and trusted, that considerations of interest might induce him to grant that divorce, which his notions of justice compelled him to refuse. With this view it was, that in the language of the statute, Clement was treated with respect; that the English bishops were still permitted to pay reasonable fees for bulls solicited in the court of Rome; that the king was requested to come to an amicable understanding on the subject with 'his holiness,' and that the execution of the act itself was suspended, till Henry should think proper to confirm it, or any part of it, by letters-patent under the great seal, to be entered at the end of the statute, on the roll of parliament.†

But in the course of this year, events took place which of necessity brought matters to a crisis. About the close of the session it was rumoured that the Lady Anne was in a state of pregnancy; and the king removed Sir Thomas More from the chancellorship, that he might raise to that office a lawyer of less scrupulous conscience, or more indulgent to the passion

* Cabala, 247.

† Statutes of Realm, iii. 387.

of his sovereign. In the course of the summer, so it was stated on good authority, Anne was delivered of a son.* The child was illegitimate, but his birth gave to Henry the hope of additional male issue by his mistress; she again became pregnant, and he married her privately at Whitehall, on the 25th of January, 1533. Still, for the legitimacy of her expected issue, two things were necessary,—a divorce from Catherine, and the ratification of the clandestine marriage with Anne.

It had chanced, most fortunately for the king's purpose, that the death of archbishop Warham, on the 23rd of August of the preceding year, furnished him with an opportunity of placing in the see of Canterbury, a prelate, on whose devotion to serve him he could implicitly rely. The object of his choice was Cranmer, at that time his orator at the court of Charles V. Cranmer was recalled from Mantua, to which place he had accompanied or followed the emperor; the necessary bulls were solicited and obtained in the court of Rome; and on the 30th of March the new archbishop was consecrated at Westminster. He was not slow to do the bidding of his master. After a trial in which one party only appeared, he divorced Henry from Catherine, and a few days later, May 28th, solemnly confirmed his marriage with Anne. That lady had already been acknowledged as queen, and had publicly accompanied the king in royal pomp to high mass on Easter-eve, the 18th of April.

Here we may be allowed to make a remark or two on the conduct of Cranmer. The connexion between England and Rome was not yet severed; the usual manner of appointing bishops still prevailed; and it was necessary for the elect to

* For this information we are indebted to the Venetian ambassadors; extracts from whose despatches to the council have been recently published by Mr. Rawdon Browne at Venice, in his "*Ragguagli*, or collections out of the MS. works of Sanuto, the Venetian historiographer in the first part of the sixteenth century." Ludovico Falier writes that the king is so desirous of legitimate male issue to succeed him, that in despair of such by queen Catherine, he will undoubtedly divorce her, and marry "*la sua favorita*," the daughter of Lord Wiltshire. On the 13th of May, 1532, Carlo Capello, the successor of Falier, states, that the king had taken the great seal from Sir Thomas More, because he would not write in favour of the divorce, and adds, "*ne si manca dal Re di usar ogni celerità per expedir presto, perche come si dice, madama Anna e graveda.*" *Ragguagli*, iii. 331. The next year, on April 12th, he relates, that Anne had gone that day to high mass in royal pomp as queen, and adds, "*mi vien affirmato za piu mesi questa Maestà averla sposata e aver uno fiol de qualche mese con lei.*" *Rag.* iii. 329. If Capello's information was accurate, the birth of a son in 1532, and the hope which that birth would inspire, will account for the title of Marchioness of Pembroke conferred on her in September, and the hasty marriage which took place in the following January.

take the accustomed oath to the pope, first by his proctor in Rome before he could obtain his bulls, and twice personally in England, before he would receive consecration, or be invested with the pallium. Cranmer, aware that the services expected from him would soon bring him into collision with the pontiff, read in a private chapel, in the presence of a notary and four witnesses, a protestation, that by the oath which his proctor had taken in the court of Rome, it was never his intention to be bound to anything contrary to any oath taken, or to be taken, by him to the king of England; nor did he now mean to bind himself to anything contrary to the law of God, the king, or commonwealth of England, the reformation of religion, or the prerogatives of the crown, by the oaths which he was about to take, merely for the sake of form, and not through any obligation, as if they were necessary previously to his consecration.* Yet he knew full well, that had he made any such protest in the presence of the bishops, the papal delegates, appointed to consecrate him, they would immediately have thrown up their commission. Was not this to obtain consecration under false pretences? If it be simony to purchase a spiritual office with money, what is it to purchase the same with perjury?†

* Strype's Cranmer, App. p. 9.

† Mr. Palmer is singularly unfortunate in his attempt to vindicate the protest of Archbishop Cranmer. The consecration oath, besides the promise of obedience to the pope,—the most important part of it,—contained certain clauses derived originally from the feudal institutions of the age, which, if they had been strictly interpreted, might occasionally clash with the claims of temporal sovereigns. But the objection of Cranmer was not confined to these clauses; it embraced the promise of obedience also; for he protested, that it should not prevent him, from reforming whatever it seemed to him ought to be reformed in the English Church. Now let the reader attend to the sophisms,—some of them only, for we have not space to notice them all,—by which Mr. Palmer has suffered himself to be misled on this subject. "It is certain," he tells us, Vol. i. p. 536, "that this oath was taken by every bishop in Europe, with certain exceptions, not simply and absolutely, therefore Archbishop Cranmer merits approbation, for making an open protest of the sense in which he took it, while others contented themselves with merely *mental* reservations." But, 1st, did the objections of Cranmer, and the exceptions of others, refer to the same particulars? Cranmer objected to the promise of obedience. Mr. Palmer knows that the other bishops did not; that their exceptions, if they are to be so called, were to the temporal clauses only. The fact, however, is that they made no such exceptions even to them, but took them in the sense, which, as Mr. Palmer's authority, Van Espen informs us, custom and a general understanding had given to them, looking upon them as obligatory so far only as was compatible with the rights and customs of their respective countries. 2nd. Where then is the ground for the charge of *mental reservation* against the Catholic bishops? Mental reservation implies the concealment of some private intention or interpretation. But such concealment cannot have place, when a man takes an oath in the sense which has been established by custom with the knowledge of him who imposes and receives it. Such was the case with the

Perhaps the new metropolitan cared the less for the deceit which he practised, because he cared little for the ceremony of consecration itself. In his mind, ordination was unnecessary; a mere form, "used only for good order and seemly fashion." Popular election, or appointment by the civil magistrate, conferred in his judgment a sufficient mission; "he, who was appointed bishop or priest, needed no consecration by Scripture;" the king must have spiritual officers, and therefore had a right to appoint them; in the time of the apostles, the people indeed appointed, but it was because they had no Christian king; and if they then occasionally accepted persons recommended to them by the apostles, "it was of their own voluntary will, and not for any superiority that the apostles had over them." Such are the opinions which he avows under his own hand to the king;* and it is but charitable to suppose, that, whilst he held those opinions, he looked upon his consecration as little more than a farce, and his oath to the pope as an unmeaning and unnecessary form. But we could wish to know what the Oxford divines, with their notions of apostolical succession, think of the spiritual powers derived by this man from the papal delegates whom he contrived to deceive. Would they not throw him overboard at once, if they had it in their power to establish their own descent from the apostles without him?

To proceed with the history of the Reformation. The interval between the last and the following session of parliament was employed in preparing the nation for the severance of all communication with the papal see. The two houses met on the 17th of January, 1534, and sat till the 30th of March.

Catholic bishops. 3rd. But there is reservation, and concealment, and fraud, when a man protests in private, that he will take an oath only in a new and unusual meaning, and then takes it in public after the usual manner, without any expression of that meaning. Now such was the case with Cranmer. Mr. Palmer indeed, praises his *open* protest. Did he then read that protest in public, within the hearing and presence of the officiating bishops? No, Cranmer was perfectly aware that to do that, would have been to defeat his own purpose. He must then have lost his consecration; for they, as papal delegates, had no commission to proceed, till he had previously taken the oath, as it had been forwarded to them from Rome. What then does he do? He goes with four friends and a notary into a private chapel, where he reads his protest before them; thence they accompany him to the church, where he tells *them* to remember he still adheres to that protest, and then kneeling before the altar, takes, without further remark, the oath administered to him in the accustomed form by the officiating prelates. (See the record published by Mr. Todd, in his *Cranmer*, i. 65.) Is it for this contrivance that Mr. Palmer allots to the archbishop the praise of candour and honesty? Most readers, we are confident, will see in it nothing but an artful process of concealment and deception.

* Cranmer's Works, ii. 101. Collier, ii. Rec. p. 47.

By successive enactments, every remaining token of subjection to the pontiff was carefully weeded out of the English Church. The prohibition of annates and appeals to Rome was confirmed; the payment of Peter-pence, and fees and pensions, and the suing out of licenses, dispensations and bulls, were forbidden under the penalty of premunire; and a new process was authorized, regulating the nomination, confirmation, and consecration of bishops. But all this was the work of the civil power. It does not appear that the advice or the assent of the convocation was either given or sought. Nor can it be even said, that the Church consented by the votes of the bishops in parliament. For out of twenty-one bishops, seven only appeared in the house during the whole session; and of these seven, only four, and those the very men who all along had been employed and trusted by the king in the prosecution of the divorce, and were now employed and trusted by the council in the attempt to abolish the papal authority,—that is, Cranmer of Canterbury, Stokesley of London, Gardiner of Winchester, and Clerk of Bath and Wells)—attended the debates on ecclesiastical matters. Cranmer and Clerk were always present, Gardiner generally, Stokesley seldom.* But what then became of the great majority of the bishops? Does not their absence, (an absence without precedent in our parliamentary annals), justify the conclusion, that they disapproved of the measures which they knew to be in contemplation, and that they felt a reluctance to sanction with their presence, that which they had not the courage to condemn by their votes?

From the convocation which sat during the same time as the parliament, the bishops were equally absent. Of the proceedings in the upper house we have no account. To the lower was proposed, by order of the king, the following question; “Has any greater authority in this realm been given by God *in the Scripture* to the bishop of Rome, than to any foreign bishop?” The reader will observe the artful structure of this question. Avowedly there is no direct mention of the bishop of Rome in the Scripture, no specification of the spiritual authority given to the successor of St. Peter in particular; no, nor even of the authority given to the successors of the apostles in general. On those subjects the Scripture is silent. Not one of the sacred writers has thought of describing in detail the plan of Church government which the apostles established,

* Lords' Journals, i. 71, 73, 76, 81. Strype, Mem. i. 153.

to be observed after their death. For that we must have recourse, as the Oxford teachers admit, to tradition. Hence it was natural to expect that to confine the question to the doctrine expressly taught in the Scripture, would serve to the same purpose, as the introduction of the qualifying clause, "as far as allowed by the law of Christ," had served in the recognition of the king's supremacy. Many a man of timid mind, though he might in reality admit the authority of the pope, might reconcile the denial of it with his conscience, by contending that he had only denied that it was directly taught in the Scripture. It was not, however, before the last day of the session, after the bills abrogating the papal jurisdiction had passed the two houses, and when the king made them the law of the land by giving to them the royal assent, that the lower house made its report to the archbishop. Thirty-four members answered negatively, four affirmatively, one doubtfully. The same question was subsequently put to the two universities; and from both were obtained such answers as the king required; from Cambridge on the 2nd of May, from Oxford on the 7th of June.*

Now in the last session of parliament an act had been passed, entailing the succession to the crown on the king's issue by his lawful wife Queen Anne, and compelling, under the penalties of misprision of treason, every Englishman of full age to swear that he would support that succession to the utmost of his power. The oath exacted of the laity was confined to this sole object; but in that offered to the clergy were added both an acknowledgement that the king was the supreme head of the Church, and the declaration respecting the papal supremacy which had been subscribed in convocation, and afterwards in the two universities. That no one was compellable by law to take the oath with these appendages, was evident. But who dared singly to dispute the royal pleasure? One acquiescence was followed by another, and before the commencement of winter, this improved form of oath had been administered to almost every body of clergy, whether regular or secular, in the kingdom.†

No time was now lost in taking advantage of this submission on the part of the clergy. On the 3rd of November, the parliament met, and passed a declaratory act, that "the king, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head on earth of the

* Wilk. iii. 769, 772, 775.

+ Rym. xiv. 487, 527. Collier, ii. Rec. p. 17.

Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*; and shall have and enjoy annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities, to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church belonging and appertaining; and that he, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction, ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended.”* Of this statute it may be remarked, 1st, that it differed greatly from the recognition originally extorted from the clergy. That recognition confined the royal supremacy within the limits prescribed “by the law of Christ;” this declaration affirmed it absolutely, and without qualification. 2nd. That, by giving to the king all the pre-eminence and jurisdiction belonging to the dignity of the supreme head of the Church, it invested him with all that authority which the pope had hitherto claimed and exercised in England, for no other supreme head had hitherto been known in the English Church. 3rd. That it also invested him with episcopal power and jurisdiction; not that he pretended to administer the sacraments,—he had not made such progress in the new doctrine, as to believe with archbishop Cranmer that ordination was unnecessary;—but he claimed the right of directing those who had been ordained to such ministry, of superintending their acts and teaching, and of correcting and redressing all their errors, abuses, and offences, which *by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction* ought to be corrected or redressed, that is, all such as were committed by any overt act; for such as were committed *sine scandalo* must be left to the justice of God.†

But the safest way of ascertaining the real object of the minister by whom the statute was framed, will be to observe the manner in which it worked. 1st. It was impossible that the king should attend in person to all the duties which his new dignity brought with it, and he was glad to impose the heaviest part of the burthen upon one of his officers. The reader will of course infer that this officer would be no other than the archbishop. Not so; a layman himself, he chose for

* Stat. of Realm, iii. 492.

† Cabala, 247.

his spiritual coadjutor, another layman, the originator of the whole scheme,—Thomas Cromwell, his first secretary and master of the rolls. Him the king appointed his vicegerent, vicar-general, and principal official, “with full power to exercise and execute all and every that authority and jurisdiction appertaining to himself as head of the Church, and to appoint others his delegates and commissaries to execute the same under him; authorizing them to visit all dioceses and churches, to summon before them all ecclesiastical persons, even bishops and archbishops, to inquire into their manners and lives, to punish with spiritual censures, to issue injunctions, and to exercise all the functions of the ecclesiastical courts.”*

2nd. A royal inhibition was then issued to the archbishops and bishops, ordering them to abstain from all exercise of episcopal jurisdiction, till the king had made the visitation of their dioceses; which visitation was commenced in different parts of the kingdom by the vicar-general and his delegates. The object of this measure was to probe the sincerity of the bishops in their submission to the king’s supremacy. If they laid claim to any authority as inherent in their office, they would now, it was argued, advance that claim, and seek to prove it; or would own, by their silence, that it was indefensible, and by suing out the restoration of their powers from the king, would furnish a practical acknowledgment that he was the fountain from which they derived their spiritual authority. “If they claim it as their right, let them show their evidence. If they take it as a benefit of the king’s highness, let them sue for it again by supplication, that they and all other may understand him to be the head power within this realm under God, and that no jurisdiction proceedeth within the same, but from him.” (Legh and Ap Rice to Cromwell. Strype, *Mem. App.* 145.) It happened as was foreseen. The bishops submitted in silence, and one after another petitioned for the restoration of their ordinary jurisdiction; which was doled out to them by piecemeal, to be held only at the king’s pleasure, and with an admonition, that they would have to answer for their exercise of it before the supreme Judge hereafter, and before the king’s person in the present world.†

3rd. But the humiliation of the bishops was not yet completed. In June, 1536, the convocation met. On the 16th, Dr. Petre came and alleged, that of right the first place in that assembly belonged to the king, as head of the Church, and

* Wilk. *Con.* iii. 784.

† *Ibid.* iii. 787, &c.

in the absence of the king to the vicar-general, the honourable Thomas Cromwell, the king's vicegerent for causes ecclesiastical; that he himself stood there as proctor for the said vicar-general, as would appear by the commission which he held in his hand; and therefore he demanded that the place aforesaid should be assigned to him in virtue of that commission. It was read accordingly, the claim was allowed, and Petre took the first seat. At the next session, Cromwell himself appeared and presided; as he did afterwards on several important occasions, always occupying the same place, and subscribing to the resolutions before the archbishop.*

Thus it was in convocation; and the same honour was paid to him in parliament. By the act "for placing the lords," it was ordered, that the lord Cromwell, "the king's vicegerent for good ministration of justice in causes ecclesiastical, and for the godly reformation and redress of all errors, heresies, and abuses in the Church; and that every person having the said office of grant from his majesty or his heirs, should have place on the same form with, but above, the archbishop of Canterbury, and should have voice to assent or dissent as others the lords of parliament."† Thus the vicar-general took the precedence of every peer both spiritual and temporal, whatever might be his office in Church or state. Could there be a more convincing proof of the very high importance which Henry attached to his new dignity of head of the Church, than the honour which he thus required to be given to the depository of his ecclesiastical authority?

It was not, however, so with the nation at large. Cromwell was a layman, his deputies were laymen; and the people would not understand how laymen could be invested with spiritual jurisdiction. Hence, both his and their judgments and injunctions were received with distrust and contempt, though issued by them in the name of the king. This, in Henry's opinion, was a pernicious error, the more so as it struck at his own spiritual authority; for his majesty, as the statute remarks, was himself a layman. The only remedy which could be devised,—a remedy which is still in use at the present day,—was to enact, "for the instruction of the ignorant, and the setting forth of the prerogative royal and supremacy, that all and singular persons, as well lay as married, being doctors of civil law, so made in any university, and having been appointed by the king, or by the bishops and others

* Wilk. Con. iii.; Strype, Mem. i. 245.

† Stat. of Realm, iii. 729.

authorised by the king, might lawfully execute and exercise all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.”*

4th. But from matters of jurisdiction let us pass to matters of doctrine. Every reader knows, that for the statute of the six articles the nation was indebted to the theological wisdom of Henry. Soon afterwards, “of his bountiful clemency he appointed a commission of bishops and doctors to declare the articles of faith, and such other expedient points, as with his grace’s advice and consent should be thought needful;” and in the next session of parliament it was enacted, that all declarations, definitions, and ordinances which should be set forth by them with his majesty’s advice, and *confirmed* by his letters-patent, should be in all and every point, limitation and circumstance, by all his grace’s subjects and all persons resident in his dominions, fully *believed*, obeyed, and observed under the penalties therein to be comprised.† By this enactment, the religious belief of every Englishman was laid at the king’s feet. He named the commissioners; he regulated their proceedings by his advice; he reviewed their decisions; and, if he confirmed them by letters-patent under the great seal, they became from that moment the doctrines of the English Church, which every man was bound to believe, under such penalties as might be assigned. And what were these penalties? A little later it was enacted that, if any man should teach or maintain any matter contrary to the godly instructions and determinations, which had been, or should be, thus set forth by his majesty, he should, in case he were a layman, for the first offence recant and be imprisoned twenty days; for the second abjure the realm; and for the third suffer the forfeiture of his goods and imprisonment for life; but if he were a clergyman, he should for the first offence be permitted to recant; on his refusal or second offence, should abjure and bear a faggot, and on his refusal again, or third offence, should be adjudged a heretic and suffer the pain of death by burning, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods and chattels.‡

Such was the result of the Reformation during the reign of Henry VIII. The papal supremacy, under the name of an intolerable tyranny, was suppressed, and a still more intolerable tyranny, under the name of the king’s supremacy, was established. Not only the powers formerly exercised by the pope, but the authority acknowledged to be inherent in the bishops under the papal sway, was claimed by Henry. On all these

* Stat. of Realm, iii. 1009.

† Ibid. iii. 783.

‡ Ibid. iii. 896.

transactions the founders of the new school at Oxford look with a very indulgent eye. From their representations we should be led to conclude, that the English Church, aware of innumerable abuses with which it was deformed, assembled in council, debated every matter coolly and dispassionately, and with free and unbiassed voice resolved on the measures which, we know, were adopted. The Church took the initiative, the state followed; the clergy prescribed the measure of reform, and the civil power hastened to lend its aid to the clergy. But this is a false and flattering portrait. The clergy resisted from the first—they were with difficulty brought to make qualified concessions; from the benefit of such qualifications they were excluded by the omnipotence of parliament; and at last found themselves under the necessity of complying with the will of their new head, or of submitting to the knife of the executioner. Few among them had the moral courage to choose the second part of the alternative.

Mr. Palmer tells us that the clergy, when they recognised the king for supreme head, were entitled to believe that they had saved all the spiritual rights of the Church by the proviso “as far as is allowable by the law of Christ.”* Undoubtedly they were; and in addition, they also meant by the same qualification to save the rights of the pontiff; which appears from the facts, that they still continued to own his superiority after the recognition, that four-fifths of the bishops absented themselves from the parliament and the convocation in 1533, to avoid all participation in the abolition of that superiority; and that as late as 1536 the convocation at York returned for answer to questions sent to them, “we think the king’s highness, ne any temporal man may not be the head of the church by the lawes of God, to have or exercise any jurisdiction or power spiritual in the same; and we think that by the law of the church, general councils, interpretations of approved doctors, and consent of Christian people, the Pope of Rome hath been taken for the head of the church, and vicar of Christ, and so ought to be taken.”† But Mr. Palmer argues, as if the English Church had never been compelled to abandon that qualification; he even tells us, “this original condition *is ever to be supposed* in the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy,”‡ even at the present day. Yet he must have known that it was struck out of the recognition by act of par-

* Palmer’s Church, i. 462-5.

+ Strype, Mem. App. p. 180.

‡ Palmer’s Church, i. 470.

liament, out of the oath of supremacy, which every clergyman was compelled to take under the penalty of treason, and out of every ecclesiastical document issued by authority from that day to this. Restore it, and what remains in the royal claim that may not be admitted by any dissenter, or even by Roman Catholics under the cover of that qualification?

With the belief that the bishops, as successors of the apostles, inherit through them from Christ a certain spiritual authority, which, as no man can give it, so no man can take away, the new teachers have some difficulty to explain the commission issued to Bonner on the 12th of November 1539, which declares that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical, and secular, emanates from the king. They tell us that Bonner was the first and the only prelate that asked or obtained such commission: that he probably acted with a view to ingratiate himself with the king; and that the commission itself, however strangely the language may sound, is capable of receiving an orthodox meaning, by confining it to such jurisdiction as is *externally and legally coercive*.^{*} Unfortunately all this is mere fiction, though asserted as fact in that free, easy, confident tone, so familiar to Mr. Palmer. It is true that Bonner, on his elevation to the episcopal bench, did solicit and obtain the commission in question, but it was not an unprecedented act, adopted by him to ingratiate himself with the king, but an act to which every other bishop, during the four preceding years, had submitted. 1st. The reader will recollect, that in 1535, soon after the nomination of Cromwell to the office of vicar-general, the king by inhibition suspended the spiritual jurisdiction of all the bishops in England. How did they recover it? By suing out commissions of exactly the same form and tenor, as that which has scandalized the Oxford theologians in the case of Bonner. The inhibition was notified by Cranmer to his brethren, on the 2nd of October; and we know that in the course of that and the following month, such commissions were granted to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and to the bishops of Lincoln, London, Winchester, Durham, and Hereford; nor can we doubt that others were issued to the other prelates, though the actual proofs have perished.† 2nd. Mr. Palmer is not justified in restraining the commission to jurisdiction *externally and legally coercive*. For the instrument enumerates a number of powers which it commits to the bishop, and at the end of all, adds this very coercive power,

^{*} Palmer's Church, i. 470. + Wilk. Con. iii. 797-S. Collier, ii. 170; and Rec. p. 33.

which is supposed to be the only one given. 3rd. Neither can he avail himself of the clause, "besides and beyond those things which are known from holy Scriptures to be committed to thee of God," as if it were an exception, acknowledging in the clergy certain powers which they could *exercise* independently of the crown. For the power of ordination is one of the powers which the bishops claim, as derived to them from God, and yet this power of ordination is one of those, the exercise of which is granted to them by the commission. The fact is, that in Henry's opinion,—and the distinction is important, as it serves to reconcile many seeming inconsistencies in the documents of this period—ordination gave to the clergy an *ability* to perform certain spiritual duties, which was not possessed by mere laymen, but that the right to exercise that ability in the actual performance of such duties, was derived from himself, and subject to those limitations, both with respect to time and place, which he might think proper to prescribe. Now of these duties, such as regarded the performance of the public worship, had not been affected by the suspension; and of course the exercise of these, as it had not been taken away, was not restored. To these the clause refers.

In proof of the opinion which Henry entertained, and wished his subjects to entertain, of the origin as well as the extent of this his spiritual jurisdiction, we may advert to the language in which he is addressed in an act of parliament passed towards the close of his reign. "Your most royal majesty hath full power and authority to correct, punish, and repress, all manner of heresies, errors, vices, sins, abuses, idolatry, hypocrisies, and superstition sprung in, and growing within, this Church of England. . . Your majesty is the only and undoubted supreme head of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, *to whom by holy Scripture all authority and power is wholly given*, to hear and determine all manner of causes ecclesiastical, to correct vice and sin whatsoever, and *to all such persons as your majesty shall appoint*."*

But did the king's authority comprise matters of doctrine as well as of discipline? Undoubtedly it did. To judge, indeed, definitively, on questions of doctrine, is a branch of spiritual authority, which the Oxford theologians cannot consistently admit in the head of their Church, as long as he is a layman; and on that account, they will not believe, whatever may be the language used by the legislature, that such authority was

* Statutes of Realm, iii. 109.

ever conceded by the clergy to the king. As a case in point, Mr. Palmer refers us to the articles of doctrine of 1537. There the king declares that he has assembled the convocation for the full debatement and quiet determination of these questions of faith and discipline, and that, as he approves their determination, debatement and agreement, he commands all his subjects to receive it.* But then why does he approve? Because it is the determination of the Church of England? No, but "forasmuch as *he* thinks it to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws and ordinances of God;" whence, in speaking of the articles afterwards, he calls them, not the articles of the Church of England, but *his* articles, confirms them with his signature, and orders *his* bishops to teach them to the people, whom *he* hath committed to their charge.† But this question is set at rest by the preface of the convocation to their book in explanation of the same articles, called the "godly and pious institution of a Christian man." There they beg of the king, in case it shall be so thought mete to his most excellent wisdom, to suffer the book to be printed, and commanded to be taught by the clergy; and then proceed thus:—"Without the which power and license of your majestie, we know and confess that we have none authority eyther to assemble ourselves together for any pretence or purpose, or to publishe anything that might be by us agreed on and compyled. And, albeit, most dreadlie and benign soveraigne lorde, we do affirme by our lernyngs with one assent, that the said treatise is in all poynts concordant and agreeable to holy scripture, yet we do most humbly submitte it to the most excellent wisdom, and exact judgement of your majestie, to be recognized, oversene, and corrected, if your Grace shall find any word or sentence in it, mete to be changed, qualified, or further expounded, whereunto we shall in that case conforme ourselves, as to our most bounded duties to God, and to your highness appertaineth."‡ Mr. Palmer must excuse us, if we see in this submission something more than a mere request for a *regium exequatur*, such as is in use in some Catholic countries. It amounts in fact to a recognition of the king's superior authority in matters of faith.

On the 27th of January, 1547, Henry died, and was succeeded by his only son Edward, little more than nine years old. From that moment the Reformation proceeded rapidly, without interruption or impediment. There was no longer

* Palmer's Church, i. 469.

+ Wilk. Con. iii. 817.

‡ Ibid. 831.

a monarch on the throne, whose theological knowledge or prejudice kept in awe the spirit of innovation; the headship of the Church, with all its duties and cares, all its powers and prerogatives, had fallen on a child; and that child was a mere puppet in the hands of the metropolitan and his associates of the council,—all of them patrons of the new learning, as it was called, either through belief in its doctrines, or the expectation of profit from its ascendancy. Cranmer could now command, even while he appeared only to obey; he could enjoin in the name of the sovereign what would have been rejected by the episcopal bench, had it come to them under no other authority than his own. His first step was to draw them into a recognition of the same spiritual supremacy in the young prince, which they had before admitted in his father. On the ground that his own commission had expired with the monarch who gave it, he solicited and obtained from Edward another commission within a week from the proclamation of the new sovereign. His example proved to his brethren what was expected from them; and the successors of the apostles crowded round the boy on the throne, acknowledging, as their leader had done, that he was “the only source of all manner of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction within the realm,” and receiving from his hand new commissions, with the renewal of their powers, in the very same words, which, as we have already noticed, so deeply shocked the orthodoxy of Mr. Palmer in the case of Bonner, in the last reign. The same consequences followed. To probe the sincerity of the bishops, they were suspended from the exercise of their jurisdiction, till the king should think proper to restore it; and several classes of commissioners, mostly laymen, were appointed to visit their different dioceses.* In a short time, injunctions with respect to images, ceremonies, holidays, and Church service, were issued in the name of the head of the Church; inquisitors of heretical pravity were commissioned by him;† illegal courts were established for the deprivation of

* Wilk. Con. iv. 2, 10, 14, 17.

† To many it has appeared a very remarkable coincidence, that three of Edward's commissioners, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, should in the next reign have to suffer the very same kind of death, to which, in their inquisitorial capacity, they had condemned Anne Bocher, and Von Parris. Under this impression, a correspondent has suggested to us the following, as an appropriate inscription for the monument about to be erected to their memory at Oxford:—

IN
DIVINÆ RETRIBUTIONIS
MEMORIAM SEMPITERNAM.
CRANMERUM,
RIDLEYUM, LATIMERUM,

refractory prelates; vacant benefices and bishoprics were filled with professors of the "new learning;" a reformed manner of administering the sacrament was ordered to be observed; the old liturgy was superseded by a new one; the old ordinal by a new one; the old articles of doctrine by new ones; and six years later, when Edward died, nothing was wanting to complete the Reformation but a new code of canon law; and that was ready for the press, but had not yet received the king's signature or royal approbation.

We have not space to follow the Oxford theologians through these manifold changes, nor time to exhibit to the admiration of the reader the ingenuity with which Mr. Palmer contrives to accommodate them to the favourite doctrine of his party,—that we have still the same Church of England reforming herself; with which view he sometimes appeals to an insulated passage, at others to a mutilated quotation;* now he justifies the silent acquiescence of the Church, because she was not called upon to express an opinion; then he justifies the innovation itself, because the Church had either approved of it by her consent in convocation, or might be supposed to have approved by her silent acquiescence. One proceeding only does he condemn, the deprivation of the bishops Bonner, Gardiner, Heath, Day, and Tunstall, which he has the honesty to abandon as utterly indefensible. We mean to levy a much lighter tax on the patience of our readers, by merely laying before them the state of the English Church at the accession of Henry, and the state of the English Church at the death of Edward, and requesting them to judge from the comparison, whether both can, with any appearance of reason, be taken for the same Church; whether the Reformation in England was only (that we

QUI, REGNANTE EDVARDO, FIDEI CAUSA

ALIOS COMBUSSERANT,

HIC OXONIÆ, REGNANTE MARIA,

ULTOR IGNIS CONSUMPSIT.

Nec lex æquior ulla est,

Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.

* For example, he says "The proclamation (the king's letter) did not pretend to suspend the jurisdiction of the bishops, it only required them not to exercise it to the prejudice of the royal visitation." Yet, in the original, these last words are used not to qualify the clause prohibiting the exercise of jurisdiction, which is general and positive ("ne quis ea quæ sunt jurisdictionis exercere quovismodo attemptare,") but are added to the following clause, "seu quicquam aliud in præjudicium nostræ diætæ visitationis generalis quovismodo attemptare præsumat."—Wilk. Con. iv. 10. This is equally plain in the letter of the visitors: "ne a tempore receptionis præsentium jurisdictionem aliquam infra diocesim vestram exerceatis, quicquamve aliud in præjudicium sive dispendium hujus visitationis regię quovis modo attemptetis."—Collier, ii. Rec. 59.—Wilk. Con. iv. 17.

may return to the elegant illustration of Dr. Hook,) the washing of a person's face in the morning, or in reality the substitution of one individual for another, with very different figure, features, and complexion.

It is no easy matter to discover what is requisite, in the opinion of the Oxford teachers, to constitute the identity of a Church. Locality is out of the question; if that were sufficient, the Presbyterian Church of Scotland at the present day would be the same with the prelatie Church of Scotland of Catholic times. To us it appears, that, since a certain form of government, and of worship, and of doctrine, is essential to the existence of every Church, sameness of government, and worship, and doctrine, are requisite to establish the identity of a local Church at different periods. Certain we are, that when no such sameness in any one of these three branches has been suffered to remain, the so-much boasted identity will, in the judgment of every reasonable man, have also ceased to exist.

1st. Now, then, with respect to *Church government*:—the Church of England, at the commencement of Henry's reign, admitted in the bishop of Rome, a primacy of order and jurisdiction throughout the Catholic Church, and consequently within this realm; the Church at the close of Edward's reign had abjured the spiritual supremacy of the pontiff, as an usurpation and a tyranny; and had transferred it to the crown, whosoever might wear that crown, young or old, male or female, infidel or believer. In the former Church it was acknowledged that the bishops inherited from Christ the spiritual authority requisite for the government of their respective dioceses, and that they were bound in duty to exercise it independently of any temporal authority. In the more recent Church, the bishops were the mere creatures of the crown, appointed like civil officers by patent. The instrument ran in these words:—"We name, make, create, constitute, and declare, N. bishop of N. to have and to hold to himself the said bishopric during the term of his natural life, if for so long a time he behave himself well therein; and we empower him to confer orders, to institute to livings, to exercise all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to do all that appertains to the episcopal or pastoral office, over and above the things known to have been committed to him by God in the Scriptures, in place of us, in our name, and by our royal authority."* He

* In the above, which, though an abridgment, preserves the very words of the

was next consecrated after a new form, devised by the archbishop, a form, however, the validity of which was warmly disputed; and then suffered to enter on his episcopal duties, but still liable to be suspended at any moment from the exercise of his authority, at the pleasure of the royal visitors, and under the obligation of conforming, and of making others conform, to any injunctions on spiritual matters, which might be delivered to him as emanating from the head of the Church. With bishops of this description, it is plain that the whole government of the Church was in the hands of those who had possession of the infant king.

2nd. *Sameness of worship.* The old Church followed, in the public worship, certain well known forms, which had been in constant use for many centuries. In the new Church, every thing was altered. The ancient ceremonies were with very few exceptions abolished; the habits of the officiating ministers were thrown aside, the service was read from another part of the church, the altar was turned into a table, the former ordinal was superseded by a new one, and the sacrifice of the mass, though authorized at first, was expelled, to make room for a new liturgy. We have no concern here with the merit or demerit of these changes; our object is merely to remind our readers that they *were* made, and that of course the sameness of worship was destroyed. In virtue of an order with the royal signature, a book of common prayer was also composed, the king recommended it to the notice of the lords and commons in parliament; both houses joined in attributing it to the

original, the reader will observe that the latter part is a copy of the commission so frequently mentioned before. Mr. Palmer allows that the words are susceptible of a heterodox sense; and tells us, in his usual off-hand manner, that therefore, to avoid scandal, the practice of these commissions was discontinued; "for none of the new bishops were required to take out similar commissions." Palmer's Church, i. 472. They were not it is true required to take them out, but for a very different reason than what he assigns: it was, because the commission had been already given in the very patent of creation. See instances in Rymer, xv. 257, 284, 301, 313. The reader will also observe that the patent contains a copy from the commission of the ambiguous clause, "over and above the things known to be committed by God in the Scriptures." What does that clause mean? That the bishop may exercise the powers committed to him by God, independently of the king? or that the king allows him to exercise not only them, but also other powers besides them? Then what are those powers? The clause does not pretend to define them. Is the power of ordination one? Yet the exercise of that power is granted by the king. Is preaching, or feeding the flock entrusted to the bishop one? Yet the exercise of the right of preaching was often regulated by the king, both as to the time and the subject; was occasionally restrained to a certain place, as when the bishops were forbidden to preach except in their own cathedrals; and was probably taken away entirely, when the whole clergy were ordered to pray, and not to preach at all. Wilk. Con. iv. 10, 27, 28, 30.

inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and the use of it in every church was enjoined, and opposition to it forbidden, under penalties increasing in amount for every repetition of the offence. The next year it was republished with a few alterations; still it did not satisfy the reforming zeal of Bucer, Peter Martyr, John Alasco, and other foreign divines, whose influence over the accommodating mind of Archbishop Cranmer Mr. Palmer feelingly deplores; and in less than four years it came forth again in a new edition, with more important alterations, which caused it to differ still more widely from the old liturgy, and from every other liturgy that had ever existed, either in the western or the eastern Church. Prayer for the dead was now dropped out of the communion service, and of the office for burial; several unctions and ceremonies in the administration of baptism, and confirmation, and the visitation of the sick, were omitted; and great care was taken to exclude from the liturgy the several allusions which it still retained to the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. In this shape the book was republished, and enjoined to be used for the daily service. Certainly it would be difficult to devise two forms of worship more widely different than that of the old and this of the new Church.*

3rd. Sameness of doctrine. With respect to the doctrine of the old Church there can be no doubt. All agree that she taught the very same doctrines which were afterwards embodied in the creed of Pius IV. "Those very points," says Dr. Bramhall, "which Pius IV comprehended in a new symbol or creed, were obtruded upon us before, by his predecessors, as necessary articles of the Roman faith, and required as necessary articles of their communion."† The doctrines of the new Church may be learned from the forty-two articles published in the last year of the reign of Edward. Compare the two, and you will find, that if they agree in several points, they also contradict each other in several, and that religious opinions are sanctioned in the latter, which would have subjected their advocates to the penalties of heresy during the prevalence of the former. But here we are unexpectedly met by the new theologians, denying the authority of the forty-two articles, and declaring that "no new formulary of doctrine whatever, was published by authority of the Church during the whole reign of Edward."‡ What! were they not published under the

* Collier, ii. 255, 310. Wilk. Con. iv. 67. Tierney's Dodd, ii. 30, note.

† Bramhall, Reply to B. of Chalcedon, 263. ‡ Palmer's Church, i. 508.

title of "Articles, *which were agreed to in the synod of London*, in the year 1552, by the bishops and other godly and learned men, to root out discord of opinions, and establish the agreement of true religion"? Undoubtedly they were, but this title, they tell us, was a pious fraud, employed by the council to induce a belief that the articles had been approved in convocation, whereas they were only approved by some of the members, whilst the convocation was sitting; a fraud of which the archbishop of course was innocent, and which he severely condemned. Well, be it so, to our argument it matters little. Certain it is, that the articles were published by authority of the head of the Church, and at the petition of the archbishop; that the clergy of every diocese were ordered to subscribe them; and that the universities were forbidden to admit any man to his degree, till he had sworn that "he would look upon them as true and certain, and would defend them in all places as agreeing with the word of God."* What better authority than this, was there for most of the religious innovations which had been established? Nor can it avail Mr. Palmer, to assert as he does, that the articles were "only subscribed by a few clergy in Canterbury, Norwich, and London, and in the university of Cambridge, who were solicited but not compelled to subscribe by the bishops Cranmer and Ridley."† It is painful to notice this miserable subterfuge. Because the only records of the subscription, which have been preserved, regard these four places, it is assumed as a fact that no subscriptions took place anywhere else, though it is plain from these very records that the same orders were transmitted to every diocese in the kingdom: and because Cranmer said that he had not compelled any to subscribe, (and said it with truth, for he had not the power to compel, according to law)—it is insinuated that the subscriptions were spontaneous, though the fact is, that all were summoned to subscribe, and were informed that the names of the refusers would be returned to the council, "that further order might be taken with them by the king and his council."‡ There is no doubt that the whole proceeding was arranged after the precedent set by

* "Deo teste promitto et spondeo me articulos, de quibus in synodo Londinensi . . . convenerat, et regia auctoritate in lucem editos, pro veris et certis habiturum, et omni in loco tanquam consentientes cum verbo Dei defensurum." Burnet, Ref. iv. 522, by Dr. Nares. That the same order was sent to the University of Oxford, no man can doubt, though proof of it may not now exist.

† Palmer's Church, i. 509.

‡ Burnet, Ref. iv. 521-2. Wilk. Con. iv. 79.

Henry VIII, when he sought to obtain the acknowledgment of his supremacy without the qualifying clause, and with the rejection of the papal supremacy. It was intended, first, to procure the subscriptions of the clergy in every diocese, by virtue of the royal command, and then to confirm the articles by act of parliament, under the pretext that they had already been adopted by the whole body of the clergy. The scheme was defeated by the death of the king, before parliament could be assembled, so that the civil penalties could not lawfully be inflicted on the non-subscribers: but the articles themselves were considered from that time as the authorized creed of the Reformed Church of England, and continued to be so considered under Elizabeth, until they were corrected and improved in the convocation of 1562.*

If, then, the reader consider how widely the English Church of Edward differed in government, and worship, and doctrine from the Church of the first years of his father Henry, he must come to the conclusion, that they could not be one and the same Church. As well might you maintain the identity of the present Church of England with the present Church of Rome; for the difference between them is not greater.

We proceed to the reign of Mary, the successor of Edward, under whose sceptre the new Church was swept away, and the old Church restored. 1st. The five bishops, so unjustly deprived to make room for reformers under Edward, recovered their sees. On the attainder of Cranmer for treason in the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, the archbishopric was considered vacant, and the administration assumed by the chapter of the cathedral. Holgate of York, and Bird of Chester, were deprived, because, having taken the monastic vows, they had nevertheless contracted marriage *de facto*, though they ought not *de jure*; Taylor, Hooper, Harley, and Ferrar, calling themselves bishops of Lincoln, Worcester, Hereford, and St. David's, were removed, on account of the nullity of their consecration, the defect of their title, (a patent from the king, with the clause limiting their office to the time of their good behaviour,) and for divers other causes; and Barlowe of Bath and Wells, with Bush of Bristol, hardly escaped the same fate by a timely resignation.† In this manner all the men of the new learning were drawn from the episcopal bench, and their places were speedily filled by others attached to the ancient worship. 2nd. In the first year of the queen, an act was passed, repealing all the statutes on religious matters, enacted

* Heylin, *Examen Hist.* p. 121. + Collier, ii. 364-5. Rym. xv. 370, 376.

during the nonage of her late brother; which at once rendered illegal the use of the book of common-prayer, that of the new ordinal, the marriage of priests, communion under both kinds, and every other innovation recently established by authority of parliament; and placed religion on exactly the same footing on which it had stood at the demise of Henry VIII.* Afterwards, in the first and second of Philip and Mary, another act was passed, repealing in like manner the statutes on religious matters enacted during the reign of Henry, which at once abolished the royal supremacy, and the oath in support of that supremacy, and restored to the pope all that jurisdiction and authority which he had formerly possessed within the realm. Thus religion was now replaced on exactly the same footing on which it had stood before the quarrel of Henry with the apostolic see. The same religious government, the same religious worship, the same religious doctrine prevailed. What then are we to say of the Church of England under Mary? Was it the same Church with the Church under Edward, or the same with the Church at the accession of Henry? It is difficult to extort a precise answer from the patrons of the Oxford doctrines, and the reason is evident; if they admit the Church under Mary, there is an end to their claim to apostolic succession. The chain is broken. They cannot trace their descent from that Church; they cannot by hook or by crook connect themselves with it. Hence they tell us, that under Mary, every rule of ecclesiastical polity was violated; that unjustifiable changes were made by the influence of the queen and of Gardiner, and that the Church of England was oppressed by a *schismatical* prelacy and clergy.† It may be sufficient to reply that no innovation in matters of doctrine, or worship, or discipline, was introduced by the civil power during Mary's reign. The queen laid no claim to the government of the Church: that, like all her predecessors before Henry, she left to the Church itself. She employed her authority only to undo what had been done by royal authority in the reigns of her father and brother; and the parliament only repealed what had been recently enacted by preceding parliaments. The consequence was, that every innovation of the reformers was cleared away, and the religion of former days became again, without further enactment, part and parcel of the law of the land.

* Stat. of Realm, iv. 202, 246.

† See Mr. Palmer's chapter on the proceedings in the reign of Mary, i. 479.

The accession of Elizabeth, the successor of Mary, was followed by another revolution in the Church. During the reign of her sister, Elizabeth had conformed; but the circumstances of her birth, and the adverse claim of Mary Stuart set forth by the king of France, the father-in-law of that princess, induced her to listen to the suggestions of those counsellors, who maintained that the preservation of her crown was incompatible with the existence of that religious form which proclaimed her a bastard. The resolution was taken, preliminary measures were cautiously adopted, and in her first parliament all enactments of the last reign on religious matters were repealed, and the statutes passed under Henry VIII in derogation of the papal authority, and in the reign of Edward in favour of the Reformed service, were recalled into force.

“It was enacted that the book of common prayer, with certain additions and emendations, should alone be used by the ministers in all churches, under the penalties of forfeiture, of deprivation, and of death; that the spiritual authority of every foreign prelate within the realm should be utterly abolished; that the jurisdiction necessary for the correction of errors, heresies, schisms, and abuses, should be annexed to the crown, with the power of delegating such jurisdiction to any person or persons whatsoever, at the pleasure of the sovereign; that the penalty of asserting the papal authority should ascend, on the repetition of the offence, from the forfeiture of real and personal property, to perpetual imprisonment, and from perpetual imprisonment to death, as it was inflicted in cases of high-treason; and that all clergymen taking orders, or in possession of livings, all magistrates and inferior officers, having fees or wages from the crown, all laymen suing out the livery of their lands, or about to do homage to the queen, should, under pain of deprivation or incapacity, take an oath, declaring her to be supreme governor in all ecclesiastical or spiritual things, or causes, as well as temporal, and renouncing all foreign ecclesiastical or spiritual jurisdiction or authority whatsoever, within the realm.”*

With respect to these enactments it may be remarked,—1st. That the parliament under Elizabeth did not follow the precedent set by the parliament under Mary. It did not merely repeal the acts of former parliaments, but also passed laws, which had for their object the establishment of forms of worship, and the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction; 2nd. that all this was done, not with the approbation, but in defiance of the Church. Every bishop in the house voted against these bills:

* Lingard, vii. 259.

the convocation presented a confession of faith, and protested against the competency of any lay assembly to pronounce on matters of doctrine, worship, and discipline; and both the universities came to the aid of the convocation, and subscribed the same confession. Even the opposition among the lay members of the House of Lords was more powerful than on any previous occasion, and, if the act in favour of the book of common prayer passed at last, it was only by a majority of three; and that small majority could not have been obtained, had not two of the bishops been imprisoned to deprive them of their votes, and five commoners of Reformed principles been previously raised to the peerage. Now these enactments are the basis on which the present Church of England was raised; does it not then follow that it is a parliamentary Church, in the foundation of which, no ecclesiastical authority had any concern?

But has not the Church of England a hierarchy, which, if we may believe the Oxford divines, traces its descent in a direct line from the apostles? The present Church of England was founded by the enactments just mentioned, in March and April of 1559; it possessed no hierarchy till the following month of December, on the 17th day of which Dr. Parker was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom all the other prelates of the new Church were afterwards confirmed or consecrated. That the present bishops, then, may trace their descent to him, is certain: if they pretend to go further, it is only through him that they can claim. How then did he become a successor of the apostles? The succession might continue in other churches, because in them there were bishops; in this it could not, because in this, before the 17th of December, there was no bishop. Let us then enquire how the difficulty was overcome; by what ingenious process it was contrived to hook Dr. Parker on to the apostolic chain.

Soon after the dissolution, the council summoned before them the bishops who had attended the parliament, and required them to take the oath of supremacy. With the single exception of Kitchen of Landaff, they refused; and for that refusal, in the course of the two following months, all were deprived by commissioners, whom the queen, after the example of Henry and Edward, had appointed to visit the several dioceses. That such refusal was not a canonical, but only a legal offence, created in the late parliament, is evident; and how, on that account, the bishops could forfeit their spiritual

authority by the judgment of the civil power, it is not easy to comprehend. After this, it became the great object of the government to provide a new hierarchy for the new Church. The archiepiscopal see of Canterbury had remained vacant since the death of Cardinal Pole, on the 17th or 18th of December; and on the 18th of July, the queen, by a *congé d'estlire*, granted permission to the dean and chapter to proceed to the election of an archbishop. The first of August was the day appointed; seven out of twelve members refused to attend; four met the dean, Dr. Wotton, pronounced judgment of contumacy against the absent, and subscribed an instrument by which they bound themselves to approve whomsoever the dean should name. He named Dr. Matthew Parker, who, when he received the official information of his election at Lambeth—for he had already been put in possession of the archiepiscopal palace—replied to the deputies, that he gave his consent lest “he should seem to resist the Divine will, or to disobey her majesty’s good pleasure, who had recommended him to the dean and chapter.”* But how was the elect to procure confirmation and consecration in conformity with the provisions of the statute of the 25th of Henry VIII, which, though it had been repealed under Queen Mary, had been re-enacted in the last parliament? On the 9th of September, a precept was issued in the queen’s name to Cuthbert, (Tunstall) bishop of Durham, Gilbert, (Bourne) bishop of Bath and Wells, David, (Pool) bishop of Peterborough, Anthony, (Kitchen) bishop of Landaff, William Barlowe, bishop, and John Scorey, bishop, ordering them to confirm and consecrate the archbishop elect, and to perform all things necessary, according to the laws and customs of the realm.† The reader will notice the difference of style in the titles of these persons. The three first had not attended parliament; the oath of supremacy had not yet been tendered to them, and in consequence they were bishops according to law, and in the actual possession of their bishoprics. So was Kitchen; and, therefore, if all these should concur in obedience to the precept, the confirmation and consecration would be performed in strict conformity with the statute. Barlowe and Scorey were styled bishops only, because they possessed no bishoprics. Barlowe, to escape deprivation under Mary, had resigned, and written with great severity against the Reformation.‡ Scorey had

* Strype’s Parker, 52-53.

+ Rymer, xv. 541.

‡ There is reason to believe that Barlowe, after all, did not escape deprivation. In the *congé d'estlire*, he is said to have resigned spontaneously. The date is 13th March; but in the significavit of the date of March 28th, he is said to have been deprived and removed.—Rym. xv. 69, 76.

been intruded, in the time of Edward, into the bishopric of Chichester, in the place of Day, and of course had been ousted on the restoration of that prelate under Mary. He had then done penance, renounced his marriage, and received absolution; after which, he was permitted to resume his former duties as a priest. These two were probably added to the commission, that, if one or two of the others should refuse to act, they might, as assistants, supply the place of the absent. It appears, however, that the bishops in possession did not obey the royal mandate: the twenty days within which they were bound to act, were suffered to pass over without consecration or confirmation: and the very next day, September the 29th, Tunstall of Durham was deprived. It was, perhaps, hoped that his fate might make impression on his colleagues, Pool and Bourne; if so, those hopes were disappointed; and in the month of November they also suffered deprivation.*

There now remained but one bishop within the realm in the actual exercise of episcopal authority, and the statute required four for the confirmation and consecration of an archbishop. There were, indeed, several Protestant prelates, who, under Mary, had resigned, or been deprived of their bishoprics; but, were such persons who possessed no power as bishops, competent to perform episcopal duties? After much consultation, a new form of precept was devised, with an additional clause, in which the queen, out of the plenitude of her royal power was made to supply every defect in the quality or the proceedings of the commissioners, "time and necessity so requiring." The instrument, in this state, was submitted to the consideration of six eminent doctors of laws, who replied in the following words: "We whose names are here under subscribed, think in our judgments that by this commission in this form penned, as well the queen's majesty may lawfully authorize the persons within named to the effect specified, as that the said persons may exercise the act of confirming and consecrating to them committed." From the whole of this proceeding, and from the tenor of the opinion thus given, we may fairly infer, that, whatever may be thought of the matter by the Oxford teachers now, the question was considered as one of considerable difficulty then; that no attempt was made to justify the employment of these commissioners, on any other ground than the urgency of the case; and that recourse was had to the omnipotence of the queen, not because she possessed any such power by the law of the Church, or of the state, but because, without

* Collier, ii. 431.—Rym. xv. 545.

the assumption and exercise of it, the new Church would have to be governed by bishops who had never received any manner of episcopal consecration whatsoever.

On the 6th of December, a precept in the proposed form was issued to seven persons, four of whom, the number required by law, had already engaged to act under it.* These were Barlowe, now styled elect of Chichester, and Scorey, now elect of Bath and Wells, with whom the reader is already acquainted; and Coverdale, who, on the forced resignation of Voisey in the reign of Edward, had been placed in the see of Exeter, and had afterwards been compelled to quit it on the restoration of that prelate in the reign of Mary; and Hodgkins, who, under Henry, had been the suffragan of Bedford. On the 9th, the commissioners met in the Court of Arches, and pronounced a definitive judgment confirmatory of the election of Parker; and at the same time supplied, by the royal authority, of which they were the delegates, every defect which there might be in their manner of proceeding, or in the quality, status, or power of all or any of them, or in any point prescribed by the laws of the Church or of the state; the circumstance of the time, and the necessity of the case so requiring.† Eight days later they proceeded to the consecration of the archbishop in the chapel, at Lambeth; and he in return on the 20th confirmed the elections of Barlowe and Scorey in virtue of a similar precept, with the same supplementary and sanatory clause. Was there not something very like a vicious circle in this proceeding? *They* first confirmed his election, then *he* confirmed theirs. However, the circumstance of the time, and the necessity of the case, were held to be a sufficient justification. In fact, a kind of consciousness seems to have been felt, that there existed a radical defect in the process from the very beginning; for during the next six years, on every confirmation and consecration of a new bishop, the same healing clause was inserted in the commission to the metropolitan. At length, in 1566, it was declared by act of parliament, that the queen being in possession of all jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities,

* Rym. xv. 549. That they had engaged to act appears from this, that as early as the 7th, Parker appointed his proxies to appear before Barlowe and the rest, with the omission of Kitchen.—Strype's Parker, 55.

† “*Supplentes ex auctoritate suprema regia . . . nobis delegata quidquid in hac electione fuerit defectum, tum in hiis quæ juxta mandatum nobis creditum a nobis factum et processum est, aut in nobis aut aliquorum nostrorum conditione, statu, facultate ad hæc perficienda deest aut deerit, tum etiam eorum quæ per statuta hujus regni Angliæ, aut per leges ecclesiasticas in hac parte requisita sunt aut necessaria, prout temporis ratio et rerum præsentium necessitas id postulant.*”—Defence of Ordin. See p. 350.

and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, exercised by her predecessors, and having, by her supreme power and authority, dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability in the confirmation and consecration of bishops, made in virtue of her letters-patent, therefore all acts and things heretofore had, made, or done on those occasions, were and should be judged and deemed good and perfect to all respects and purposes, any matter or thing, that could or might be objected to the contrary thereof in anywise, notwithstanding."* From that period, every doubt was supposed to have been taken away, and the clause supplying all defects was discontinued.

But here it must not be forgotten that not only the competency of the consecrating ministers, but also the form of consecration, which they employed, was called in question. The form was acknowledged to be illegal; by many it was judged to be invalid. When, in answer to a question by Cecil, Parker had written in his letter, "the order of king Edward's book is to be observed," the secretary added the following note on the margin, "this book is not established by parliament."† For it had happened that, by some unaccountable oversight, the act which authorised the use of the book of common-prayer, had omitted all mention of the ordinal. There was, however, no alternative. Both the Catholic form and the new form had been abolished by statute; yet one must be adopted; and the latter of course was preferred. But still the question remains, was it of itself a valid form or not? We do not mean to open the controversy, but must state the fact. Its validity was as warmly denied by the men of the old, as it was maintained by the men of the new learning; and during the last reign, several of Edward's bishops, consecrated with it, were deposed on the ground that they had never received the episcopal character: *ob nullitatem consecrationis* occurs repeatedly in the records of the time. How then stands the case with respect to Dr. Parker? He was consecrated by men without any spiritual authority of their own, or any delegated to them by others possessing such authority; by men who had no communion with any one of those whom the Oxford teachers acknowledge to have been at that moment the real successors of the apostles; he received his commission from men who held no commission themselves, and therefore could give none. There is a fact which must still be fresh in the memory of many of our readers, the deprivation most justly

* Stat. of Realm, iv. 485.

† Strype's Parker, 40.

deserved of the Right Rev. Dr. Jocelyn. He had been, in the opinion of our opponents, one of the successors of the apostles; for his misconduct the other successors of the apostles deprived him of the exercise of his apostleship; they took from him his commission; they ousted him from their company. If Dr. Jocelyn, notwithstanding, were to consecrate another person as bishop, would the new prelate become a successor of the apostles, a link in the chain of apostolical succession? We do not think that any man will have the hardihood to assert it. Now, the consecrators of Dr. Parker were in the same situation as Dr. Jocelyn. They had either resigned, or forfeited, or never possessed the episcopal commission; they were rejected and disowned by the acknowledged successors of the apostles; how then could they communicate such commission or such succession to another? Hence, we are convinced, that to every impartial man, who considers the want of spiritual authority on the part of the consecrators, coupled with the doubt of validity in the form of consecration, the claim of Dr. Parker to apostolical succession must appear very problematical. He was appointed archbishop by authority of the queen in 1559: he was confirmed as archbishop by the authority of parliament in 1566. These are his real titles; his descent from the apostles must be built on that frail and treacherous foundation laid in the royal warrant, "the circumstance of the time, and the necessity of the case."

There remains another favourite doctrine of the Oxford school, which we must be allowed to notice before we conclude this article—the paradoxical doctrine that we Catholics "went out from them," not they from us; that we, who still preserve the faith and worship of the old Church, are in effect separatists from the men whose very name of Protestants bears evidence that they are dissenters from that same faith and worship. Let the reader attend to Mr. Palmer.

"Finally, the Romish party in these countries committed schism, in separating from the communion of the Church, and the obedience of their legitimate pastors in the reign of Elizabeth. It is certain that during the reigns of Henry VIII and his successors, until the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there were not two separate communions and worships in England. All the people were subject to the same pastors, attended the same churches, and received the same sacraments. It was only about 1570, that the Romish party, at the instigation of foreign emissaries, separated itself, and fell from the Catholic Church of England."*

* Palmer's Church, i. 455.

If we understand this passage, it assumes as an indisputable fact, that the moment the sentence of deprivation was pronounced against the Catholic bishops and clergy by the delegates appointed for that purpose by Elizabeth, they lost their commission, their spiritual authority, and all the rights which they derived from Christ; and that of course the Church of which they were the ministers immediately ceased to exist. Now, this is certainly incompatible with the doctrine of the new school. "So entirely independent," says Dr. Hook, "is the Church (as the Church) of the state, that were all connexion between the Church and state to cease, the Church, as the Church, would continue precisely as she now is; that is, our bishops, though deprived of temporal rank, would still exercise all those spiritual functions, which, conferred by higher than human authority, no human authority can take away; and our liturgy, even though we were driven to the upper rooms of our towns, or to the very caves of the desert, would still be solemnized."* Now, the hypothetical case here put by Dr. Hook actually took place in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. The connexion between the existing Church and the state was severed by act of parliament, and by the execution of that act. But the Church still existed. The bishops, though deprived of temporal rank, still possessed their spiritual powers; clergymen were still found to celebrate the Catholic liturgy; and the Catholic people were happy to attend at such celebration even "in upper rooms, and the caves of the desert."

But Mr. Palmer persuades himself that he has proof of his assertion. He appeals to Lord Coke in 1607, who said that "not any one Papist refused to come to church during the first ten years of Elizabeth," to a speech of Sir Edward Coke in 1606, who said that "before the bull of Pius V all came to church to the same divine service now in use;" and to the queen's instructions to Walsingham in 1570, in which she was made to say that "they did ordinarily resort from the beginning of her reign in all open places to the churches, and to divine service in the church, without contradiction or shew of misliking." But, it should be remembered that these instructions were the work of the astucious Cecil, and were drawn up to enable the ambassador to excuse or rebut the charge of persecution made against the queen in the court of France; and that it was to them that Lord Coke, or Sir Edward Coke,

* Hook, Sermon, p. 4.

(for both are the same individual), was indebted for the information which he details in his speeches. Now, as we naturally distrust the evidence of the accused in their own favour, let us try its truth by the test of facts. 1st. With respect to the Catholic clergy, all the bishops living but one were deprived; the names of almost two hundred clergymen have descended to us, of prebendaries, heads of colleges, and dignitaries of the Church, who were also deprived; besides these, it is plain that hundreds more must have undergone the same fate, from the long and numerous lists in Rymer of presentations by the queen to prebends, rectories, and vicarages, vacant by the deprivation of the last incumbent.* Does Mr. Palmer believe that the men, who refused the oath giving the supremacy to the queen, nevertheless renounced the Papal supremacy; that, notwithstanding their deprivation, they joined the communion of those by whom they had been deprived? The absurdity of the thing is its own refutation. There then existed at this time a numerous body of Catholic clergy. 2nd. In the next place, with respect to the laity; we continually meet with complaints to the council during the period in question, of the boldness and the disobedience of the Papists in different counties. Were these Papists members of the Established Church? Scarcely a year passed in which we do not find occasional mention of imprisonment and fine inflicted for the crime of attending at mass.† Were the sufferers Protestants? It is, indeed, true that the great mass of the people attended the same churches as before; and the reason was, that the celebration of the Catholic liturgy had been put down by pain and penalties; and that absence from the parish church on any Sunday or holiday, was punished with a fine of one shilling, levied by the churchwarden for the use of the poor.‡ But the question is, were all who attended, members of the new Church? We learn from many papers of the time, that they were not; that the real object of numbers was only to escape the fine; that they sought to compromise the matter with their conscience, by arguing, that their presence was a civil, not a religious presence; an attendance in obedience to the law, not for the purpose of worship; that they joined not in

* Tierney's *Dodd*, ii. App. No. xlv.—*Rym.* xv. 542-3-7-8, 562-5, 582-9, 617-9.

† *Strype, Annals*, i. 195, 233, 236, 240, 327, 469, 509, 513, 553, &c. Tierney's *Dodd*, ii. App. No. xlv. In fact, the oath of supremacy was first confined to certain classes, but on account of the great number of Catholics, it was found necessary to extend it to the whole population in 1563.—*Stat. of Realm*, iv.

‡ *Stat. of Realm*, iv. 358.

prayer with the minister, but prayed after the old form, if they prayed at all; that, though their bodies were there, their hearts were yet far away. Certainly it cannot be pretended that such men were members of the parliamentary Church; whence it will follow that, even during the first eleven years of the queen, there existed in the realm a numerous body of Catholic clergy, and multitudes of Catholic laymen, the same who professed the Catholic faith during the reign of Mary, and continued in the profession of the same faith, and the exercise of the same worship, though with caution and secrecy, "in upper rooms, and the caves of the desert," under her Protestant successor.*

The fact is, that the government felt little anxiety at occasional manifestations of Catholic feeling on the part of the people. They had the Catholic bishops in safe custody; so that, though these prelates might secretly perform certain acts of spiritual authority, they could not confer orders; whence it was plain that in the course of a few years the Catholic worship must expire with the Catholic clergy. But of this pleasing anticipation they were deprived by the promptitude and foresight of Dr. Allen, who opened an English college at Douai, and was followed by zealous imitators in several other places.† Thither the Catholic youth resorted for education; there many received holy orders: and thence they returned to their native country to replace the priests of Queen Mary's reign. To defeat this plan for the perpetuation of Catholicity among us, it was made the crime of high-treason to take orders in a foreign country, and felony, without benefit of clergy, to harbour a person so ordained; and then it was pretended, in justification of these bloody enactments, that such missionaries were the disturbers of the peace of the Church, the revivers of a sect which was previously extinct.

Honour, however, be to their memory, much as they were persecuted then, and mis-called as they are now, by the name of "foreign emissaries." They were not foreigners, but natives, canonically ordained and commissioned to bring the consolations of religion to their desolate countrymen, to the seven thousand Israelites, "who had refused to bend the knee to

* According to an old MS. the number of Catholic clergymen, who during this period officiated privately, some in the larger towns, most in the houses of the gentry in the country, amounted to one thousand.—Butler, *Hist. Mem.* i. 306.

† "Doubting the time of our chastisement might be so long as to wear out either by age, imprisonment or other miseries, the elder sort of the learned Catholics, both at home and abroad, it was thought a necessary duty for the posterity to provide for a perpetual seed and supply of Catholics, namely of the clergy."—Allen, *Apology for the Seminaries*, 21.

Baal." In the face of the rack, the halter, and the knife, they boldly performed this charitable duty, saved from utter destruction the ruins of that Church, which had been founded by Augustine and his companions, and preserved for us "the deposit of faith," the first of blessings in this life, the best inheritance transmitted to us by our fathers. It is with gratitude and triumph that we look back to the labours and the sufferings of these men, whilst we pity the workings of that spiritual pride, which feels a gratification in painting them, the successors of our ancient clergy, as schismatics and separatists from a Church of the date of yesterday.

Respiciere ignoto discant pendentia tergo.

ART. IV.—1. *De l'Etat de l'Instruction populaire et primaire en Belgique, comparé avec celui de l'Instruction en Allemagne, en Prusse, en Suisse, en France, en Hollande, et aux Etats Unis.* Par E. Ducpétiaux. Bruxelles, 1838.

2. *Ueber den gegenwaertigen Zustand des öffentlichen Unterrichts in den westlichen Staaten von Deutschland, in Holland, Frankreich, und Belgien.* Von Friedrich Thiersch. Stuttgart und Tubingen : 1838.

THERE is no object more calculated to fix the attention of the philosophic and profound observer of things, than the history of religious opinions. When we consider the universal belief in a divine revelation, and the stupendous interests which that revelation is destined to regulate, we are no longer surprised at finding this topic mixed up with all the gravest questions which have occupied the human intelligence. In fact, admitting for a moment that the divine Author of all things has discovered to us certain general and immutable laws, which form the basis, not only of individual happiness, but also of public order, what subject can possibly offer an equal degree of interest? If, therefore, this matter forcibly arrests the attention of the philosopher in general, what must be its all-absorbing interest for the Christian, for the Catholic especially, who not only believes in a divine revelation, but moreover in a Church divinely established and miraculously maintained by the especial and continuous operation of a supernatural power; a regularly constituted and organized body, which not only transmits to us the primeval dogma, from the very beginning of time, but also maintains a form of discipline which scrupulously regulates the duties of every individual member.

The Church then, its origin, its vicissitudes, and its present state, is a subject of the most profound interest to the Christian philosopher. Whatever may be the especial object of his study, it will be found to be dependant, in a certain degree, upon the doctrines of which this body is the authorised depository. Metaphysics, political economy, the philosophy of law and of history, we might safely add, in a more reserved sense, the physical and mathematical sciences,—all depend, more or less, upon revealed religion. Church history, in its various relations with general history, is however a subject too vast to be examined in its details. To arrive at a practical application, we must attempt to detach some general principle, and then examine its action in a given period, and in a particular country. Upon the present occasion it is our intention to examine the influence which the Church has exercised over public education in Belgium, during the three successive forms of government which preceded the present; and then cast a hasty glance on the actual state of things.

Man being composed of a *body* and of a *spirit*, we shall find that all the various forms of human society (which is as it were an emanation of the individual man), admit two distinct elements, corresponding with this twofold constitution, viz. the Church and the State. It is not our intention to enter into an examination of the mutual delimitations of the civil and of the ecclesiastical authority. At an early period, the establishment of the Jewish dispensation separated for ever the offices of priest and king; yet, even since Christianity has more solemnly consecrated that separation, too many kings have interfered, and still interfere, in the government of the Church. It may, perhaps, be objected, on the other hand, that many priests have governed the state. Without stopping to examine how far that interference is regular or irregular, we must bear in mind, whenever we approach that question, that these ecclesiastics acted in their *individual*, and not in their *official* capacity; they acted as *men*, and not as *priests*. The conflicts between the civil and the ecclesiastical power, have been numerous and of serious import, yet justice obliges us to say, that the wrongs have generally been on the side of the state. By this, we are not to be understood as denying the ambitious encroachments of certain churchmen, even in the discharge of their legitimate functions; acts which the temporal power was called upon to repel by lawful means. Such cases are, however, of rare occurrence, as compared with the permanent system of oppression and spoliation which characterises the

exercise of the civil power at the same period. Yet these acts, had they even been infinitely more numerous, could never be laid to the charge of the *Church*, the sole legitimate source of ecclesiastical authority, for these very acts she openly disavows and condemns. Ambitious churchmen, and to go to the very limits of the question, ambitious popes, were not in these reprehensible acts the legitimate representatives of the spiritual authority. Can as much be said of those kings, who, at different times, seized upon the Church revenues, and forcibly reversed the judgments of the ecclesiastical courts? tribunals as lawfully established as the common law courts? By no means; it is impossible for them to disavow their acts, because there existed no superior civil power to control or disavow them.

We consider the encroachment of the civil authority, as one of the grand obstacles, we might have said as an insurmountable obstacle, to the progress of civilization, since the destruction of religious liberty attacks the principle of social progress at its basis. In more recent times, the ruder attacks of the less polished ages have been succeeded by a systematic oppression, which in France and Belgium has principally manifested itself on the subject of education, both civil and religious.

The conflict of the Church and the state, arising principally from the permanent encroachments of the latter, offers to us one of those capital facts, the study of which will be found to be highly instructive. A legitimate development of that authority which has a special mission *to teach all nations*, is for us the preliminary condition of all social progress. Our readers will, we doubt not, follow with a certain degree of interest, the history of such a conflict, in a small neighbouring state, upon which the eyes of Europe are now fixed with interest.

Belgium is at this moment the only Catholic country in Europe where the true principles of civil and religious liberty are really and successfully carried into practice. This state of things has excited the astonishment of a certain class of politicians. It was, indeed, the opinion of many persons, that nothing but anarchy could result from that form of government which has been established in conformity with the conditions of her recent constitution. The great preponderance of the democratic element was considered as incompatible with an hereditary dynasty, or even with the permanent exercise of the supreme authority by the same individual. The position of the new king was rendered more difficult, by the

state of the public press; for in Belgium, the freedom of the press, liberty of conscience, and its grand corollary, the liberty of public education, are not fictions of the constitution, as in France; there, these things are *stern realities*, and the celebrated promise of Louis Philippe, *la charte sera désormais une vérité*, has found its accomplishment in that highly favoured country. Since the period of its glorious revolution, official prosecutions against the public press are unknown, notwithstanding the well-known atrocities of a certain portion of it, which has never ceased to vomit forth the most disgusting calumnies against the government, and against the king himself, both in his public and even in his private capacity. Falsehood, seasoned with the most blasphemous and disgusting ribaldry, has been the ordinary weapon of the anti-national party. The government has however persevered in its original policy, and has maintained a dignified and uninterrupted silence. It has indeed occasionally attacked the false arguments of its adversaries, and occasionally rectified their false assertions, but as to the tropes and figures of speech which characterise the eloquence of a certain celebrated arena in the neighbourhood of the *Custom House*, it has wholly abandoned them to its opponents. This line of conduct has been crowned with the most complete success; and whilst in France the executive power has been humiliated by a series of unsuccessful prosecutions, in Belgium, the thing has at length died a natural death.

Nothing can speak more highly in favour of the new institutions of this country, than the profound repose which reigns in every part of it. That there exist certain party conflicts, which agitate its surface, no one can deny. There are in every state, ambitious and disappointed men, who seize the first pretext that presents itself, to trouble the existing order of things; demagogues, in the full force of the term, according to the just definition of the late Mr. Coleridge,—men who speak *to the people*, and not *for the people*. These political mountebanks have inscribed upon their respective banners, *Protestantism* and *Atheism*. Not that we mean to apply an offensive term, *in globo*, to all the members of any political party; we speak of certain of their leaders, whom public opinion has sufficiently designated; nor is it our intention to insinuate that all the partizans of the house of Nassau desire the destruction of the Catholic religion; or that all the members of that party which is termed *the Liberal party*, would wish to suppress the supreme sanction of a divine revelation: our

meaning is merely this, that the necessary consequence of the triumph of the former party, is the establishment of Protestantism ; as the consequence of the triumph of the latter must be atheism, at least, according to the course of all human probabilities. There can be no doubt that the *Orange party* would again sanction that system of proselytism which was the principal cause of the late revolution ; and it is a certain fact, that if the *Liberals* were sufficiently powerful to place their leaders at the head of affairs, the first condition of their political existence would be a systematic attack upon the Church.

We shall not attempt to continue the parallel between France and Belgium as regards liberty of conscience and freedom of education, as in the former country neither the one nor the other exists. Both countries are at the present moment governed by a constitution, the result of a popular convulsion : the state of public opinion as regards religion, may be ascertained by examining the fundamental charter of the respective nations, and more particularly the manner in which these social contracts have been carried into execution. Belgium, in comparing herself with her more powerful neighbour, has every reason to be filled with just pride, in considering how nobly she has taken the lead in the vital question of religious liberty. It is true that the present king of the French is sufficiently clear-sighted not to increase the perplexity of his condition by an open persecution of the clergy ; but it is sufficient for us that he still preserves in his hands the most effectual means for so doing, whenever it may suit his purpose. With a secretary of state for ecclesiastical affairs, and the undefined powers of the privy-council, (*le conseil d'état*) the state of the law as regards Church affairs acquires a degree of uncertainty and unfixedness, which puts it in the power of the government to carry on a successful system of persecution against any unfortunate individual, against any inconvenient principle, or against any obnoxious party. As to the freedom of education, without which liberty of conscience is an empty word, it is formally prohibited by the law. This shameful violation of one of the express stipulations of the constitution, is to be attributed to the hatred of the clergy and the contempt of the authority of the Church, which characterise certain classes in France. The chamber of deputies being chosen principally by these persons, so long as the electoral law remains in its present state, the government runs no risk of losing its unconstitutional monopoly. The state of public education in France, under the existing order of things, is essentially irreligious,

and of course essentially *anti-social*; for where no religious sanction exists, where are we to look for a permanent principle of public order? Fortunately for that country, religion still exercises an influence, direct or indirect, over all the various classes of society. Are not its eternal, its unvarying principles publicly taught in every parish throughout that vast empire? And even in the case of those who profess to despise its precepts, who can calculate the moral influence of that sex which St. Augustine so justly terms "*devout*"? The pious female, in the intimate relations of a wife and of a mother, carries into action the sublime principles of the Christian faith with meekness and constancy. Where is the man, whose heart is not completely corrupted, who can resist the eloquent appeal of such a wife, or forget the pious instructions of such a mother? This indirect influence of religion, explains the possibility of a certain degree of order and exterior decorum, where public education is conducted upon principles which are essentially sceptical, to say the least of them, and where, not unfrequently, error is inculcated as truth, and truth treated as error.

It is an idle folly to suppose, that the principles which reign in the literature and even in the philosophy of France, at the present day, can ever serve as the basis of public order. He who sows the whirlwind, reaps the storm! What can we expect from that impatient desire of present good, which necessarily determines the actions of those who have lost sight of all future existence? one continued series of crime and folly. Men scrambling for power, for power's sake, and setting at naught every notion of right and justice; all means being good, provided they lead to success. If power be naturally calculated to corrupt the best of men, what must be its influence on such persons? One shudders at the idea of a man without principles, and consequently without a fixed system of public conduct, steering the vessel of the state with an uncertain policy, and temporising with difficulties, the causes and the remedies of which are to him alike unknown. His sole effort is directed to the maintenance of a *numerical* majority, and this majority is frequently obtained by means which are a secret to no one. It is a notorious fact, that at no period was jobbing and trafficking with the public purse, pushed to greater lengths than it has been since the late revolution. If a numerical majority be the real principle of a constitutional government, (no matter how it be obtained), why not proclaim it openly, and boldly act upon it? At the close of the Roman

empire, the system of *majorities* obtained in a certain way, was reduced to an extreme simplicity: as it was necessary, by the force of circumstances, that the future emperor should secure a majority in the prætorian guard, the various pretenders to that high dignity established their respective claims by a public bidding. This arrangement was attended at least with one advantage, perfectly accordant with the principles of justice, for by this means every rogue came in for a share of the spoil. Under the present order of things, the most importunate, the most active, the most persevering, alone carry off the palm; one man is gained by a place; another by the promise of a place, and the rest belongs to the impenetrable mysteries of the secret service money.

But leaving the deplorable state of public opinion in France to work out its own remedy, we hasten to rejoin the subject more immediately before us, viz. the state of religious liberty in Belgium, particularly as regards the very important matter of education; pointing out the results which it has already obtained, since it has been laid down as a principle, and admitted as a fact. In order to understand this question in all its bearings, it will be necessary to cast a rapid glance over the progressive encroachments, by which the civil power, during the last half century, has undermined the authority of the Church in this matter.

The benefits of religious liberty had been assured to Belgium for many centuries, by an uninterrupted succession of Catholic princes, many of whom were distinguished for their eminent piety. The period which immediately precedes the first violent encroachment of the civil power, is one still cherished in the grateful memory of that eminently religious people. Maria Teresa was a sovereign whose policy was based upon the eternal and fixed principles of justice, and she constantly exercised the extensive power committed to her hands, as a trust, and not according to the suggestions of her own private caprice. For some time previous to her death, which happened in 1780, she appears to have allowed a dangerous degree of influence to two men who were attached to her person in the quality of physicians to the court. These men, of great eminence in their profession, had necessarily considerable influence at court, and particularly over the empress, now sinking under the attacks of a complication of disease; and they, in all probability, were the persons who instilled into the mind of her son and successor, those anti-religious principles which brought down upon the Belgian

provinces so many and so heavy misfortunes. Thrice in this unfortunate country have the liberties of the Church been attacked by the civil power; first, during the reign of Joseph the second; again by Napoleon, and at a later period by the Dutch; and each of these attempts to destroy the precious deposit which had been handed down to them by their pious forefathers, has been immediately followed by the violent overthrow of the power which attempted it: a threefold revolution, most disastrous in its immediate effects, but most glorious and most salutary in its consequences; having established upon a firm basis the great national treasure of civil and religious liberty.

In order to appreciate the social influence of this state of things, it will be necessary to cast a rapid glance over the policy pursued by the three preceding governments with regard to that important form of religious liberty, which is connected with civil and religious education; for social causes as well as physical, require a certain lapse of time in order to attain their complete developement, their action being more or less modified by the impediments which interrupt it.

Belgium had, for a long period of years, as we have already observed, been governed by a series of most religious princes, and had also enjoyed the advantages which result from the doctrine and examples of a learned and pious clergy. We do not attempt to conceal that the religious troubles of the 16th century were productive of very grave consequences in the Belgian provinces. Hordes of necessitous and unprincipled foreigners, seizing as a pretext the propagation of the new doctrines, rushed like a destructive whirlwind over the land. These execrable miscreants, being joined by the scum of the populace, pillaged the magnificent churches of all the principal cities, committing at the same time the most revolting excesses, and accompanying their acts of violence with the most awful desecrations. Nor was this all; the ministers of the new faith publicly taught their impious doctrines in several places, and thus instilled a secret poison into the minds of the curious and the unwary. But, notwithstanding these calamities, the great mass of the people remained uncontaminated, and firmly attached to the religion of their fathers. We dwell upon these circumstances, in order to enable us to form a just appreciation of the causes which have prepared the present state of religious feeling in Belgium; for most undoubtedly the principles of the new religion have exercised a certain influence in that country. The supreme authority of the

human reason, is a principle too flattering to human pride, not to find a certain number of partizans in every age and in every country. Yet these excesses, both physical and moral, attacked only the surface of society : its institutions, its education, and above all, its clergy, were eminently Catholic. So long as the vital parts of the body-politic were healthy, these partial ulcers were unable to endanger its existence. The great enemy of truth had therefore a more important mission to fulfil, having completely failed in detaching the Belgian Church from the centre of unity, and for that purpose it was necessary that the civil power should attack the freedom of education, not only civil, but even religious, and establish on its ruins a rigorous monopoly. The preposterous project of establishing a *state theology*, without openly breaking with the Church, was first regarded by the weak intellect of Joseph the Second, as a sort of social progress, according to the doctrines of the new atheistical philosophy, which considered religion as a mere engine of the executive power. The Catholic hierarchy, regarded as an element of social order, was considered as a thing too important to be rashly abandoned ; the emperor therefore began by attempting to detach it from its lawful head. Under the specious pretext of *religious toleration*, on the 13th October 1781, he published an edict by which the bishops and the superior members of the regular clergy were rendered independent of the pope ; but on the other hand, all the official documents which they published, were to be submitted to government, and at the same time, the prerogatives of the ecclesiastical tribunals were abolished. It was evident that the emperor could never hope to triumph in these important matters as long as the clergy remained attached to their duty : he resolved therefore to get their education into his own hands, and for that purpose, after having suppressed the celebrated university of Louvain, he established upon its ruins his famous *General Ecclesiastical Seminary*, at the same time closing all the episcopal colleges and the theological schools attached to the great monasteries ; in a word, there was no other theology to be taught, but the *court theology*. This rash measure, as might be well expected, met with a vigorous opposition on the part of the clergy, and in that opposition we might have safely included the majority of all classes. Fortunately for the best interests of religion, the same spirit of encroachment which had induced the emperor to sap the very foundations of the Church, in-

duced him to overthrow the constitution of the state. After having suppressed the three supreme councils, and all the provincial legislatures, he did away altogether with the ancient geographical subdivisions of the different provinces; and in their place he established nine circles or departments, intending thereby to put an end to the various provincial franchises, which he had however solemnly sworn to maintain. This imprudent measure drew down upon him even the indifferent and the philosophical party, and was the death-blow of his authority in these rich provinces. A short time previous to the great French revolution, he rescinded all these obnoxious measures; but that great political crisis completely swept away the authority of Austria in the Low Countries for ever.

Upon the establishment of the French empire, which comprised within its vast frontier the whole of Belgium, the encroachments of the civil power were continued. The conflicts between the civil and religious authorities during the military despotism of Napoleon, partook necessarily of the character of the times. We shall not attempt to follow this extraordinary man through all the violent measures which he adopted, in order to establish over public opinion that absolute rule which he had introduced into the army and into the state. When his iron hand had struck down the many-headed monster of democratic power, his first step towards the annihilation of intellectual liberty, was the monopoly of civil education, by the establishment of the Imperial University, an institution which still exists under the name of the *Université de France*. This strongly organized institution, is, in fact, a sort of intellectual *inquisition*, which possesses the power of preventing all those persons from publicly teaching, who refuse to propagate its doctrines. The rude despotism of this military adventurer weighed heavily upon Belgium during the commencement of the present century, and most of the public men of our day were educated under its influence. In all the public colleges, under this system, the boys assembled by beat of drum, and various other military arrangements marked the origin and the tendency of these institutions. The emperor met with very little opposition to his wishes on the part of the laity, but from the very moment of the establishment of the imperial system, the clergy, as in duty bound, marked their decided disapprobation of it. As it is utterly impossible to establish the limits which separate civil from religious education, they naturally looked with great jealousy upon a state of things which attacked at its basis that divine

prerogative of *teaching*, which forms an essential part of their ministry. The opposition of the clergy, although merely passive, was a thing for which the emperor was wholly unprepared, and which he was at a loss to understand. He soon, however, discovered that the only way of accomplishing his purpose, was to destroy the Catholic hierarchy in France, by detaching the clergy from that centre of unity, which is the very source of the spiritual life,—from that true Church of which *unity* is one of the essential characteristic qualities. The measures which he took were in harmony with his general character and his ordinary practice. His multifarious occupations rendered it impossible for him to treat things in their details: in military tactics, his first step was to march into the heart of the enemy's country, and establish himself in the capital; and in this case, he laid violent hands upon the supreme pontiff. Having deprived him of his hereditary dominions, he carried him into France, thinking it would be no difficult matter to impose his own terms upon a defenceless old man. He began by alluring him with the hope of regaining his lost power, but he found that the Church of Christ is not governed according to the caprice of any individual, but according to well-defined principles, and according to the apostolical tradition; and that the meek and unassuming Pius VII was not only a temporal sovereign, but that he was moreover a bishop, the supreme bishop of the universal Church; and that, as such, he exercised a jurisdiction which no violence could affect.

Such of our readers as are familiar with the Church history of this period, will remember the unheard-of efforts which Napoleon made to establish a schism in the French Church, the principal of which was the famous National Council, which met at Paris in the year 1810, composed of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, amongst whom were six cardinals, eight archbishops, and ninety-one bishops. No such assembly had taken place since the general council of Trent, and all the eyes of Christendom were intensely fixed upon the proceedings of this august body. We are sorry that the nature of our subject does not permit us to enter into the details of its various meetings, a faithful account of which has been preserved by one of its members, who particularly distinguished himself in the defence of orthodox principles.* Many of the incidents present a high dramatic interest, and are worthy of the very best ages of the Christian Church. We cannot resist the tempta-

* The Prince de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent.

tion of citing one amongst many. Upon one occasion, when several of the court party had spoken in no measured terms of the bull by which Pius VII had recently excommunicated, the emperor asserting openly that the pope had overstepped the limits of his prerogative, the venerable archbishop of Bordeaux, opening the council of Trent, at the passage which relates to the excommunication of sovereigns, threw it violently upon the table, and thus put an end to the discussion, by pointing out this specific and paramount authority; at the same time adding, "My lords, these opinions are not an attack upon the *Pope*, but an attack upon the *Church*!" This energetic protestation, and the high character of the person by whom it was made, produced a most excellent effect.*

Out of this council arose a circumstance which enabled a certain portion of the Belgian youth to exhibit a practical protestation in favour of religious liberty, which reflects the highest honour upon the age and country in which it took place. The emperor, being unable to overcome the sturdy virtue of the majority in this great national synod, suddenly broke it up; and, according to his favourite maxim of the *right of power*, seizing the most obnoxious members, he shut them up in the chateau of Vincennes, which was then used as a sort of imperial bastille. The bishop of Ghent was, of course, one of the number, and the students of his ecclesiastical seminary having unanimously refused to recognize the person who arrogated to himself the title of his successor, were particularly selected as the object of imperial vengeance. The principal actor in this scandalous affair was a renegade abbé, who had for many years thrown off the ecclesiastical habit, and appears only to have taken it again from motives, which, to say the least of them, are highly suspicious. This base instrument of an impious oppression, having threatened the students with the anger of the emperor, the *consequences* of which he took care to insinuate in a manner which could not be mistaken; they replied to a man that they would rather be good soldiers than schismatic priests. The emperor, who was a man not to break his word upon an occasion of this sort, ordered them to be incorporated into different regiments. Upon this occasion every form of law was set at defiance; even the ordinary privilege of furnishing a substitute was refused, and the most legitimate causes of exemption were overruled. One of them, who is at

* Coup d'œil sur l'histoire ecclésiastique dans les premières années du 19ème siècle, &c. &c. par T. T. du Smet; Gand, 1836; p. 291.

the present day a Jesuit, and a very celebrated preacher, was the peculiar object of the prefect's anger. "*As for that fellow,*" said he, "*although under the standard height, he is much too troublesome to be left at large; you may make a drummer of him!*" Father B——, who is a man of great humour, relates this anecdote most admirably, and adds, that he made it a point of conscience, to prove himself one of the best drummers in the *grande armée*. This vicissitude of his early life has not perhaps been wholly without its influence in the success with which he since (as Hudibras has it)

"The pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,
Has beat with fist, instead of a stick."

Above fifty of these heroic confessors fell victims to a contagious disease at Wesel, and those whose bodily infirmities rendered them unfit for military service, were marched off under an escort of *gendarmérie*, and shut up in the common prison of Sainte Pélagie. A circumstance highly worthy of admiration, is the perseverance of the survivors in their original vocation; all, with the exception of two, having renewed their studies and taken holy orders, and these two were, as we have been informed, prevented by ill-health. Many of them are still to be found amongst the most eminent members of the Belgian clergy. Besides the celebrated preacher to whom we have alluded, who is at present occupied in completing the herculean labours of the Bollandists, we have the honour of being personally acquainted with several others.

Napoleon having completely failed in his attempt to establish a schism, attacked religious liberty in Belgium by the same measures which had so eminently failed in the hands of his philosophical predecessor. He closed the preparatory ecclesiastical seminaries, and introduced a series of other vexatious measures, which were however suddenly put an end to by his unexpected downfall.

As far as regards the last effort of this conflict, no period of contemporary history has been more unjustly appreciated. The systematic and uncompromising persecution of the Catholic religion which formed the basis of the Dutch policy, has been constantly lost sight of, not only by those who were indifferent upon the matter, but even by many persons well disposed towards the Catholic Church. The king of the Low Countries possessed many qualities which were calculated to win the esteem of his Belgian subjects. He was a man of

business, and well versed in the wants and interests of the different localities which he visited ; he was, moreover, easy of access and affable in his manners. As far as religious matters were concerned, he professed the most liberal sentiments upon the capital questions of the liberty of conscience, the freedom of the press, and other topics of vital interest to his Catholic subjects ; but unfortunately his actions were but little in accord with his professions. But however our religious and political opinions may differ from those of the late government (or rather of the king, whose opinions were its supreme law), we cannot allow ourselves to be led away by the general clamour, and say that it did nothing for the Catholics. Its policy towards the clergy, as far as temporal interests were concerned, was as liberal as that of many powers exclusively Catholic : it accorded numerous subsidies for the enlargement and reconstruction of churches, and for other useful purposes. Its persecution was directed to a higher order of things, and was, on that account, more dangerous in its consequences. This tendency appears to result naturally from the subordination of the spiritual to the temporal authority, when the latter is invested in the hands of a *consistent* Protestant. In the plan of the late government, there appears to have been a double motive. The predominant idea of the king was the establishment of a national unity, by a complete fusion of the northern and the southern provinces ; and to that end, he made use of every means, both religious and political ; and although we doubt not that political interests predominated, a spirit of proselytism may be traced in many of those important measures which finally provoked the separation of the two nations. There is certainly something highly specious in the loudly proclaimed intention of diffusing useful knowledge ; and the marked opposition of the clergy to the Dutch system of education, has been stigmatised as a systematic hatred of whatever tended to improve the intellectual condition of the people. It, in fact, appeared a very hard case, the government having gone to the expense of erecting commodious school-rooms in most of the populous villages of both the Flanders, that the parish priest should interpose his veto and deprive the poorer parishioners of the advantages of a cheap and useful education. But when we come to examine the character of the persons who directed these establishments, and more particularly the books which were employed in them, we are compelled to admit the necessity of this apparently illiberal conduct. The same systematic

opposition of the clergy, based upon the same motives, was pursued with regard to the municipal colleges, the professors of which, principally Frenchmen, took no pains to conceal their profound contempt for every thing Catholic. The government, in furtherance of its general system, began by closing all the Catholic colleges; thus establishing, by an open violation of the constitution, an odious and intolerant monopoly. As Catholic parents, in order to preserve their children from the contamination of anti-Catholic principles, sent them into France and other countries, where there existed establishments conducted upon religious principles, a law was passed by which all persons educated in foreign colleges were excluded from the national universities: as, therefore, by a previous law, the practice of law and of physic, and the occupation of all places under government, required an academical degree, this measure effectually excluded the Catholics from the practice of the learned professions, and closed to them for ever the career of public life. On the other hand, in order to attack the Catholic religion at its source, the government attempted to extend its tyrannical monopoly even to the education of the clergy. The ecclesiastical seminaries were forcibly closed, and a general college erected by government, the very name of which (the *philosophical* college), struck the pious Catholic with terror. Not that religion is in any way opposed to philosophical studies, any more than it is to freedom of thought; but the application of certain terms changes their real meaning, and the orgies of the eighteenth century have given the same exclusive meaning to the word *philosophe*, as the same causes have given to the term *free-thinker* in our own country. It is true the king, upon signing the concordat, abandoned this favourite scheme, hoping probably to find some other means of arriving at the same end; but all the other oppressive and exceptionable laws were left in full operation. If to the before-mentioned grievances we add the effectual gagging of the press by the rigorous application of certain penal laws, in direct opposition to the constitution, we may form a tolerable idea of the servile bondage in which the spiritual power was held during the Dutch ascendancy. These circumstances, amongst others, prepared the violent political reaction of 1830, and certainly no man of generous mind can condemn the Belgians for having thrown off a yoke which would ultimately have proved fatal both to civil and to religious liberty.

Out of this important social change have arisen two circumstances, which may be considered as its natural consequences,

being at the same time subjects of vital import as regards the future destiny of that country, both in a civil and in a religious point of view ; we allude to the reorganization of public education, and the resuscitation of the Regular Clergy. These two grand social problems have fixed the attention of all thinking men, whatever may be the peculiar form of their religious opinions. Both Catholics and anti-Catholics of every various shade admit that these questions attack the very vitality of the state. One class of political economists, predicts a speedy decline to that people where priestcraft has sealed up the *Pièrian* spring, and where the uninstructed are delivered up as a prey to be devoured by innumerable hosts of monks and friars, of all colours, black, white, and grey ; drones in the social hive ; who take an active part in the consumption of the good things of this world, leaving to others the more painful duty of their laborious productions. As regards monastic institutions, this marked disapprobation of them is by no means confined to the avowed enemies of the Catholic Church ; we have heard similar opinions defended, in less offensive terms, by many of its lay members, and not unfrequently by the secular clergy, both in England and on the Continent ; men of undoubted piety and of general information, capable, one would think, of forming a cool practical opinion upon a subject of such high importance.

We are sorry that our limits, and the more special object of this article, render it impossible for us to enter into a subject so complicated as the revival of monastic institutions in the nineteenth century ; future circumstances will, we doubt not, afford us an opportunity of putting forth a mature opinion upon that matter ; we shall for the present confine ourselves to observing that the question appears to us composed of two distinct elements, one of which is religious and the other political : upon the former there cannot exist two opinions amongst Catholics, as to the *principle* ; the existence of a regular clergy is of the greatest importance, and of the highest advantage to the Church. The application of this principle lies open to discussion, and every one is at liberty to prefer the Jesuits to the Dominicans, the Benedictines to the Franciscans, and the bare-footed Carmelites to the disciples of St. Augustine. It would, however, perhaps, be more prudent to abstain from all partialities upon such a matter, and to admit, that each order has, or has had, its special mission in the Church. The political question, particularly that part of it which lies within the domain of political economy, is one which it will be difficult to settle by argument. The most convincing argument

in their favour would be the complete success of the experiment now being tried in Belgium.

All restrictions upon education having been abolished by the revolution of 1830, we find at the present day three distinct systems in full operation, each having its public schools and its universities. In the first place, we have the system which has been established by the clergy; which has its public schools in most of the principal towns, its university being established at Louvain. In these preparatory institutions, which are called colleges, both the discipline and the plan of study are regulated by the clergy. The Principal, and most of the Professors, are ecclesiastics; the boys assist daily at the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and are constantly under the eye of a vigilant superintendant. Proper importance is of course attached to the discharge of all their religious duties: in a word, the whole plan of education in these establishments is based upon the fundamental truth of our holy religion, "*unum est necessarium.*" Whatever may be your future prospects in life, whether you are destined to become a physician, or an advocate, or a merchant, you have, before all things, certain paramount duties, which imply a competent knowledge of the dogma of the Church, and a careful and patient observance of its salutary discipline. They learn syntax and prosody like other boys, and as far as we have had opportunities of judging, bring away quite as much Latin and Greek as those turned out of the rival establishments under similar circumstances of capacity and length of study. There is, perhaps, in many cases, somewhat less of exterior polish, but to that we attach little importance; gentlemanly manners are the result rather of family tradition, and an intercourse with good society. The first six months that a man passes in the world, decide his position in that arbitrary scale which fashion has established. To judge of this matter by what passes under our own eyes, we are forced to admit that a Stoneyhurst boy at the end of the first winter, is a very different personage; the substitution of Mr. Stultz for the college tailor, has operated a change which almost amounts to a destruction of personal identity. On the other hand, the young men educated in these establishments have had the advantage of receiving their early instruction from men who respect and practise the Christian religion; an advantage, which, no one who appreciates the force of early habit, can overlook; an advantage, we should say, which would not be too dearly purchased at a much greater sacrifice.

Those, amongst the youths so prepared, who are intended for

the learned professions, continue their studies in the Catholic university at Louvain, an establishment formed and supported by the Catholic body in Belgium, under the direction of the superior clergy. The plan upon which this institution has been founded has been this: the furnishing of a complete scientific education, upon principles in harmony with the Catholic faith, by the most eminent professors in every branch both of science and of literature; it being a condition, *sine quâ non*, that these professors should hold and practise the Catholic religion. In accordance with these regulations, several very celebrated professors from Munich, from Berlin, and from Bonn, have been called to occupy the chairs of history, of medicine,* of archeology, and various other sciences. In the original constitution of this academical body, few professorships were confided to ecclesiastics; although this important enterprise was organised by an ecclesiastic (the Abbé De Ram), and under the immediate superintendence of the episcopal body. The chair of the canon law was, indeed, so occupied, and we think with high propriety, as also that of moral philosophy, the importance of which, joined to the lamentable state of philosophical studies, furnishing sufficient motives for such a choice. With the exception of these two, all the rest were confided to laymen. We have seen, with a certain feeling of regret, at a more recent period, several chairs occupied by members of the clergy; amongst others, those of geology and French literature; for the enemies of this institution have long since foretold, that this university is destined to become an ecclesiastical monopoly, the professorships of Louvain being destined to become the object of episcopal patronage. We must acknowledge that, judging the matter *à priori*, it appears highly improbable that men who have devoted the best part of their lives to the study of the specialities of their own profession, will be prepared to illustrate the new career which opens before them. We speak here merely as to the principle, and without any reference to the recent nominations *personally*, those gentlemen being wholly unknown to us. We take the deepest interest in all that regards the future welfare of the Catholic University, because we look upon this institution as a grand social experiment, closely connected with the vital interests of religious civilization. No one, more than ourselves, appreciates the advantages which result to society from the

* Since writing the above, the Professor of Anatomy, who was a son of the celebrated Windischmann, and himself a professor of great merit, has been called to an early grave.

co-operation of the clergy in the important work of education ; and if we have ventured to express a doubt as to the expediency of filling up the vacant professorships at Louvain by ecclesiastics, it is not because we think that a priest is less qualified than a layman to make a good professor ; but because, considering the state of the education of the clergy in Belgium, it is morally impossible that such a course of study can qualify any one to take up a scientific speciality with success. To march at the head of modern science is the condition which the title of this new institution imposes upon it. It would be a grievous error to suppose that it has merely to enter upon the fame and continue the labours of the ancient university of Louvain ; for, in the golden days of that celebrated seat of learning, there existed many *Catholic universities*, whereas, in our days, there is but one. It is, therefore, rather an European, than a national institution ; and, as such, must call to its aid, at any sacrifice, all the great Catholic celebrities. This, we are aware, is a work of considerable difficulty in every respect, and principally in a financial point of view ; eminent men, already advantageously established, cannot be expected to abandon their position without an indemnity in some degree equivalent ; and the sole pecuniary resources of this infant institution are the voluntary contributions of a small Catholic people, where, unfortunately, those who are best able to contribute to its success, are either indifferent, or opposed to it.

Having thus cast a rapid glance upon that system of education—which we may proudly call the *Catholic system*, because it is exclusively based upon Catholic charity and Catholic truth—we shall proceed to examine the two remaining systems, which, for the sake of perspicuity, we shall also qualify by the cumulative epithet, calling the one the *national*, and the other the *liberal* system. These three systems represent the three sole possible contingencies for religious belief—the positive, the negative, and the indifferent. Men who have a fixed system, and who pretend that all the capital questions of philosophy and of history are connected with that system ; on the other hand, men who assert that the only real road to knowledge is *doubt* ! and then, between these two extremes, the *juste milieu* of universal toleration ! toleration, not of *persons*, but of *opinions*—the most extravagant folly that human perversity ever invented. This universal toleration is, however, in the present case, merely a state fiction ; for the force of public opinion would put down any man who openly dared to profess anti-religious principles. A

very different spirit, in fact, reigns in the government universities; we have ourselves heard one of the Professors of Philosophy citing, with marked approbation, the writings of St. Augustine and of St. Thomas Aquinas, with those of Bossuet and of Fenelon.

The national system of education, in a country where there is no state religion, must necessarily be without any decided tendency. Philosophy, under such a system, can only be a series of experiments, and history an assemblage of facts. Such must be the case, or rather such ought to be the case, logically speaking. The *national system* of education has but one imperative duty, namely, that of having no system at all. But how is the fact?—for facts are stubborn things, and are not always in harmony with the principles upon which they depend.—The national system of education, in the sole branch which is at present organised, viz., the universities, is a thing as motley as the individuals which compose it. In the reorganization of the universities,—in which measure was comprised the suppression of one out of the three,—the first difficulty which presented itself was one, before which many undisputed ameliorations are still destined to wait; the difficulty of vested interests. The professors of the three existing universities put forth their claims to places or to pensions. We must, however, say, in justice to the government, that they contrived to introduce into the new organization several foreigners of distinguished merit; amongst whom were, Monsieur Lacordaire, the brother of the celebrated Abbé Lacordaire; and Monsieur Margerin, a man of extraordinary capacity, and one of the most profound mathematicians of the present day, being no less deeply versed in the natural sciences: to the latter was confided the professorship of geology in the university of Ghent, whilst the important chair of moral philosophy was given to Monsieur Huet, one of the last and most distinguished disciples of that brilliant school which gave a death-blow to materialism. The eclectics in France were not, however, successful in substituting some permanent doctrine in its place; this complete failure of such men as Royer Collard, Cousin, and Jouffroy, offers an important moral lesson, and proves that the unassisted reason is wholly incompetent to the task of forming a general philosophical theory. The nature of the human soul, the origin and destiny of the human race, are problems which can never be solved *à posteriori*.

We are, then, fully prepared to admit, that these univer-

sities count amongst their professors several men of considerable merit; yet these institutions, as forming part of that *systemless system* to which we have alluded, lie open to the gravest objections. What chance has a pupil of merit, who really thinks for himself, and desires in completing his education to arrive at a certain unity of doctrine; what chance of success has such a youth, when in the morning he attends a lesson of moral philosophy,—where, perhaps, the professor follows the Catholic method,—and in the afternoon a lesson of history, where the Church, as a hierarchy, is pointed out as a sort of social incubus, exhibiting the fears and the prejudices of mankind moved by the interest of a few ambitious churchmen, for the satisfaction of a few private interests, and a few ignoble passions; and where the vapourish pantheism of Germany, and the brutalizing materialism of Broussais, march side by side? What can result from such a state of things, but a permanent confusion of ideas, or a state of systematic doubt? That such is always necessarily the case, we by no means assert, for we have witnessed many instances of the contrary. The system is, however, no less reprehensible, because, by some train of fortuitous circumstances, it fails in accomplishing the evil which is its natural consequence.

To complete the system of national education, there yet remain two branches, which are to be regulated by a special legislative measure—*l'Instruction primaire, et l'Instruction moyenne*. We beg pardon of our readers for making use of these foreign epithets; but the fact is, that, as in our own country the same classification does not exist in theory (although existing in fact), we have no precise terms to mark the distinction. The object of the former is to provide in every village a school where the poor may receive a gratuitous education, in harmony with their social position, consisting in reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, accompanied, we believe, with certain preliminary notions of geography and local history. These schools already exist in most parts of Belgium, particularly in the two Flanders, some having been established by the late government, and others since the revolution. These establishments, even in the absence of a law which is intended to settle their number and the conditions of their existence, are already on the increase; so that in a short time every peasant will have an opportunity of learning to read and to write. As the parish schools were considered, under the late government, as an engine of proselytism, the masters and the books used therein being generally opposed

to the Catholic faith, these establishments still remain, to a certain degree, the objects of popular suspicion, particularly where, as in many instances, the old schoolmaster has been allowed to remain.

Whilst on the subject of the education of the poor, we cannot pass over in silence an admirable institution which is common in Belgium, particularly in country villages, namely, that of working schools, under the direction of pious women, who are generally associated to the orders of St. Francis or St. Dominick. In these establishments, labour being accompanied by prayer, attains to the dignity of an expiation; and that meek submission to the Divine will, which is one of the peculiar characteristics of Christian charity, becoming a fixed habit of the mind, sheds its softening influence over the toils and privations which are the *birthright* of the poor.

The final organization of this important branch of public education will probably bring into collision the two principal political parties, the Catholics and the Liberals; but we doubt not that the compact majority of the two elective chambers of one of the most Catholic countries in Europe, will prevent the triumph of irreligion in its various forms, whether it march under the deserted banner of Voltaire, or under that of Guizot; for the liberal party in the Belgian Chambers appears to us to be almost exclusively formed of these two varieties of opinion;—men who profess an open hatred to all religion, or who consent to retain it merely as an element of public order, without attempting to define in what it consists. Religion, for the latter, is a sort of speculative entity, of Protean form—something with or without a form of worship—with or without the supreme sanction of a future judgment—with or without an intelligent and active author!

We have but a very few words to add upon that remaining branch of the national education, which is to complete the system. Its object is to have a grammar-school in all the principal towns, in which those of the Belgian youth who are intended for the universities may be duly prepared by a regular course of study, and in which those who are destined for other pursuits may receive a liberal education. The principle already laid down, and which will, in all probability, be adopted in the new law, appears to be this—that the education is to be nearly gratuitous, the expense of these establishments being borne conjointly by the government and the different municipal authorities. Most of these public schools, at the present moment, notwithstanding the real advantages

which they offer, as far as learning is concerned, are at a very low ebb. This state of things is to be attributed, if not to the hostility of the clergy, at least to their silent disapprobation; a disapprobation founded upon very grave motives, which we shall not, however, attempt to examine in detail; they may, however, be classed under three general heads—the personal character of the generality of the professors—the personal character of the pupils—and the absence of a proper religious discipline. As long as these objections exist, the large sums annually expended upon these establishments will produce little real good, the number of pupils being insignificant. We lately had the curiosity to inform ourselves as to the state of one of these establishments, situated in a town of above 40,000 inhabitants, and were surprised to find that it contained not a single boarder, and only a comparatively small number of day-scholars, several of whom belonged to parents in indigent circumstances, who were received gratuitously. For these scholars no less than fifteen professors are maintained at a very considerable expense. In the same town exists another college, lately established by the clergy, under the sanction of the bishop, which is wholly supported by the contributions of the scholars: it is true, that, being established upon principles of the strictest economy, the expense for the pupils is not very much more than at the municipal college; it is however greater; but this has in nowise prevented its success, as there are already a considerable number of boarders and nearly three hundred day-scholars.

Of the third and remaining system of education we avow that we know very little, and therefore it becomes us to speak of it with caution. Its grand feature is the university established in Brussels, under the name of the *Université Libre*. This is certainly a very imposing institution, in its prospectus, which we had the pleasure of reading in the windows of a pastry-cook's shop, printed upon an immense sheet of yellow paper. Like the Catholic University, it is founded upon the voluntary principle; but as its principal patrons appear particularly averse to drawing their purse strings, a double expedient has been hit upon to obviate that disagreeable necessity. In the first place, the professors, who were principally chosen amongst persons resident in Brussels, were requested to serve gratuitously; many accepted upon those terms, but we have reason to believe that their services were in most instances in proportion to their salary. To our certain knowledge, two of them (one of whom lately refused to take a *Christian* oath

in a court of justice) have never given a single lesson. But as several of these gentlemen persisted, we think very properly, in asserting that the labourer is worthy of his hire, means were found to saddle these upon the municipal treasury, which contributes annually a sum of forty thousand francs to the support of this favourite hobby of the liberal party; for whom, we suppose, the state universities are too *pious*, although professedly without a religion.

In examining the question of civil and religious education in general, in a Catholic point of view, we find it intimately connected with the education of the clergy. This subsidiary question, which is merely a member of the general question, logically speaking, requires, nevertheless, to be treated separately, because, in fact, the education of the clergy is wholly distinct from that of the laity, according to the spirit of the Church, and the express stipulations of the Council of Trent;* for, as that holy council teaches, such is the fragility of our nature, particularly in our early years, that the pleasures and amusements of the world prove an almost insurmountable obstacle to those who are not submitted to a regular and salutary discipline; and for that reason, the Church desires that those who devote themselves to her service, should be early separated from the general corruption, and brought up in the observance of virtue and piety. Behold the prudent spirit of that best of mothers, who thus provides for us a priesthood, firmly grounded in virtue, and well exercised in the use of those spiritual weapons, by which alone we triumph over evil. Should this paper fall into the hands of any of our Protestant friends, we beseech them to compare the following system of ecclesiastical education with that of the clergy of the Established Church, as conducted at Oxford and Cambridge. Most of our readers have heard startling accounts of the general habits of the undergraduates of our two great universities. Should these statements be to any great extent correct, we would appeal to every dispassionate observer as to whether or not such a course of life can adequately prepare a man for the grave functions of the Christian ministry, even when those functions are merely confined to the teaching of a system of moral philosophy?

It is the fashion in our day to undervalue the learning of the clergy, as a body. We are prepared to admit, that, at first sight, this objection appears extremely plausible, particularly

* Sess. xxiii. c. 18.

upon comparing the productions of living authors belonging to that body, with those of any other given periods. Where, indeed, are the Bossuets, the Fenelons, the Malebranches, of the nineteenth century? We shall not enter upon the invidious task of establishing a parallel between the learned men of the present day and those of past times, although we might, perhaps, thereby arrive at a conclusion which would astonish many of our readers; placing at the head of our list the present Pope, who is one of the first oriental scholars of the day. This is not, however, the plan we shall adopt, as we consider such a proceeding unworthy the gravity of the subject. We shall merely,—confining the question for the moment to Belgium,—show how the clergy are educated, and then we think that we may safely assert, that no learned body—that neither the bar nor the faculty, receive a more careful and complete education in any country of Europe, as far as regards their special duties. The clergy in Belgium is chiefly recruited amongst the less wealthy classes of society, as the council of Trent recommends; and to this circumstance is, in some degree, to be attributed its exemplary piety. In the Belgian Church there are no rich sinecures to allure the ambitious and the high-born; those who take upon themselves the grave and painful duties of the sacred ministry, must, according to all probability, have a special and divine vocation; for no human motives can account for a young man preferring the Church as a profession, seeing that the pettiest village surgeon (to say nothing of the village lawyer) is much less worked, and much better paid; the trifling difference in the expense of their respective educations is not a capital affair. What other motives, then, than Christian zeal and the irresistible yearnings of Christian charity, can induce a man to make that sacrifice which implies in itself the sacrifice of all the dearest social affections? He quits, as it were, his family for ever; for his numerous duties absorb all his time, and generally remove him to a considerable distance; he abandons for ever all the sweet hopes of domestic love, and immolates upon the altar of religion the strongest affections of the human heart. Those who have never known the conflict which precedes this sacrifice, or at least witnessed its progress, can but little appreciate its nature. But we leave these secrets of divine love covered by that veil which effectually conceals them from the profane gaze of the worldly man.

The substantial, and even some of the smaller farmers, are the class of persons who supply the greatest number

of priests. The towns, comparatively speaking, are little favoured in this way. There are certain villages which reckon amongst their limited population more ecclesiastical students, than the large cities of twenty, forty, and eighty thousand inhabitants. Before this important statistical fact, replete with grave moral consequences, we shall be disposed to exclaim with Cowper,

“God made the *country*, and man made the *town*.”

The present Cardinal Primate of Belgium was the son of a farmer, and his parents still cultivate the farm upon which he was born and brought up. Let us then for a moment consider the progress of the education of such a man. Born of pious parents, we see, from the earliest infancy, a careful mother transfusing into his tender mind the truths and principles of the Christian faith; from her beloved lips he learns the moving tale of Christ's sufferings and death, and each returning day brings its sacred legend, which furnishes ample matter for the development of the imagination and of the heart; for what collection of facts can vie in interest, in the deep pathos of real feeling, and in variety of incident, with the history of God's saints? No man who is gifted with those finer sensibilities which form the poet, can remain indifferent in presence of the moving details of legendary lore. The legend has, perhaps, a greater psychological importance than many persons are prepared at first sight to admit. This is certainly not the place to examine such a question in its details; and we feel more particularly inclined to be concise, as we propose to devote a special article to the subject of Catholic legends, both ancient and modern, in which we shall consider them in a philosophical, in an historical, and in a dogmatical point of view. We may, however, be allowed to say a few words on this subject, in consideration of its close connexion with the subject of ecclesiastical education.

The various faculties of the mind, as well as the numerous organs of the body, are evidently destined to receive a simultaneous and harmonic development, and the excessive or defective development of any one of the number, destroys the general harmony of the whole. It is not necessary, for the illustration of this principle, to enter into any elaborate research, either physiological or metaphysical; the least scientific of our readers being aware that the ordinary *mechanical* cause of death is the excessive irritation, or the excessive apathy, of one of the great vital organs. The same thing may be said of the moral death, and of sin, which is its cause. Virtue, on the

contrary, supposes a simultaneous developement and a due estimate of the plastic, of the intellectual, and of the moral faculties. Every deviation from this primordial law interrupts the eternal reign of order, and opens the door to sin and to death. It is, then, of the highest importance that the imagination (which, psychologically speaking, is a form of the memory) should be developed in harmony with the understanding and with the will. It is here scarcely necessary to remark, that this triple division of the human faculties resumes the whole man, and is that which is universally adopted in the schools, and by Catholic writers in general; by St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, by St. Augustine, by St. Thomas, and, at a later period, by Bossuet and by Fenelon. It is then of the highest consequence that the imagination should not only be duly developed, but developed in a proper direction, for no one of the human faculties is more subject to aberration. We need here merely appeal to facts; and we hesitate not to assert, that it is in Protestant and anti-Catholic countries that the wild ravings of the imagination have assumed the most preposterous forms. The modern literature of Germany and France, and, we are sorry to add, that of our own country, to a certain extent, will bear out this assertion; and the reason of this state of things is plain—for there is in the human mind a certain appetite for the marvellous and for the supersensual which must be satisfied; and if you deny it that nourishment which may be termed its natural object, one of the two following results is inevitable:—it will either remain sterile and inactive, or, what is perhaps still worse, it will seek out for itself a factitious and illegitimate object. The mind then becomes subject to a sort of moral intoxication, which is alike fatal to the understanding and to the will. The Church, therefore,—which is the most prudent, and, at the same time, the most careful of mothers,—has provided for this exigency, in preserving and in handing down to us the admirable treasures of her legendary traditions. This is the sweet nourishment which she proposes for the imagination of her children. Its real character may be tested by the effects which it produces upon the unsophisticated minds of children; beings whose hearts have not been ossified by the contact of the world. Never have we seen a more intense interest created, than by the simple recital of some of these legendary tales; the lives and sufferings of the Pauls and the Antonies, who dwelt far from the haunts of men, and held converse only with the invisible world; of holy Abraham, the hermit, who, after twenty years passed in the

desert, quitted his pious solitude in search of a stray lamb, which he carefully carried back into Christ's fold.

We have already, we presume, said enough to prove the importance of this order of ideas in a perfectly Christian education. If, therefore, it be important generally, it is particularly important as regards the education of the clergy, who are destined to transmit to us not only the dogma, but all the traditions of the Church. We point out, therefore, with pleasure, and recommend to the serious attention of the Catholic reader, this practice, very general in Belgium, of selecting their nursery tales from the lives of the saints; and we speak from experience when we say, that these heart-moving tales maintain a successful rivalry with the deep pathos of *Jack the Giant-killer*, and the Protean vicissitudes of *Tom Thumb*.

To return then to our subject: the pious child, after having received in his native village the rude elements of his education, is placed in his tenth or eleventh year in the *petit séminaire*, or preparatory episcopal seminary, which is in fact nothing more or less than a grammar-school. Its name appears to indicate a certain connexion with that establishment which is exclusively devoted to the education of the clergy, and this connexion certainly exists, these schools having been originally established for the education of boys destined for the Church. In using the expression *destined for the Church*, it is scarcely necessary to explain that we use it in a relative sense; they are indeed destined by their parents and by their own natural desire, for the sacred ministry, if such indeed be the will of Almighty God; this question of a supernatural vocation, is always patiently and maturely examined by competent persons, when the subject has completed his preliminary education, at which period he is generally seventeen or eighteen years old, an age at which the judgment may be said to be formed. The system of education pursued in these establishments is such as to suit a man for any of the learned professions. The course of study occupies eight years, the classical students being divided into six classes, each of which occupies a year, the two last years being devoted to a general revision of the principal Latin and Greek authors, and to a careful repetition of the various courses of lectures upon natural philosophy, history, political economy, French and Flemish literature, and other matters, which had hitherto been considered as subservient to the study of grammar and the classics. At this period of life, and at this comparatively advanced state, the education of the priest only commences. On leaving the

grammar-school he enters the ecclesiastical seminary, where he passes six years in the study of philosophy, divinity, and the canon law. In these establishments the young ecclesiastic acquires that *esprit de corps* which so peculiarly characterizes the clergy of France and Belgium. The regular succession of study and recreation, accompanied with prayer and meditation, completes the transformation of the man into the priest, and prepares him for that life of labour and abnegation which is his future lot. We appeal to the candid reader,—does any one of the other learned professions prepare with equal care its youthful members? Yet, after all we have advanced, we are far from asserting that the clergy at the present moment is what may be termed a learned body; but we hesitate not to say, that taken in a mass, their technical knowledge is by no means inferior to that of the other liberal professions. The first priest you meet with would give as sound and as lucid a solution of a case of conscience, as any lawyer or physician, taken by chance, in a case of law or physic. In many instances, upon questions of history or polite literature, we are not sure that they would be found less prepared; but be that as it may, it is not our intention to hold up the clergy of the present day as a learned body, although we have not the slightest doubt that the most learned men of the day belong to that body. If the clergy, then, are no longer what may be termed a learned body, to what causes are we to attribute that change? Those causes are numerous, but we shall insist only upon two of the principal ones. The first is the want of leisure. The clergy is avowedly unequal to the duty which is imposed upon it. What is the fate of the young priest who leaves the seminary at the age of twenty-five years, with all the germs of knowledge bursting into life? He finds his love of science very soon damped by the laborious career which he has adopted. If his lot falls in a country village, too poor to purchase a library, he lives isolated from all the means of progress; his time, moreover, being completely taken up by the duties of his ministry. In the ages of faith, the richly-endowed conventual institutions offered a sure and agreeable asylum for those who desired to devote themselves to a life of study, where ample leisure and a complete enfranchisement from the cares of life enabled them to devote themselves to any given subject. It was in such retreats that the Malebranches, the Bourdaloues, and other great men of the 17th century, were formed: to say nothing of those who constitute the glory of the middle ages, the Bernards, the Dominicks, the Thomases, the Bonaventuras!

Another principal reason is the spirit of the age. The nineteenth century is not an age of learning : we attack the surface of many things, but little regard their essential constitution and their general relations ; in a word, ours is an age of encyclopædias, of magazines, and of analytical abridgments. When we consider the very numerous matters which constitute an ordinary course of education in France and Belgium, it is no matter of astonishment that this universal smattering should establish such a complete confusion of ideas, that little or nothing is ultimately retained.

Moreover, such of our readers as have had an opportunity of watching the progress of young men who receive their education in large establishments, will not fail to have remarked, that comparatively few profit by the advantages which they enjoy. In the superior classes, where the professor dictates his lesson, a considerable degree of attention is necessary ; and when the pupil, either by absence or by inattention, has lost sight of the general plan, the remaining lessons are comparatively useless. This is a defect which is necessarily inherent in the system now generally adopted, and we merely allude to it in order to show how much now depends upon the talent and the diligence of each individual. This may in some degree account for the inferiority of some of the clergy, who have all enjoyed the same advantages. This inferiority is, however, frequently but a false appearance ; in the hasty appreciation of certain persons, we are apt to mistake for ignorance, what is, in reality, nothing but natural timidity, or a want of a knowledge of the world.

The first of the two works placed at the head of this article may be considered as embodying the opinions of the *Liberals*, one of the principal political parties in Belgium, on the subject of popular education. By what accident the epithet of *liberal* has been adopted as the antithesis of Catholic, we shall not attempt to discover. It would have appeared to us much more natural to have termed this party the anti-Catholic party, for the politics of the leading men amongst the Catholics are certainly no less *liberal* than theirs ; and therefore the term *liberals* establishes no real political distinction ; unless by liberalism they intend a systematic attack upon the dogma and discipline of the Church,—that spiritual society, which their political opponents consider as the only solid basis of public order, and which in Belgium has most happily impregnated the morals, the habits, and even the institutions of the people. But we have no right to be astonished at the simple misapplication of

an epithet in an age like ours, where no word has been so much abused as that upon which this distinction has been founded. *Liberty*, and the *liberties of the people*, are the nostrums of that democratic quackery by which certain designing adventurers seek to realize their own private ends. Happily for the Belgians, that portion of the press which advocates these opinions agitates only a portion of the social surface, the sound good sense of the majority placing them out of the reach of its influence. Nor, indeed, do all the members of the liberal party sanction the excesses of the anti-Catholic press; it would indeed be wholly unfair to judge that party by any one of its public organs; for the fact is, that the liberals have no one principle in common, unless it be the fixed intention to chase the Catholics out of all places of profit and honour, and to instal themselves in their stead. This universal scramble after the good things of this life, appears a general feature among politicians of a certain class, as recent curious ministerial negotiations at Paris attest. Not that we mean to assert that it has become exactly a question of pounds, shillings, and pence: amongst the *good things*, we reckon not only money, but power, which to many men offers a charm of more potent influence.

The liberal, or anti-Catholic, party in Belgium, notwithstanding the heterogeneous materials of which it is composed, has nevertheless certain tendencies which appear very generally adopted. In the application of this second epithet, we beg leave to disclaim anything that may appear offensive to the persons indicated. We offer as our justification the fact that most of the leading men of that party openly profess their *dissent* from catholicity even in their intercourse with Catholics. These men have at least the ingenuousness to avow their opinions, and these opinions are, we believe, in many instances the result of a candid but too hasty investigation of the question at issue. Far from wishing to envelope this party, as a body, in any general reprobation, we on the contrary know, by personal experience, that it numbers in its ranks men of distinguished talent, and possessed of a high sense of honour; men whom, however, we should be sorry to see actively employed in the government of the country, because we consider them as pursuing a false direction.

One of the favourite objects of the liberal party is the general reorganization of the existing system of education; the end of which is to be, according to their showing, a more general diffusion of useful knowledge, and, of course, the exploding of

all antiquated prejudices, both in politics and in religion. Hoping in the course of things to arrive at power, they lay down as a fundamental principle of state policy, the right and even the duty of the government to establish a complete system of national education at the public expense. As an abstract question, it is certainly highly desirable that the state should communicate an active impulse to the progress of public education, because (looking no further) knowledge is a source of national wealth; but as a practical question, we find it surrounded with innumerable difficulties. The very word *education* has lost its ancient and legitimate meaning, being now employed as synonymous with knowledge,—an inconsistency which we must not too severely handle, as we have ourselves more than once been guilty of it in the present article. Knowledge and education are, however, two very distinct things, although inseparably connected in principle. Bacon, Hooker, and Jeremy Taylor, and at a later period Dryden and Addison—in a word all the best writers of the most glorious periods of our national literature—have constantly maintained this most important distinction between that which furnishes the head and that which forms the heart. Now one of the principal features in most modern systems of *education* is the total absence of every thing deserving that name. The acquirement of knowledge being the sole end in view, the important objects which are the result of education are either completely lost sight of, or carelessly abandoned to parents or to the pupils themselves. The dangerous consequences which may result, even to the commonwealth, from the general diffusion of knowledge without a moderating principle, is a question much too important to be disposed of incidentally; we shall therefore content ourselves with having indicated it, and with pointing it out as the real question at issue between the Catholics and the liberals.

In the first place the liberals reproach the Catholics with underrating the advantages of popular education (*l'instruction primaire*); some even go so far as to assert that they are upon principle decidedly opposed to it; the clergy using the ignorance of the people as one of the principal engines of their domination. In order to meet the former of these inculpations, it would be necessary to establish the real measure of advantage which results to the labouring classes from being able to read and to write. This question must be examined in its various bearings, as a means of evil as well as of good, not forgetting its practical application; for the general mass of those who are supposed so much to profit by it, are born to a

life of labour, with its bitter accompaniments of poverty and sorrow.

It would be no difficult matter to cite amongst the opponents of popular education, the names of many persons who are anything but religious bigots. We remember a very strong passage on that subject which fell from the pen of Voltaire:—"It appears to me," says he, "of the highest importance that there should be a race of ignorant poor; if you were a farmer, as I am, and busied yourself with the plough, you would be of my opinion." This sentiment is the offspring of that cold selfishness which was the principal characteristic of this arch-scoffer. We must, however, in justice add, that in another part of his works he adduces in support of the same opinion a more honourable and a more solid reason: "Those," says he, "who are occupied in gaining their daily bread, have not time to cultivate their minds; the example of their superiors must suffice." It must not, however, be concluded from this manner of stating the question, that we in particular, much less that the Catholic body in general, are indifferent on the subject of popular education; we can triumphantly appeal to facts as a proof of the contrary. Our object in thus stating this question was certainly meant as an attack upon that ridiculous feeling which is now prevalent, by which popular education is held up as the sovereign panacea for all the diseases of the commonwealth; with what appearance of truth, the state of the lower classes in this country may shew, since the *schoolmaster is abroad!*

As far then as concerns the very grave imputation of being inimical to the education of the poor, the Catholics of Belgium offer a reply, to which the liberal party can produce no valid objection, which is the following: "that according to the statistical tables formed by the various local administrations, popular education has received a considerable development since the government has abandoned it to its own resources." In fact, by a table which M. Ducpétiaux himself publishes,* it appears that in the province of East Flanders, one of the most populous, and in all respects one of the most important provinces in Belgium, as regards both agriculture and manufactures, being at the same time certainly one of the most Catholic; that in this province alone, since the revolution of 1830, the number of poor children frequenting the public parish schools is very nearly doubled. At the period of the revolution, the number of

* Vol. i. p. 74.

children frequenting the different schools in the towns as well as in the villages of East Flanders, amounted only to 35,533, which gives $4\frac{1}{100}$ for every hundred inhabitants, being something more than four per cent.; whereas already in 1836, during a period of six years, whilst the country found itself in the most difficult and unsettled circumstances, we find that after a gradual and steady increase, the number of scholars had attained the grand total of 61,674! giving $8\frac{1}{100}$ for every hundred inhabitants, above 8 per cent. ! Certainly, if the Catholics in general, or the clergy in particular, had been disposed to stop the progress of popular education, no circumstances could have been more propitious, than those which characterised the period immediately following the revolution; an event frequently ascribed to their sole influence, and which, no doubt, had their best wishes. Being suddenly relieved from the whole system of Dutch inspectors and Dutch commissioners, who had imposed upon them a set of pedagogues with whom they had little reason to be satisfied, the most simple solution would have been, the immediate discharge of these interlopers, who had not unfrequently figured as the triumphant rivals of the spiritual authority. On the contrary, the clergy in general acted upon this occasion with the greatest moderation, leaving unmolested in their offices nearly all the old schoolmasters; contenting themselves with opening schools of their own, in those localities where the government schoolmaster had rendered himself too obnoxious.

The general body of Catholics, in Belgium, the clergy included, are evidently favourable to popular education. This feeling is indeed, we may safely say, universal in our Church. It is by no means necessary to produce the particular facts upon which this assertion rests. We cannot however refuse ourselves the gratification of referring to the unceasing labours of the virtuous Lasalle, the fruits of which are at the present moment so abundant in France, that the late *Protestant* minister of public instruction, endeavoured to introduce this system into all the *communes* where it did not already exist. In establishing the *Congregation des frères des écoles chrétiennes*, the highest spiritual authority lays down the broad principle of the universal education of the poor. "This association (says the bull of Benedict XIII), is intended to prevent those disorders and inconveniences without number, which arise from ignorance, the source of all evil; particularly amongst those who being poor and obliged to work for their daily bread, are, by their poverty, deprived of all human knowledge."

But are the Belgian Catholics equally favourable to the

organization of a *national* system of education under the superintendence of government? We consider, on the contrary, that they are in general decidedly opposed to it. One of the leading members of that body thus expresses himself on the subject, in a periodical publication expressly established for the vindication of Catholic opinions.*

"It is necessary that the Catholics, as a political body, should lay down the principle of the neutrality and even the incompetence of the government on the question of education, as their adversaries have already established its incompetence with regard to the press and the stage; all their sophisms fall to the ground before this just parallel.

"Religion, the press, and education, constitute three great vehicles for the propagation of public opinion; they are three distinct modes of that general liberty, which may be called the liberty of the intelligence. It is therefore evident that they should be governed by one common principle. But the liberals, a circumstance but little attended to as yet, have applied to education a principle diametrically opposed to that which they have adopted with regard to the press.

"Liberty of education, according to their definition, consists merely in the right which every one possesses to open schools; according at the same time to the government the same privilege.

"How has it then happened that our adversaries have overlooked the fact, that by the application of the same principle to religion and to the press, (and what text of the constitution establishes a difference?) freedom of conscience and the liberty of the press are at an end?

"If the government is not to remain neuter in the sphere of intellectual truth, if it be at liberty to take advantage of the common privilege, as an individual, and even to establish an opposition, what is to prevent it from adopting as the religion of the state, that which is certainly the religion of the great majority of the nation, and which would thenceforth be exclusively supported at the public expense?

"What is to hinder the ministry from establishing a *government press* upon an extensive scale, and from asking a grant of a few hundred thousand francs in order to distribute its gazettes gratuitously throughout the whole country?

Those who consent that the government should organize a system of education in its own name and upon its own principles, at the public expense, could raise no plausible objection. We appeal to common sense, whether a government press, supported by the taxes, would not by its powerful opposition destroy the freedom of the press, and whether the adoption of a state religion would not destroy the liberty of conscience? (*la liberté des cultes.*)

"It is in vain that men struggle with the inexorable conclusions of logic; it is quite impossible to conciliate these different views of liberty, as applied to education and to religion and the press. If the *neutrality*

* La Revue de Bruxelles.

of the government, or if you prefer the term, its *general equitable protection*, is the condition *sine quâ non* of the liberty of conscience and the freedom of the press, we see no reason why that condition should not be applied to the subject of education."

This is certainly taking up very decided ground, but it appears to us, that without wholly abandoning the duty of popular education to the supineness and to the parsimony of the parochial authorities, it would be possible to hit upon a middle term, which would at once guarantee the full execution of the constitution, and at the same time confide a certain influence to the provincial and central governments, who might then conjointly come in to aid those parishes which are really too poor to establish schools.

We very well understand the morbid sensibility of the Catholics upon the subject of popular education, when we call to mind the recent vexations of the Dutch system, which tended directly to the total destruction of the Catholic faith. Without presuming to offer a decided opinion on so delicate a subject, it certainly does appear to us, that under the influence of their present institutions, and in presence of a compact Catholic majority in both chambers, the Belgians might safely and advantageously legislate upon this matter. For after all that has been said upon the subject, the nonintervention system presents itself surrounded with many very serious objections; the apathy of the local authorities; the nomination of unfit persons as schoolmasters, either through the petty intrigues of village patronage, or from ill-advised motives of economy; but above all, the total absence of a general method,—many of the teachers, either from obstinacy or inability, continuing to use various ancient and exploded methods which have been recognised as wholly inefficient. These are some of the well-founded objections which M. Ducpétiaux puts forth against the non-intervention system.

But whilst we admit the justice of these objections, we must not forget that this gentleman belongs to a political party whose philosophy we reprobate, not only as regards the nature and duties of man, but most particularly as regards his future destiny in time. His anthropology and his ethics are both, as far as they go, borrowed from the doctrines of the Church, but they are essentially incomplete. Upon the question of the perfectibility of the human race, the leading doctors of the *Utilitarian School*, to which he appears to belong, have laid down a series of false postulata, which lead to the most erroneous and extravagant conclusions.

All real progress, as regards the civilization of a people, depends upon their *morality*, and morality depends upon *religion*. Not upon the vague poetical sentimentality which some persons dignify with that name, but upon a correct knowledge of our duties, and a diligent and persevering observance of them. All the ameliorations in popular education, in prison discipline, and, in general, all the most rational methods of improving the condition of the lower classes, will prove wholly inefficient, unless accompanied by the supreme sanction of religion; that is to say, unless controlled and vivified by the presence of a visible and recognised spiritual authority, which vindicates and exercises the high mission of declaring the nature and extent of man's duty to his God, to his neighbour, and to himself. And even with the aid of a more perfect organization of our political and social institutions, by placing them in harmony with truth and order, we must not indulge the vain hope of establishing a state of things, which will exclude the horrors of poverty, of ignorance, and of crime. This false appreciation of human nature, is one of the gravest objections which we have to offer against the various systems of those modern political economists, who have lost sight of the authority of revealed religion. These men, notwithstanding their superior talents, waste their lives in pursuit of empty shadows, which ever elude their grasp; their brilliant hallucinations are only culculated to seduce men from the paths of practical utility.

Monsieur Ducpétiaux himself, in advocating the cause of a national plan of popular education under the controul of government, furnishes his adversaries with several very grave objections to his own system. At the beginning of the third chapter, after having laid down the duty of all parents to attend to the education of their children, he very justly observes, that there always will be certain members of society, who, from vice, from ignorance, from want of religious principles, or from other causes, are unfit for that important duty. But here our author, at the very outset, falls into the most complete confusion of ideas. Does he then intend that his village pedagogue shall supply the want of moral and religious parents? And upon what principle? What has the moral and religious formation of the character, in common with reading, writing, and arithmetic? Under the existing state of things in Belgium, the director of the village-school may be a Jew or a Mahometan,—or what is much more probable, and still worse, he may be nothing at all; for the Jew and the Mahometan believe at least in the immortality of the soul, and the just retribution

of a future state. If such indeed be the pretensions of Monsieur Ducpétiaux and his friends, on the subject of popular education, we are not at all surprised that the Catholics hold back, for they can admit but one substitute for the neglectful parent, which is the parish priest; he who, by divine institution, exercises a simultaneous religious authority. We shall not follow the author in his examination of the nature and extent of the legitimate functions of the *government*, which he evidently confounds with the *state*. According to his system, the government,—that is to say, in this case, the secretary of state for the home department,—appears a sort of personification of the social principle. After having laid it down as an axiom, that all civilization is dependant upon the conjoint efforts of the many, or in other words, that man is essentially a social being, he proceeds to establish an implied syllogism, as set forth in the following extract, but in which we take leave to deny the minor.

“The state,” says he, “is the compendium, the summary concentration of society, and, as it were, the supreme expression of the social principle; and ought, in that character, to carry the vital action with which it is endowed into every part of the body politic.”—p. 114. The state may be, in certain cases, a concentration, or representative, of the social principle; but not so a *government* dependent upon the combinations of a parliamentary majority. It is, however, by no means necessarily or exclusively so; and we can never dignify with that name the mere executive authority. When men attempt to construct forms of social polity, in which religion, the very basis of all societies, is left out of the question, they must necessarily fall into the most extravagant inconsistencies.

At the distance of only a few pages, we meet with an admission which the Catholics might triumphantly turn against the system advocated by our author. “An impulsion derived from a government which represents the interest, the ideas, and the affections, of the whole nation, can *alone* give a national direction to public education,” &c.—p. 116. But did such a government ever exist? The Catholics may very safely reply, Find us such a one, and we invest it with unlimited powers; certainly it is not that of Belgium, where the give-and-take system seems a sort of political necessity, arising not only from the present state of parties, but even from the very origin of its nationality, the political union of the Catholics and the liberals.

In the same chapter, the author admits “that the period

will probably arrive when the diffusion of knowledge, and the progress of *wholesome doctrines*, and the *enlightened convictions* of the immense majority of the people, will, as in the case of the United States, render the intervention of the government in matters of education, not only less urgent, but even completely unnecessary." This is, indeed, a most important admission; for—if, indeed, such a state of things be possible—the Catholics close the argument at once, by asserting that it already exists, and that Belgium, in that respect, is in no way inferior to America. Monsieur Ducpétiaux has not thought proper to explain what he understands by *wholesome doctrines* and *enlightened convictions*, and we shrewdly suspect that it would be extremely difficult to come to an understanding with him upon these points. One of his enlightened convictions, and one which he openly proclaims, is the expediency of depriving the Catholic clergy of the modest retribution which they receive. Has this gentleman, then, forgotten that this retribution is a *debt*, the government having seized upon the property of the clergy, upon the express condition of providing for their maintenance? We are no advocates for an over-paid clergy; but when we consider that the whole ecclesiastical establishment of Belgium costs only 160,000*l.* per annum, we think every one must allow, that that sum is, to say the least of it, extremely moderate. Certainly, as a question of finance, it might be very agreeable to get rid of that charge, however legitimate; but the same thing may be said of the interest of the national debt, and we think it would be quite as just and quite as expedient to suppress the one as the other.

The work of M. Thiersch is extremely remarkable, as coming from the pen of a man of considerable experience in the matter of which it treats; and perhaps, in many respects, still more so, as the production of a Protestant. The very favourable opinion which he there puts forth as to the system of education adopted in Belgium, in those establishments which are under the direction of the clergy, is, from that circumstance, beyond the reach of suspicion. In fact, M. Thiersch, with the exception of some few opinions of secondary importance, appears to us most supereminently *Catholic* in all his sympathies and in all his views upon the most important questions which relate to education. No man is more formally opposed to the separation of *knowledge* and *education*; and the way in which he characterizes the two principal tendencies of the various systems of education now in use, proves

that, if a Protestant, he has at least preserved a most profound veneration for the authority of tradition. Appointed by the Bavarian government to undertake an official journey in Western Germany, as also in France, in Belgium, and in Holland, he lays before the public, in the present work, the result of a careful and conscientious inspection of the various establishments connected with education in these countries, casting at the same time a rapid glance upon the state of the legislation by which this important matter is regulated in the respective states. As far as regards Belgium, we may justly be surprised that her institutions should have been so correctly appreciated, and so fairly judged, by one who lives and has been educated in a country where democratic institutions are looked upon with something more than suspicion. Our author, in examining the political situation of this newly-constituted state, proves that he has understood the real element upon which are based her internal order and future prosperity. The Catholic religion, which impregnates the popular habits and the customs of the whole nation, of the poor as well as of the rich, but most particularly of the middle classes, must necessarily constitute the base of education, practically, if not in theory. Such, indeed, is the fact. The constitution has, indeed, laid down the principle of the freedom of education, as a corollary to the freedom of conscience and the liberty of the press; but the force of public opinion renders the establishment of an institution professedly inimical to the Catholic faith, a practical impossibility. Professors, indeed, they might, perhaps, find in abundance; but scholars certainly not. We could, indeed, at this moment, cite an instance of one of the most active members of the anti-Catholic party, who has just placed his two sons in one of the colleges established by the Jesuits: this is, perhaps, an extreme case, but is certainly not an isolated one. Although there exist no establishments in Belgium which are professedly anti-Catholic, there are not a few which are effectually so by their tendencies and by their defects. M. Thiersch particularly points out the grand conflict between mind and matter, as embodied in the two grand rival systems of education which are now opposed to each other, not only in Belgium, but throughout the principal states of Europe. To one he very properly applies the name of the *traditional system*, as being enriched with the results of past experience; at another time he terms it the *ideal system*, the word *ideal* being used in a sense peculiar to the language in which he writes, as essentially opposed to the

material, or utilitarian principle, which only regards things in their products; at the same time he protests that, far from being in contradiction with the *real* nature of things, this system alone has the advantage of rendering subordinate those things which are, in fact, inferior. He speaks in severe terms of the rival system, which he terms the system of *materialism*, but to which the French have improperly applied the high-sounding epithets of *mouvement!* and *progrès!* as if the ancient system were condemned to a sort of petrified immobility; an insinuation contrary both to principle and to facts. He maintains that the ancient plan of making the dead languages the principal basis of a learned education, far from being the enemy of progressive improvement, is, on the contrary, highly favourable to it; as in a conscientious study of the best authors of antiquity, men become not merely familiar with the languages in which they are written, but, what is of much greater importance, with the ideas which they contain. He highly disapproves of substituting in their place the physical and mathematical sciences; for, adds he, all that is truly great, religion, the sentiment of art, the constitution of society, and a respect for that hierarchy which forms its basis—all these things are beyond the domain of number and measure. It is true that, as far as regards the education of the lower classes, he appears to regret that the Dutch method has been abandoned; but this regret has its source in too superficial an examination, for such is by no means generally the case.

In speaking of those establishments in which the Belgian youth are prepared for the universities, and which answer, as we have already stated, to our public grammar-schools, he, of course, gives a most decided preference to those which are under the direction of the clergy, on account of the superior solidity of their classical studies. Boys can only learn a certain quantity in a given time, and he speaks in high praise of the practice universally adopted by the Jesuits, namely, that of studying fewer matters, but studying them thoroughly. The system generally adopted in the municipal colleges, he finds radically defective, on account of the immense quantity of subjects proposed. In fact, the programme of a Belgian *Athenée* is a thing alarming to look upon. There is no doubt that time and experience will modify this encyclopædian or polytechnic mania, lamentable traces of which are to be found in the law which regulates the mode of conferring academical degrees, by which the law pupils are to be examined in *Hebrew and Sanscrit!* to say nothing of a formidable list of abstruse matters with very ugly names.

It is the opinion of M. Thiersch that the Catholic University will finish by absorbing all the pupils. This is merely a personal opinion, and appears to be based upon a statistical error; he says that at the time of sending his work to the press, its pupils already surpassed in number those of the three other universities; the two state universities established at Ghent and at Liege, and the liberal university at Brussels. He speaks of this latter establishment in terms which surprise us, considering that his first acquaintance in Belgium was M. Baron, its eloquent secretary, and one of its principal founders.

“Public opinion,” says he, “pronounced itself in a most decided manner against the Brussels establishment; its circulars were distributed in all directions, but without success. Being thus reduced to a dependence upon the limited resources of its original founders, and to the zeal of professors, who, for the most part, were absorbed in other affairs, it has remained in the most complete insignificance, both as regards its results and the number of its pupils.”

ART. V.—*Travels in Koordistan and Mesopotamia.* By Jas. Baillie Fraser. London: 1840.

WE have heard or read somewhere of a party of Highlanders, who, listening to a moving story, were so affected by its pathos, that they one and all burst into tears. After these lamentations had lasted some while, one of the tender-hearted heroes, swallowing the grief that had at first overmastered him, came out with, “It’s sae lang syne, and sae far awa’, that maybe it’s no true.”

Now, we take it that the feelings which led the countryman of Ossian to his consolatory hypothesis, are very generally prevalent, even amongst those whose better regulated or harder-tempered minds, need not the balm which he thus sought to administer. When the time of events is remote, or the scene of them distant, we hold that something very like scepticism is apt to exist as to their having ever occurred at all,—insomuch as it is difficult to realize to ourselves that which is so far out of the ordinary circle of things, to be understood and believed.

To take an instance at hand, drawn from the subject of the book which we propose to ourselves the pleasure of noticing in

this article : what is the feeling with which we read of public events occurring in a country so distant as Persia? We calculate how far they may affect the balance of power in Europe, how much they may favour or oppose the designs of Russia, and, *mutatis mutandis*, how they may bear upon the relations of the shah with England: an operation which requires as little actual knowledge of the said shah or his people, as if our opinion were the result of an algebraical equation, in which that monarch and his subjects were represented by a symbol. Perhaps, however, we get a little deeper than this, and imagine to ourselves a nation of men speaking an unknown tongue, wearing a turban or a high cap instead of a hat, and making great use of the phrases *Alhamdulillah*, *Bismillah* and *Barikallah*. But for a knowledge of the habits, manners, and modes of thinking of these people,—who after all are of some interest to us, seeing that they were a polished, and in their way, a learned nation, while kings among us were unable to read, and nobles signed their names with a cross “sith better might not be,”—our knowledge of them may be better phrased an ignorance which a school-boy would be made to blush for, if the subject were Greeks or Romans living two thousand years ago, instead of our cotemporaries, living within a month’s journey, or a week’s sail, of Europe. The clever author of *Hajji Baba in England* hardly over-colours his caricatures, when he makes that worthy, or one of his company, bless himself for having refused an insidious offer of a present of buckskins: having discovered, as he says, that in the event of his accepting them, the artiste had intended to place over his door, “Leather-breeches maker to the prophet Mahomet.”

In this dearth of popular knowledge of our brother-men of the east, destined, we fear, to resist all means of amelioration, short of a mission of Mollahs to England, or a railway from Constantinople to Ispahan, it is pleasant to fall upon such a little green spot in the waste, as this same work of three volumes, written in a familiar epistolary fashion, bearing in its very composition, arrangement, and division, evidences of its being written extempore, or as the Germans would say, “on the stirrup;” and detailing, with the minuteness and pleasing effect of a picture, the writer’s transactions with men of all classes and all varieties, from the shah on his throne (or beside it), to the Tartar courier, and from the elegant and gorgeous Persian, to the more than half savage, and much more than half naked, Mâdân Arab.

The present work is by no means the only production of its

author, or his only contribution towards a description of the country, a part of which he has here so picturesquely portrayed. In fact, all the works of Mr. Fraser which have come under our notice, have borne more or less upon Persia and India, whether in the shape of narrative, history, or fiction. Of the former kind are, *A Journal of a Tour through part of the Himala Mountains, and to the Sources of the Ganges and Jumna*, a magnificent companion volume of sketches, taken from scenes occurring on this route; *A Narrative of a Journey into Khorassan, in the years 1821 and 1822*; and *Travels and Adventures in the Persian Provinces on the southern banks of the Caspian Sea*. Towards the history of the East, he has contributed a very elegant little volume, forming a part of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, and entitled, *An historical and descriptive Account of Persia from the earliest ages to the present time*; whilst as a novelist, he is the author of *The Kuzzilbash*; and its continuation, *The Persian Adventurer*;—works in which the author's personal knowledge of the East is brought into requisition with that tact and felicity, as well as accuracy, which so eminently distinguish the kindred works of Morier.

The present work opens with a letter dated from Tabreez, and giving a very glowing account of the beauties of that city and its environs,—its healthy climate,—its comparative prosperity,—and the beauty of its gardens and orchards. The finest fruits, it appears, are here a very drug, and the inhabitants of this Paradise are fully inclined to do justice to every fruit of the garden. Some of the instances given of the extraordinary voracity of the “Persian animal,” are perfectly tremendous; and perhaps the strongest reason for believing them, next to the right which every man has to confidence till he is detected in abusing it, is that these marvels are as quietly related as if by frequent recurrence they had lost their piquancy. Among a people sensual from dearth of intellectual enjoyments, it is not surprising that gross excess should be the rule rather than the exception; so much so, that our European was not unfrequently ridiculed for his extraordinary abstemiousness. Indeed, the Persian as well as the Arab seems noted for that camel or boa-constrictor-like faculty of adaptation to circumstances (*quoad* the “vivers”) which, if confined to the Bedouin of the desert, we should be apt to pronounce a providential adaptation of the man to his destiny.

But the great lion of Tabreez during our author's stay there was the Kaymookam, the prime-minister, that is, of the prince

Royal Mahommed Meerza (now Shah of Persia). This worthy, by name Meerza Abool Caussim, was then the real master of the prince, to whom he was nominally the servant, and a special specimen of a prime-minister he appears to have been. "Conceive," says our lively author,

"Conceive a man of somewhat more than middle size, exceedingly heavy and corpulent, with much rotundity of paunch, coarse features, small but very prominent eyes, so short-sighted as to suggest the idea of purblindness, yet keen and bright withal; a great ugly mouth garnished with long, irregular, prominent, yellow fangs, which an hideous, habitual, and stupid gape always exposes to view;—conceive all these and you will say that they do not compose a very promising exterior, and certainly the external attributes of the Kaymookâm would be more suitable to a stupid village boor, than to the first statesman of an empire. It is true that a good-humoured, yet somewhat sarcastic smile, at times brightens up the lower part of his countenance, while the upper features are illumined by a quick glance from his glimmering optics; but to my apprehension, there is unquestionably nothing in the outward appearance of the Kaymookâm to herald the talent and shrewdness which it is asserted he possesses. * *

"As a man of business, he stands unequalled in public estimation for universal talent. He is an able financier: understands, and it is asserted, can regulate and command, the resources of the country; is well acquainted with the condition of every province; and none they say, comes near him in knowledge of foreign relations, and management of foreign policy. But that for which he is most celebrated,—I had almost said notorious,—is the art of political intrigue, so much admired by Persians, and, more shame to the age, not less encouraged in civilized Europe; the art, in other words, of cheating others,—of making them believe what the intriguer desires, however wide of the truth, to serve his own purposes: of deceiving and lying through thick and thin to compass the ends he has in view. * *

"That so systematic a deceiver should expect deception on the part of others but is natural, and accordingly we find the Kaymookâm to be the most suspicious of mortals. He can confide in no one, and consequently is forced to perform, or at least to undertake all manner of business himself, both in gross and in detail. In affairs of political consequence, he will admit of no participation or assistance; for instance, not a soul has been privy to what has passed in the course of certain important negociations which he has been carrying on of late with the minister of Russia; he receives, reads, and answers all letters connected with it himself. The consequence of this absurd monopoly is obvious; nine tenths of all that should be done is left unaccomplished, and that which is done, in spite of his great talents as a writer, is imperfectly executed."—vol. i. p. 12-15.

Of this curious affectation of transacting all his own business

in person, our traveller gives some singular instances, some of them involving his own comfort (or rather discomfort) to a great extent; such, for instance, as being invited to an audience, and waiting for a couple of hours, while the great man was besieged by a levee of men of all grades, from the ambassador to the booted and belted courier—hearing one, answering another, dictating, promising, and reading hosts of little notes, holding them so close to his eyes, and passing them away with such rapidity, “that one would swear he was gravely rubbing his nose with a piece of paper;” assuring the unhappy expectant, who was taking mental notes all this while of the curious process, at every possible interval, “that he was the light of his eyes,” “that his place had been long empty,” and ending by an invitation to dinner, of which the dessert was the same feast of scraps as we have just described.

This amusing diplomate again makes his appearance further on in our traveller's journal, being found by him at Teheran, in attendance on the motions of his old master, the prince royal, now become, by the death of his father, the Shah of Persia. The old story of the girdle full of notes, and the siege of the petitioners, comes over again, and a very striking account is given of the dependence in which the crafty and bustling minister contrived to hold his royal master. We say contrived—for his reign is passed: he played with the young lion till the royal cub grew conscious of his fangs, and the unlucky keeper paid for his abused power with his head.

The young Shah himself, playing as he thus did the part of a *roi fainéant* in the city of his magnificence, comes out less than almost any other person or thing of note in the whole course of the book. He is fat and gouty (qualities so unlike all our European notions of Persians, and especially of Persian princes, that the Saheb Fraser makes a half apology for telling the truth on this point of appearance), and he seems to unite a somewhat phlegmatic character to great violence of temper when once roused. One or two startling instances of this last peculiarity are given: one of a moollah who had used too great freedom of speech to the prince, and having heated his highness's wrath to the boiling point, was strangled for his pains in the august presence.

Ooroomia, one of the early stages after leaving Tabreez, is celebrated as the birth-place of Zoroaster; with as much truth, perhaps, as the birth of Homer is assigned to any of the seven cities which claim that honour: always with this difference, however, in favour of the Persian site, that there is no faction

to deny the fact of Zoroaster having ever been born at all. Our traveller does not enter into the question, but passes on to a subject of more modern interest—the Nestorian Christians. Many of these are to be found in the lofty and almost inaccessible mountains west of Ooroomia. They amount in number to more than fourteen thousand families, constituting a sort of commonwealth of their own, and governed by *Khaleefahs*, or priests, who act also as temporal magistrates.

“These people,” says our author, “are represented as living in great comfort, being rich, and their country abounding in all sorts of produce, vegetable and mineral, having mines of lead, antimony, arsenic, and other metals. They are particularly jealous of their freedom, and very able to defend it, for they are very brave and resolute, have twelve thousand capital *Tuffunchees* (or musketeers), and a particularly defensible country, being a cluster of lofty mountains, intersected by deep ravines and frightful chasms, the beds of rapid torrents. These chasms are spanned by a single tree, which can be removed or let down at either end at pleasure, thus absolutely debarring exit or entrance.”—vol. i. p. 60.

The neighbours of these mountaineers, the Hakkaree Koords, are a somewhat exaggerated specimen (as far as robbing and thieving goes) of the Koord race in general; a race who stand in contrast by no means disadvantageously to themselves with the present Persians. If the Koords are thieves, they seem at least to be gentlemanly robbers, resembling not a little the author's highland countrymen, to whom he is rather fond of comparing them. These same Koords, by the way, have been asserted, from etymological and other reasons, to be no other than the *καρδουχοι* of Xenophon, who so seriously galled the Greeks in their immortal retreat under that commander. The people of the East change so little with time, unless some other great disturbing cause has been at work, and these mountaineers have been so little accessible to the influence of any such causes, that it is probable enough a Koord soldier might still sit for the portrait of one of the Greek general's mountaineers. The country, at least the everlasting hills of snow, we may safely presume, has continued as it was more than two thousand years ago; and remembering this, and reading the present account of the difficulties and distresses of a rapid and peaceful journey, with something like a resting place every night, and something of “entertainment” for the travellers and their beasts to stop the gap of absolute starvation; comparing with all this the march of the Greeks through a hostile country, fighting their way against an enemy who knew all the advantages of the ground,

it is difficult to conceive a more splendid instance of the triumph of cultivated courage and powers, trained by civilization, over the brute force of man and the wrath of the elements.

The Koords (not the downright savages, but those who have some tincture of polish to aid their natural gifts) must be a splendid race of men. They seem to be, indeed, very much what one was apt to imagine their neighbours to the South, the Arabs, ought to be—very much like the description of Saladin (himself one of the race), at the “Diamond of the Desert”—whilst the Arabs, alas!—but we shall come to them soon enough. Here is a sample of the military Koord's quality. The author is telling how they were every moment met and passed—

“By parties of wild-looking Koords, with their fine flowing garments and long slender spears. The dress of these people is by far the most picturesque I have seen, with the exception of some few among the Turkish costumes: indeed the word ‘picturesque’ applies better to it than to any Turkish dress I know. On their head they wear a large shawl of striped silk—red, white, and blue, with fringed ends, which is wound in the most graceful manner round their red scull-cap. Its ample folds are confined with some sort of band, and the long fringes hang down with a rich fantastic wildness: their true Saracenic features, and bright black eyes, gleam with peculiar lustre from under this head tire. Their body garments consist of a sort of ample vest and gown, with magnificent wide Turkish sleeves, over which is worn a jacket, often richly embroidered and furred, according to the owner's rank. Their lower man is enveloped in ample *shulwars*, not unlike those of the Mamlucs, into which, in riding, they stuff the skirts of their more flowing garments. Around their waist, instead of a shawl, they wear a girdle fastened with monstrous silver clasps, which may be ornamented, according to the owner's taste, with jewels, and in which they stick not only their Koordish dagger, but a pair of great brass or silver-knobbed pistols; from this, too, hang sundry powder-horns and shot-cases, cartridge-boxes, &c.; and over all they cast a sort of cloak, or *abba*, of camel's hair, white or black, or striped white brown and black, clasped on the breast, and floating picturesquely behind. When riding, they carry a small round shield depending from their shoulder, and clasp in their hand a long slender spear. If in war time, and they are going on an expedition, to these arms they add a gun, and occasionally three slender javelins in a case, which they can throw with great precision to the distance of thirty yards. Then they case themselves in armour like knights of old—either in a shirt of linked mail, such as those in the Hall at —, with helmet and armlets, or with a suit of plate-armour, called *char-eineh*, consisting of four plates of inlaid and damasked steel, made to fit back, breast, and sides, and which are a defence against any thing but a ball striking them directly.—vol. i. p. 85.

The description of the armour here given looks very like that of Europe, and we might, without any great stretch of conjecture, at least suppose that the East has given a hint to the West in this matter. At the same time, both plate and chain armour, the latter more frequently, are mentioned, in the Icelandic Sagas, as being worn by the Norsk champions. This latter genealogy of a custom, once universal in Frankish, or rather Gothic Europe, is certainly more natural than the recourse to an eastern origin; but it is curious that in the Greek romance of *Theagenes and Chariclea*, a Persian knight (καταφρακτος ἵππευς) is described from point to point minutely,* and the description is almost exactly that of the impenetrable shell of an armed knight of the middle ages, secure against all dangers but a blow with a battle-axe, a thrust with a lance driven with all the force of a horse's gallop, or suffocation from his own armour. In the illuminations to the *Shah Nameh*, the Persian knights might almost be taken for Norman ones, but for the slimness of their steeds and spears, and the appearance of the bow-case and quiver.

As a pendant to this account of the dress and armour, we may quote a description of the personal appearance of the Koords, both men and women, just premising that this is preceded by a slight sketch of the national character; this is strongly marked by the peculiarities of a *mountain people*, by strong attachment to their superiors, and by a fondness for war rather than for bloodshed. Other points of the Koordish character appear from time to time in the course of the work, and have been noticed as they occur. One however is too curious and important to be passed lightly over, and we shall notice it after the extract just promised.

"In person, the Koords are well made and active, differing, perhaps, but little essentially from their neighbours, the Persians. But the national features are strikingly peculiar. The cast of countenance is sharp, the form of the face oval, the profile remarkable from the prominence of the bones of the nose, and the comparative retrocession of the mouth and chin, which communicate to its outline a semicircular form. The eyes are deep set, dark, quick, and intelligent; the brow ample and clear, but somewhat retreating, completing the shape assigned to the profile; and the general mould of the features by far more delicate than those of the Persians, which are usually somewhat too strong. In Koordistan, you would look in vain for a snub-nose. The *petit nez retroussé* is unknown among them. The mouth is almost always

* Book ix. p. 431. ed. Bourdelotti. Lut. Par. MDCXXI.

well-formed, and the teeth fine. The hands and fingers small and slender. In short, there is something of elegance about the Koordish form, which would mark them as a handsome nation in any part of the world.

"The same remarks apply to the women, so far as I have had opportunities of observation. When young, they are exceedingly pretty; but when old, or even at what we should call maturity, the sharp prominence of feature which characterises them in common with the men, is assuredly unfavourable to beauty, and they soon appear old and withered."—vol. i. pp. 192-3.

The author appears not to have been aware of a curious fact noted by Rich, in his *Narrative of a Residence in Koor-distan*, that there are, in fact, two distinct races of men in that country, whom he distinguishes by the names of peasants and clansmen; the former, as their name implies, the cultivators of the soil, while the latter, the race of men described in the extract just made, are chiefly employed in war or plunder. This points at a state of society very similar to that of Europe, after the Gothic descents into the south, when the tillage of the soil was performed by the serf, of Celtic or Latin descent, while the nobler occupation (as it was then considered) of arms, was engrossed by the Teutonic invader. In fact, Mr. Rich considers the Koordish peasant as the representative of a race conquered by the clansmen; and he argues, from the absence of this distinction between the cultivator and the warrior among the mountain Christians, that these latter are aborigines of the soil, in which the predatory Koord is an intruder. The features of the peasant are described as being much softer and more regular than those of his masters; "the features are sometimes quite Grecian."

But we promised to return to a trait in the mental physiognomy of the Koords, more remarkable perhaps than any other point of the national character. This is their total want of superstition. We take this on the authority of our author alone, without being, we confess, very willing to subscribe to his opinion, which, to do him justice, he pronounces "nor loudly nor elate," but with a sort of regret at finding the picturesque character of his mountaineers wanting in that finish which a certain tendency to superstitious belief would so well bestow. But he must speak for himself.

"I have already told you of my desire to rescue my friends, the Koords, from the imputation of deficiency in the imaginative faculties, and in those mental vagaries which give so much interest to the superstitions of other Highlanders; and I never omitted any fair opportunity of making myself acquainted with their notions regarding ghosts, elves,

and witches ; but I have in all cases been woefully disappointed. In fact, were I to give implicit credit to those whom I have questioned on the subject, I should have to report the Koords as utterly void of anything in the shape of *faerie* or even *goblinerie*,—a sad blot in their national character. Finding my guide, Ul Khider Aga, an intelligent and communicative fellow, and able to speak tolerable Persian, I tried him on the subject, and put a number of questions to him in various shapes ; but the result was altogether unsatisfactory.

“ ‘What!’ said I at length, ‘have you Koords no faith either in gins or peries, or ghôls or spirits?’ ‘Ahi, sir! what would you have?’ was the reply, accompanied with a sort of apologetic shrug worthy of a French marquess of the *ancien régime*; ‘The Koords are asses, sir! they have no learning: they have never read any books to teach them; and what should *they* know of such matters? The Moollahs and Ahons indeed may know something regarding them; but what are you to look for from the rest? In fine, they are Koords.’

“This was assuredly putting the subject in a new and amusing light. Among us, ignorance is supposed to be one principal cause of superstition; but here it was attributed to knowledge and learning, while the want of it was imputed as a defect to the stupifying power of ignorance. It was a curious perversion of received principles. ‘Well,’ insisted I, ‘but have they no fear of evil spirits? no belief in such things?’ ‘Nothing, the beasts!’ replied he in a tone of contempt, ‘not one word did they ever hear about such matters.’ ‘Suppose,’ said I, desirous to alter the form of interrogation so as to catch any stray ideas on the subject, ‘Suppose one of these Koords had occasion to pass through a burying-ground at midnight, would he have no reluctance to do so—no fears?’ ‘No; none at all; why should he?’ was the aga’s reply. ‘I don’t mean of the living,’ insisted I, ‘but of the dead? would he not fear that those who lay buried there might appear and do him harm?’ The grin of absolute incomprehension which this question elicited from the muscles of the honest aga’s face, formed the most satisfactory reply possible to my questions; so I abandoned the enquiry in despair.”—vol. i. pp. 163-4.

We cannot help thinking that this inquiry might have resulted differently had the interrogator and the interrogated mutually understood each other better than they appear to have done; neither of them speaking in his own language, and both being probably but imperfectly acquainted with that which formed their only medium of intercourse. Through the whole conversation, as it appears to us, the honest aga was endeavouring to conceal a little mystification (at first rather too frankly confessed by the shrug of the shoulders) under the cloak of a confident assurance. We may very naturally suppose that the Koord’s Persian did not reach to the long vocabulary of supernatural beings; and supposing this, his mas-

ter's questions would be Heathen-Greek to him. The question touching the graveyard was peculiarly unhappy, since the Koord, as a Mussulman, was a member of a sect whose creed gives no right to those who hold it to imagine that the spirit can wander after death. The Mohammedans, it is true, have a horror of the graveyard at night; but this is because it is supposed to be haunted by the unclean and ghostly ghouls, who visits it to make his horrid meal of human flesh out of the graves. The objects of Mohammedan superstition (believed in, as far as we know, wherever that religion has extended) are, the *ginns* and *afrits*; a sort of demons, in the pagan sense of the word; beings, that is to say, whether good or evil, superior to mankind in powers, length of life, and intelligence. That the Koords should not believe in these as firmly as in any other part of the creed of which they are the followers, we cannot imagine. Another class of supernatural beings (the *divs* and *peris*) is of Persian—probably, *ancient* Persian—origin; and though these are largely used in the machinery of even Arab stories, it is perfectly comprehensible how *they* should form no part of the popular faith, even in a neighbouring country. On the whole we are much inclined to recommend to our traveller to re-examine this subject, if ever his steps should again turn eastward, and his fate be cast among the Koords once more. We venture to assert that, *if* they are thus devoid of superstitions, they differ in this respect from every nation of Asia at all above the level of absolute barbarism.

The Koords appear, by the flying notices given of them during our author's journey through the country, to be, part of them at least, passing through a transition state, which is not unlikely ultimately to change the roving soldier, or plunderer, into the peaceable cultivator. The *rationale* of this process is thus explained in a dialogue with a chief, by whom our author was entertained, and who stopped, hawk on fist, and surrounded by all the apparatus of a hunting party, to give him a fitting reception:—

“ ‘Once we Koords were soldiers, and we thought of nothing but riding and exercising with the spear and the sword, and of hunting and hawking, and such sports; for we had enough to live upon, and our ryots (the peasants already alluded to) cultivated our grounds for us; but now, every man is forced to lay down the sword and spear, and take to the *jooft* (the pair of bullocks that drag the plough); and what is a soldier good for, sir, when once he has put his hand to the plough? But the pasha and the Persians will have all their demands; and what is the consequence? What is left for the ryot but

ferâr (flight), and away they go to Rewandooz, or Kermansbah, or Mosul, or anywhere, rather than stay where their burthens are intolerable; so the country becomes quite depopulated, as you see."—vol. i. p. 177.

The same change from a migratory or predatory to an agricultural life, is elsewhere mentioned as taking place among the Arabs of Mesopotamia; in some tribes the change has fully obtained, while others are gradually adopting, the manners and habits of an agricultural people.

The storms which occur in these mountain regions are sudden, and often fatal. Our traveller escaped pretty well, for the anxiety and downright labour of plodding over mountains and along precipices, chilled and weary with the endless prospect; but his fears of a very possible danger must have been no light subject of annoyance when based upon such facts as the following, by no means the only instance of its kind occurring in the course of the narrative:—

"Last year, I think it was, nearly two hundred *serbâz*,* who were proceeding from the village of Nistân, by Soonâ, together with upwards of two hundred Yaboos and asses, were lost in one day. The sun shone clear in the heavens, and the weather below was fine, so that the men were tempted to proceed on their way. But in these lofty hills the wind often blows hard, while a calm reigns below; and it seems a gale was blowing in the pass, which raised the dry snow in clouds. This was observed from several points below, but no one knew of the unhappy caravan; and even had the truth been known, what mortal aid could have prevailed? The whole were buried by the snow clouds, and frozen to death by the force of the wind alone."—vol. i. p. 143.

Two circumstances continually coming into notice, cannot fail to attract the attention of the readers of these volumes, and indeed of every volume of travels in the east. The universal appetite among all classes for presents, and the great misery produced by excessive exactions on the part of the government, increased as this is by the practice of farming out districts, or, what is much the same thing, committing them to a ruler who knows he will be *squeezed* in due time, and whose great care is, therefore, to squeeze his unfortunate subjects for the time being to the utmost extent, regardless of the future consequences to his province—*his* only during the pleasure of a tyrannical superior—and knowing well that his head may cease to adorn his body before the reaping of that harvest of which the seed has been sown amid curses of his rapacity.

Thus the agriculturist is oppressed by the burden of enor-

* Common soldiers; literally, men who play away their heads.

mous taxes, gathered by a descending series of officers, differing in rank, but agreeing in selfish rapacity; each step in the ladder of extortion taking care to exact something for himself, beyond what he must render to his superior—the artizan is deterred from exhibiting industry, ingenuity, or enterprise, by the natural fear of becoming the victim of a government not even far-sightedly selfish, but, like the owner of the golden goose in the fable, sacrificing all hopes of the future to present acquisition; and the people are edified by the spectacle of meanness in high places, which can hardly fail to be reflected in the persons of those who stand in the presence of “the point of the world’s worship.”

These remarks have been more particularly called forth by the account of the town of Suleimaniah and the district surrounding it, which is one story of ruin and desolation: thus—

“A long winding ravine, full of abandoned villages, which terminated in a hollow and sharp ascent among the mountains, brought us to the *Geddook*, or pass of Kawian, from whence we overlooked the plain, or rather the broad valley of Suleimaniah. * * *

“If the depopulation on the road was depressing, there was little to cheer us on approaching, or on entering the town. I never beheld a more miserable collection of hovels and ruins. We rode through masses of rubbish up to what had been the pasha’s house, or *palace*, if you will. It was in utter ruin, uninhabitable, except one small corner, where his harem was bestowed. He himself occupied a tent outside the town. I had sent a man forward to secure us lodgings; after a while he found us, picking our way among the rubbish and broken walls, seeking for some one who might tell us where *any body* might be. He led us to the place appointed for us (a perfect wreck), through a labyrinth of mud heaps that had been houses. Our lodging had been the residence of some great man, a relative of the Pasha, who at this time was absent at Tabreez. It was well for him, for here, at least, he could not have lived. We had it all, such as it was, to ourselves and our cattle. It was one great mass of mud; a dozen open spaces that had once been chambers, surrounding a large rambling hall, with a square hole in the middle, intended for a cistern. Here was our stable. I opened a corner of one of the outer spaces, open to all winds, but fortunately none blew strongly. The Pasha sent a thousand civil messages, and a good dinner from his own table, and so closed evening the first at Suleimaniah.

“Assuredly, the impression created by these two last marches has been anything but cheering; there never was a sweeter country more withered by the hand of the spoiler. That it had once been the site of many a happy home was obvious from the roofless houses of numerous villages, pleasantly situated in sheltered nooks, shaded by the noble walnut and mulberry trees, with sweet little murmuring streamlets, and surrounded by vineyards run wild. It was painful to see

that all was silent and desolate, and more so to see that it was from no natural decay. It was like gazing on the face of the dead, who have been wasted by suffering and disease. Nothing was there of the mingled tenderness and melancholy with which we look on the placid features of those whose end has been peaceful.

‘Before decay’s effacing fingers

Have swept the lines where beauty lingers.’

Here there is no ‘rapture of repose;’ it is verily the ‘abomination of desolation;’ and though permitted by the Almighty, for his own wise purposes, his agents have been chiefly the violence and rapacity of man. To all my inquiries as to how this universal depopulation arose, the same answer was always returned:—‘The plague came three years ago, and swept the country, and it was followed by the Persian army, which has consumed what the plague had left, and has ravaged every village on the road, so that none now remain.’ * * *

“The small state, or pashalic of Suleimaniah, never either very rich or powerful, has of late been the prey of an accumulation of misfortunes, which have reduced it to extreme misery. First came family disputes, civil war, two brothers striving for the supremacy. This brought in foreign intervention, as a matter of course; and the pashalic, which before had been dependent on that of Bagdad, fell into the hands of the Persian prince of Kermanshah, Mahomed Allee Meerza. Intestine struggles and commotions, however, still continued, and weakened both parties so much, that after the death of Mahomed Allee Meerza, their neighbour, the Meer of Rewandooz, thought fit to overrun and appropriate a considerable portion of the territory to himself. This brought on *his* head a war with the Azerbijân government, which had assumed authority over these parts; and on unfortunate Suleimaniah the maintenance of a Persian army, in addition to the payment of a Persian tribute. Then came the plague, which carried off more than half the people of town and country; and of the remaining half, all that could—seeing there was neither relief from its infliction, nor any remission of imposts on the part of government, emigrated to places where the burdens are lighter—to Rewandooz, to Kerkook, Erbile, and other districts in the low country.”—vol. i. pp. 144-8.

Mr. Fraser was very anxious, whilst in his neighbourhood, to visit the celebrated Meer (emir or chief) of Rewandooz, a province in the west of Koordistan, who had, by virtue of vigorous measures, both civil and military, established himself as a strong controlling power over the lawless habits of the Koords, both those under his own immediate control, and their neighbours. Among the latter, he had succeeded in establishing a very efficient authority by means of the certainty and severity of his punishments—savouring to be sure of the despotic and the cruel, but still serving to repress more extensive and less legal cruelty and despotism. Among the in-

stances of his severity here given is the following:—that a dead body having been found near a certain village, and the crime being laid to the charge of the wolves, he caused a number of these animals to be seized, and put to death with tortures—a proceeding which so terrified the villagers, that the real murderers were given up—to be dealt with, we presume, as the wolves had been. One of his favourite brothers having plucked and eaten a pomegranate from a poor man's garden without the owner's permission, he was punished by the loss of the finger with which the crime had been committed. This sounds terrible to European ears, but almost all the extraordinary acts of justice which are recorded in Mohammedan history, have something of this character of extravagance; and not unfrequently they contain some such trait of Brutus-like disregard of natural affections as this story exhibits. There are but two fates, however, for reformers in the East—for the few who are successful, the throne; for the comparatively many who are less fortunate, the bowstring or the sword. The Meer of Rewandooz escaped both these; but his death was probably the result of Turkish jealousy. He was defeated by the sultan's army; and though allowed, after a brief captivity, to return to his command, he perished on his road homeward. The terms in which Mr. Fraser was dissuaded from visiting this famous chief were characteristic enough of the cautious policy of his advisers. "He was free to go," said these righteous Daniels, "but the way was unsafe; and if the *sahab's cattle* should receive any damage, they (the advisers) should never forgive themselves.

"This is a strain of remonstrance," says our author, "the value of which is well known in the East, and which is freely made use of on all occasions where the object is to dissuade from and prevent an undertaking, without appearing to oppose it actively. It has all the force of a command without the ungraciousness of one; it throws all responsibility on the head of the adventurer who should persevere, in spite of fair warning, and exculpates those who warn him from the consequences of his rashness—consequence which all who are acquainted with the Oriental character well know would in all probability be accelerated by these very considerate advisers."—vol. i. p. 157.

A little after the occasion which called forth these remarks, the author had a sort of illustration of their truth, in the following sketch given him by his guide of a Koordish chief from whom they had just parted. He had asked the guide whether this chief, who had just spoken so smoothly, might not have made prey of the travellers had he found them unattended.

“Selim Aga,” said the guide, “is just the man for such a job. He would eat bread with you as your host, and after the *Khoosh Amedeed* and *Khodah hafiz* (the welcome and farewell), he would tie up his beard, alter his turban, and disguise himself and his people so that you should not know them, and gallop off ahead, and waylay, and strip you all naked, and leave you there. He is the completest *nâpâk* (scoundrel) in all Koordistan—the most remorseless ruffian. Why, sir, that fellow has stripped women, and left them naked in the desert: he would take from them their shift if it were worth threepence, even if they had not another rag.”—vol. i. p. 178.

Perhaps it is possible to explain this apparent faithlessness in the character of the orientals, without referring it wholly to moral depravation. The people of the East, whether from national character, education, or despotic government, are apt to look more to the sign than to the thing signified; to hold that a promise has been fulfilled, when the letter of it has been kept to. Their reverence for certain symbols of hospitality is well known: perhaps it is not so well known that the terrible incident introduced into the “Diamond of the Desert,” where the Sultan’s weapon severs the murderer’s head as his lips were about to taste the sherbet, is founded on a real incident. The draught once tasted would have “dull’d the sabre’s edge;” but surely only an oriental host could so nicely distinguish the interval between the guest and the stranger. The same over-estimate of words shows itself in the pompous profusion with which they are used by the Persian writer, and by the ingenious care with which they are arranged by the Arab poet. And perhaps we may trace the operation of the same disposition to attach importance to mere symbols, in the magical rites still used in the East, and which consist chiefly of the repetition of words sometimes wholly unmeaning. Perhaps all this is saying little more than that frivolity of character is often connected with cowardice, and that both are likely to be richly produced in the hot-bed of eastern despotism.

One of the inducements for undertaking the journey thus prevented, was the hope of seeing a pillar covered with inscriptions; these he was told were obliterated and unintelligible, and contained no information respecting treasure—the only object for which the Easterns can conceive an inscription to be interesting.

The entrance into “the country of ancient Assyria,” gives occasion to some remarks, which, if a little deficient in logic here and there, are on the whole sound and judicious. The subject of them has evidently occupied the author’s thoughts no little, as we find the substance of the following quotation, somewhat varied in terms, in others of his works:—

“ Verily there was little in the aspect of the country to suggest ideas of great and powerful empires. Even one’s reason refused to be persuaded that the wide tracts of gravel and black earthy hillocks, with the rock cropping out from their sides and summits, and intersected by dry ravines, which lay stretched far and near around us, all obviously unproductive, except of a scanty pasturage, could ever have been the theatre of those mighty events which history relates of the empire of Semiramis and her descendants, where innumerable hosts of warriors struggled for victory and boundless dominion. In fact the mind while contemplating scenes which have been the cradles of greatness, is apt to labour under a striking fallacy. It attributes to the spot of ground which may have given birth to the founder of a dynasty the splendour of that dynasty itself.”—vol. i. p. 181.

From the traveller’s first entrance upon the boundaries of the country which called forth the above-quoted remarks, to his arrival in the long and far famed city of Baghdad, the time was but short, and presents little of interest. But of this city he has made good use; or rather circumstances have enabled him to make the chapters upon this city, and matters connected with it, the most interesting in the whole book—a sort of epitomised description, in fact, of the most striking points of Arab manners, and of those of the Arabised Turks, their neighbours: exhibiting the former people in war and in peace—in the field and the desert—as hosts and enemies. Circumstances were particularly favourable for the picture; for at the time of his entrance into the City of the Khalifs, that city was all but beleaguered by the Bedouin Arabs, and he had a leisure view of a skirmish with those descendants of Ishmael. But to understand the merits of this somewhat irregular state of things, we must go back a few years, as our author has done, and explain the policy of the Turkish court, or its delegates the pashas, towards a race dangerous as neighbours, and who have not forfeited, even in their relations with their nominal masters, their title to the character which was bestowed upon them in the person of their great progenitor. The Pasha of Baghdad, on a certain occasion, having called in the assistance of the Jerboah Arabs to punish another tribe, Suffook, the chief of the first-mentioned sept, conceived himself entitled to ask a recompense commensurate with his own rather than the pasha’s valuation of the service done. This being refused, the indignant chief took up his position on the road from Baghdad, which he blockaded, stopping and robbing caravans, and stripping travellers, and at length besieged Baghdad itself. Here he had his own way for three months: the pasha did not expel him, because he could not; and when

the Arab retired, it was of his own motion, with a threat to come down again. Justly alarmed at this, the pasha calls in the Aneiza Arabs, a tribe hostile to the Jerboahs, and to them promises the lands of their enemies, on condition of their assisting him against them. This the Aneiza were nothing loth to do, having the two motives strongest of all in an Arab's eyes—the hope of vengeance and of plunder. Meanwhile the pasha had been trying in miniature, upon two rival sections of the Jerboah tribe, the same experiment which he had just been attempting on a larger scale on the Jerboahs and Aneiza: he had excited a younger sheikh of his own appointing against the old and recognised head of the tribe. The Aneiza coming down upon the invitation already mentioned, found the greater part of their enemies' camp empty, and the place only held by the young sheikh and his few adherents, and were told by the pasha that their aid was not now wanted. They had not left their homes, however, (such as they were) upon so bootless an errand, and accordingly, *pour se tenir en haleine*, had attacked the pasha and his Jerboah *protégé*, cut the latter to pieces, and made bitter havoc among his tribe, and driven the pasha's troops within the walls of the city; and in this state of things our author found them.

The fight, however, to which he was witness, was not with these Aneiza, but with another tribe, called the Ageil; who had gained by long custom a sort of prescriptive right to furnish guides for caravans leaving Baghdad for Damascus and Aleppo. This was a privilege worth monopolizing, as a guide in that particular quarter of the globe of which we are treating, not only shows the way, but protects the guided by his influence, his authority, or the law of the strongest. By degrees the Ageil so far improved their position, as to gain a lodging in the city of Baghdad, where they occupied an entire quarter, and this they rendered a perfect city of refuge for all manner of irregular subjects—very much such another place, by our author's description, as the "Kingdom of Alsatia," so graphically described in the *Fortunes of Nigel*. The weakness of the pasha encouraging the intruders and their respectable allies, their insolence had at last grown to a pitch which even he could endure no longer; and some insults to his officers had probably suggested that the next direct object of their wantonness might be himself. So the Arabs and the Turkish regular troops came to blows, or rather to shots; for, as the Arabs' quarter is divided from that in the pasha's power by the Tigris, and connected only by a bridge of boats, great

part of the action consisted in a hot fire of small shot across the river, and of manœuvring with small wicker boats (something like a flat-bottomed coal basket pitched over) to divide the bridge, an object which was effected more than once. In the end, a body of the regular troops ferried over, and succeeded in gaining possession of the Arab quarter—a success which they improved with little moderation, gutting the town completely of its valuables, and barbarously misusing the women and children. Arab fights, however, are seldom very bloody, for this reason amongst others—that the relations of a slain man are bound to obtain satisfaction for his death—a proceeding which we are apt to misname seeking revenge. This term, more properly applied to the *instinctive* wish to retaliate, very feebly expresses the *principle* of determination to obtain blood for blood, which the *avenger* of it (for want of a better name) often carries to his grave and bequeathes to his children. One murder is thus often the cause of many; and there is a natural reluctance to provoke a feud, which may hang for generations like a millstone round the neck of the provoking tribe. When, however, this restraining principle is once forgotten, the slaughter made of an offending and conquered adversary is sometimes awful. There are more instances than one in Arab history of whole tribes saved from the utter annihilation which their conquerors intended to inflict, only by the accidental escape of a pregnant woman, by whose male offspring the race was continued. One of these instances is recorded in the work before us. The restored tribe was called the “Orphan’s tribe,” and the valley in which the promiscuous massacre of the females of the tribe was perpetrated (the males had fallen to a man in the battle), is still called the Wadilnisá (the Valley of Women).

After the battle, Mr. Fraser went to look at the conquered quarter, and thence to the tents of the Zobeid Arabs, the temporary allies of the pasha. His description of these is striking, though presenting, perhaps, not quite the picture we should expect of the romantic and chivalrous sons of the desert.

“From this scene of destruction, we went to visit the Zobeid camp, which certainly was a sight worth looking at. In all my experience of Toorkomans, Koords, or wandering tribes, I had seen no such wild-looking savages. Their lank black hair hung round their black visages; and the only points of relief in the wild countenance which looked from under their strange head-dresses, were the dark, piercing eyes, and the white teeth. What would many a gentleman and lady in Europe give for such a case of incisors? There were at least one thousand horses and as many men, all mingled higgledy-piggledy

together, a huge living mass of quadrupeds and bipeds, from among which rose a thick bristle of spears. The dress, if dress it could be called, of these Arabs, was the regular Buddooee or desert cut: the yellow and red handkerchief, bound round the top of the head with a thick rope of camels' hair—the coarse hair, or canvass, shirt—and the abba of every sort and quality: the most of them were very filthy and greasy. Some of them had no trousers, others no vest; some appeared to have no other covering than the tattered abba, girt round the waist with a bit of hair rope. Some wore their hair lank and loose, *au naturel*, some plaited in long streamers; and the features of all were high and sharp. They were all long, lean men, looking hungry enough for prey; but nothing savouring of such propensity was permitted to appear towards us. Though in an instant they clustered about us in hundreds as we made our appearance; yet, though they evinced an excessive curiosity, it was quite unmixed with rudeness. On the contrary, when some of them pressed too close upon us, others would remonstrate, and then all would fall back, to make room for our seeing the object at which we appeared to be looking; and here appeared the difference between the town, or fellah (husbandman) Arab, and him of the desert—the Buddooee, or, as we call them, the Bedouin. The former is a boor, the latter a gentleman. Really, notwithstanding all their wild and fierce appearance, there was, in their actions and demeanour, a sort of native politeness, the more remarkable from the contrast, proceeding, no doubt, from the same indomitable spirit of independence which breathes in, and produces a similar effect, in the North American Indians. . . . Cold though the weather was, especially at night, these men were all encamped upon the bare ground, with no other covering than the abba which they wore. Not a tent, except that of the sheikh, was in the party, and that was a very small one. They lay all at random among the horses, looking like bundles of dirty rags blackening the ground. Most of them were armed with swords of the usual scimitar-shape, and a crooked dagger at the waist. Some had heavy iron maces, and many the herbah, or iron javelin, of five or six feet long, for throwing. The jerreed, a still shorter javelin, made of iron, hung at many a saddle-bow, to the number, sometimes, of six on each side; and these they throw with great force and dexterity. Some of them carried small hammers, and a few had sticks of about a yard long, armed with iron hooks, with which they can pick up anything fallen to the ground, or pull a man from his saddle when at full speed. There were also a few guns among them, wretched clumsy engines; but the great weapon, after all, is the spear, of which, as I have said, there was a perfect thicket sticking in the ground, and without which no Arab thinks himself complete. It was generally planted close to the owner's horse."—vol. i. pp. 340-2.

"On entering the town," says our author, "the traveller from Persia is, moreover, gratified by the aspect of the houses, which, like the walls, are all built of fire-burnt bricks, and rise to the height of se-

veral stories ; and though the number of windows they present to the street is far from great, yet the eye is not constantly offended by that abominable succession of mean, low, crumbling, irregular, zigzag masses of mud, divided by dirty, dusty clefts, undeserving of the name even of *alleys*, that make up the aggregate of a Persian city.

"It is true, that the streets, even here, are, for the most part, mere alleys, and abundantly narrow, unpaved, and, I have no doubt, in wet weather, deep and dirty enough ; but in riding along them, particularly in dry weather, one is impressed with the idea, that the substantial walls to the right and left must contain good, weather-tight, comfortable domiciles ; while the stout, comparatively well-sized, iron-clenched doors, with which the entrances are defended, add to this notion of solidity and security. In Persia, on the contrary, the entrance to most houses, even those of persons of high rank, is more like the hole of some den, than a dwelling for human beings ; and the rickety, open-seamed, miserably-fitted valve, with which it is closed, does assuredly ill merit the appellation of a *door*.

"Nor are the streets of Baghdad by any means totally unenlivened by apertures for admitting light and air. On the contrary, not only are windows to the streets frequent, but there is a sort of oriel, or projecting window, much in use, which overhangs the street, and generally gives light to some sitting room, in which may be seen seated a few grave Turks, smoking away the time ; or, if you be in luck, you may chance to find yourself illuminated by a beam from some bright pair of eyes, beaming through the half-closed lattice. These sitting apartments are sometimes seen thrown across the street, joining the houses on either side, and affording a pleasing variety to the architecture, particularly when seen, as they often are, half-shaded by the leaves of a date tree that overhangs them from the court within. * * *

"Such were the impressions received from what I saw in passing through the town ; but the banks of the river exhibited a very different, and far more attractive scene. The flow of a noble stream is at all times an interesting object ; but when its banks are occupied by a long range of imposing, if not absolutely handsome, buildings, shaded by palm-groves, and enlivened by hundreds of boats, and the hum of thousands of men, and its stream spanned by a bridge of boats, across which there is a constant transit of men, and horses, and camels, and caravans, and a great traffic of all sorts—the *coup d'œil* formed by such a combination, can hardly fail of producing a very animated picture. And such, undoubtedly, is the view of the Tigris from any one of many points upon its banks, from whence you can command the whole reach occupied by the present city. * * *

"There are in various parts of the town, several open spaces, where particular sorts of goods are sold, and which have taken their respective appellations therefrom : as, the 'Thread Market,' the 'Muslin Market,' the 'Corn Market,' &c. Of these the largest and the gayest is that close to the north-west, or Mousul Gate ; but none of them have any pretensions to splendour, or even to cleanliness. The last-mentioned is, in fact, the great 'place' of the city. Horses are here

exposed for sale; it is surrounded by coffee-houses, which are constantly filled with an assemblage of all sorts of people, smoking, drinking coffee, &c. ; and it is the general place of exhibition, and of execution, too, for here criminals are punished with decapitation, hanging, or mutilation; and sometimes passengers are greeted with the sight of a headless trunk or two, exposed for the day as a warning to evil doers. The grave Turk, however, insensible to the horror of the spectacle, smokes his pipe quietly, or passes by with indifference, or only a muttered 'Allah-il-allah.' Even this place of all uses contains, as I should think, not more than an acre and a half of ground." vol. i., 212-16.

The author speaks of the want of brilliance in the *tout ensemble* of the streets of Baghdad as contrasted with those of Egypt or Constantinople; and complains of the alteration in costume of the Turkish soldiers, which has taken from them the magnificent oriental dress, without bestowing in return the smartness of the European soldier.

"Still," he says, "in the bazaar there is something of a glittering stir, for both Turks and Arabs are fond of red in all its shades, and of other gay colours, and their furs and embroidery, and shawled turbans and flowing garments, with the silver-hilted daggers and pistols at their waists, make up a lively and pleasing picture.

"Riding through the bazaars is, however, a service of some danger. Though forming the common thoroughfares, they are so narrow that you are constantly stopped by trains of loaded camels or mules, the packages on whose backs are apt to break either your head or your knees, according to the height of the passing quadruped; and you have enough to do in steering your course between them and the crowd of ruffian-like Arabs that beset every street and passage. The trains of asses loaded with wood reminded me of the lady in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, who, by falsely attributing the wound in her cheek to a blow from the pannier of one of these animals, endangered the lives of the whole respectable community of wood drivers; and sundry rents in my trousers more than once vindicated the plausibility of the lady's tale. I wish I could say that the cooks' shops in like manner recalled the image of that of Simmoustafa and his delicious cream-tarts; but in fact the smell of rancid butter and of the frying fat of sheep's tails, was the very reverse of attractive; nor are the confectioners' shops by any means so tempting as those of Constantinople."

"Among the things which strike a stranger, is the imperturbable stillness and apathy, as it seems, with which the Turkish merchant sits on the raised platform at his door, smoking his pipe in the midst of the bustle around him as if he heard it not, or had nothing of a trader's interest in the sale of his wares. Does a customer approach, he slowly and silently displays the goods required, and serves him if they suit—if not, he smokes on. A Persian would have asked you a

dozen times what you wanted ; showed you fifty things successively that you did not want ; and jumped from his seat and sat down upon it again as many times, while the grave indifferent Turk is taking his chibouk from his mouth to speak to you. It must be owned, however, that the Jew and Armenian dealers compensate by their quickness and volubility for the torpor of the Turks ; they are active enough in all conscience in ascertaining and supplying the wants of their customers."—vol. i. pp. 226-8.

There is an amusing description of the noises of Baghdad, which really seem in variety and intensity to be something more singular than the "cries" of any other civilized city. "The Arab," we are assured, "never talks but at the top of his voice," and as he drives his flocks, who are by no means dumb, he alternately roars to them, and "maintains a conversation at the top of his voice with some equally clear-piped brother, at a quarter of a mile's distance."

"Lungs are cheaper than legs," remarks our afflicted author ; "at least in Baghdad. "I spare you," says he to his correspondent, "the further detail of town criers, saints roaring out their pealing ejaculations, beggars and fakeers thundering forth their petitions in the name of Aillah and the prophet ; and worse than all, professed singers practising their voices as they pass along. [He has just been telling of one of these latter, who was taken, from his contortions, for a cholera patient.] In short, Hatchett's in Piccadilly, when all the mails and coaches are under despatch—Cockspur-street and Charing-cross when the season is fullest, and the cries are loudest—or Smithfield on a special market day—or Billingsgate—or all of these together, must strike, and yield the palm for variety and extent of noise to Baghdad, the true legitimate successor of old Babel."—vol. i. p. 232.

But these Arabs have detained us almost as long as some of their countrymen held the unfortunate caravans which came in the way of their irregular rapacity, and we are still at the gates of Baghdad. It is too well known now that Baghdad is more renowned for what it has been than for what it is,—that little of splendour now reigns in the city of the caliphs, the city which once shone like a heathen paradise with the gorgeousness of their splendour. But if this was the splendour only of the rich, while the poor groaned in misery more frightful by the contrast (and that this *was* the state of things in her best days, is witnessed even by the partial evidence of her encomiasts) ; she has little need to mourn now the loss of the gilding, or to complain that a Turkish pasha holds the throne which was once occupied by the lord of all Islam. No direct testimony to the incipient decadence of an empire could be stronger than the praise with which honest and contemporary historians have

loaded the most famous name in the list of the occupants of the throne at Baghdad,—the mighty Haroun Al-Rashed. Even these panegyrists confess, and with horror, that he destroyed a whole powerful, and virtuous family, the pillars of his greatness, on a pretext not even amounting to a crime,—and yet the executioner of the Barmecides was unquestionably a man of talent, of energy, and, strange as it may sound, of generosity, but corrupted by circumstances which ordinary virtue and strength of mind could hardly resist. They still shew in Baghdad the tomb of the fair and wise Zobaydah, the consort, and if she be not belied, sometimes the counsellor, of the mighty monarch. Much of the space devoted to the description of Baghdad is taken up with the account of the plague, which, in the beginning of 1831, ravaged the city. The details of this frightful visitation are chiefly taken from a journal (which has been since published)* kept by the Rev. Mr. Groves, a missionary who was then in the city—and remind us by their awful vividness of the terrible narrative of De Foe. The horrors of this disease, which almost depopulated Baghdad, were increased by an inundation of the Euphrates, and by a famine which at the same time raged in the city. It was in March of the year above-mentioned, that the fact of the plague having been introduced into the city become notorious and undeniable, and by the 26th of April, the mortality had reached or exceeded *four* thousand per diem, out of a population of sixty thousand. The dead were thrown about the streets for lack of men to bury them; the mosque burial-grounds were full; the pasha himself could not procure men to man a boat to take him from his water-ruined palace; the dead were thrown from its windows into the river; and he himself declared to Mr. Groves that he knew not where to sleep in safety. The after consequences were still more important to him. His army, the staff of his power, was melted down almost to nothing by this pestilence walking at noonday; the powers of the Porte were set against him by his murder of a messenger sent from the sultan, and supposed to bear an order for his deposition or death; and he himself at length became the victim of treachery as great as he had shown to the unfortunate ambassador, was deprived of his pashalic, and his power, which had been great, too great perhaps for the jealousy of the Turkish court, was utterly annihilated. Unfortunately for the Turkish

* Journal of a residence at Baghdad, during the years 1830 and 1831, by Mr. Anthony N. Groves, Missionary. London: Nisbet, Berners-street, 1832, pp. 96-168.

dominions, such occurrences are by no means rare. The *theory* of a dependent governor is that he receives the messenger of his master, the sultan, with like reverence, whether he brings him an advancement of office or the bowstring; but in *practice* he calculates his power of resisting the application of the latter missive, and not unfrequently the unfortunate bearer of it perishes by his own weapon.

"Under the circumstances related in my last letter," continues our author (the plague and inundation that is) "you cannot suppose that Baghdad wore much appearance of prosperity when I entered it. The first ride through the city betrayed its wretched condition, and brought into view the deep traces of that flood of misfortune which had so lately passed over it. Immediately beyond the comparatively small knot of buildings left standing by the inundation, lay the wide waste of ruins it had left, with here and there a new house starting up, like a ghost from amidst the relics of a buried population. Large spaces of ground had sunk, strangely enough, under the pressure of the water, forming deep hollows among the gardens which fill up a considerable space in the southern part of the city. I should think that nearly two-thirds of the whole area on the eastern side of the river was thus divested of habitable buildings; and even those which remain exhibit the effects of the water on their foundations in many ominous cracks; while the façade to the river, though looking well and imposingly at a distance, is really in a very shattered condition. The palace of Daoud Pasha (the deposed governor just mentioned), which occupied a very extensive site, stretching to the river bank, is utterly ruined; and the pasha, who lives in a house that had been occupied by one of the late pasha's sons, has lately begun to rebuild the wall, in order, as I understand, to convert it into a barrack for his troops.

"On the other side of the river the scene is not more enlivening. That portion which is now principally occupied by Arabs, but which formerly contained the houses of many opulent Turks, is still more ruinous than this upon the eastern side. There you ride through little else than fallen or falling walls, and the debris of what once was a dense mass of buildings. The wall of the town on both sides of the river is shattered and tottering, and the great gaps by which the water entered are still in the same condition as the inundation left them in.

"Without the walls the prospect is peculiarly cheerless; it is in fact a type of the present condition of the pashalic. Excepting the banks of the river, which to the extent of about three miles each way are fringed with date tree groves, a naked plain, bounded only by the horizon, stretches on all sides to the very gates. It is true that at this period the desert is enlivened by tents and camps of Arabs, by flocks of sheep and cattle, herds of camels, and a considerable succession of comers and goers, on foot or on horseback, but even this temporary show of life and bustle is owing to the particular and most unwelcome pressure of external circumstances."—vol. i. pp. 268-70.

These were the attack of the Arabs upon the city, which had not only brought a vast number of camels and horses *without* the walls, but had driven an inconvenient quantity of beasts belonging to more stationary life *within* them. This was sometimes annoying enough, but our traveller's great *crux* appears to have been the asses,—a vast number of fine *white* animals of this species, forming one of the great features of the city of Baghdad, in conjunction with an equally vast number of “intensely black, and exquisitely ugly,” negro slaves. They (the quadrupeds that is), are often very fine, and sell high. Forty or fifty pounds is mentioned as no uncommon price. They all have their nostrils slit, under a notion that the operation improves their wind. “Heaven knows,” says our poor traveller, “their wind is long enough when they begin to bray.”

The author devotes some pages to the “dancing dervishes,” as we in Europe entitle the curious fire and sword defying vagabonds, half knaves and half enthusiasts, who have so often been described by European travellers,—but a much more curious account is that of an alchemist who professed partially to transmute brass into gold, and whose proceedings were, to say the least, sufficiently puzzling. The author received his account from a M. de Marquez, an Italian, who had the charge of the Mint and Arsenal under the then pasha and his predecessor. This gentlemen took considerable pains to prevent or detect imposture.

“He weighed with his own hands, and put into the crucible, the brass which was to be transmuted, and which he himself had provided; the charcoal made use of he likewise examined; and the process was conducted with the apparatus and in the laboratory of the mint. In the course of the work, the man required a certain and very small portion of white and yellow arsenic, and M. de Marquez, in order to prevent the possibility of any trick, sent for the article to a shop that he could depend upon for providing it genuine. He even put it into the crucible himself, nor did the adept approach it at all except to put in a small quantity of a certain powder, less than that of a small pinch of snuff, which he took from a little box with a small spoon like an ear-picker. M. de Marquez himself poured out the melted metal when ready, and took possession of it. On examining it when cool, he saw that a portion of it, which adhered to the mass in clots, and pervaded it in lines, had actually become gold. This mass he weighed, and finding it somewhat heavier than the brass which he had put in, he demanded of the Arab how this had come to pass. The man instantly put him in mind of the arsenic which had been added, and which, united with the brass, would make up the exact amount. M. de Marquez afterwards performed the same experiment himself, and the result was as the adept had said.”—vol. i. p. 294.

Curious as this whole story is, the most curious part of all is the last sentence. If we understand it right, the European chemist himself repeated the process, previously gone through by the Arab, thus, as we may presume, debarring the latter from any chance of playing a trick of legerdemain, if he had been so inclined. The gold was tested by aquafortis,—so there was no mistake there,—and found to amount to one-third of the mass. The Arab explained this partial success by the circumstance of this being an early experiment, in which he had not fully determined the proper quantities of the operating ingredients. The author gives his full credence to the story so far as it rests on M. de Marquez' testimony, and certainly is not fully sceptical, if we judge by his own words, as to the actual performance of the transmutation. It is curious enough that in several remarkable stories of alchemy in Europe, where the baser metals are said to have been changed into gold, the ostensible agent of the change is just the very small pinch of some unknown powder mentioned in the above recital. Several of these stories are given in the introduction to *Brand's Chemistry*, and in other works on the history of that science, and some of them are amusing enough. Many bear the unquestionable marks of imposture; but some, like the one we have just quoted, have at least enough of interest to be worth consideration. It may be very difficult to believe the *possibility* of changing baser metals into gold, but it would certainly, in the present state of our chemical knowledge, be much more difficult, even for the most determined sceptic, to *prove* its impossibility. The poor fellow, however, who was trying to accomplish the *magnum opus* for the pasha of Baghdad, had gained little by his knowledge or his pretensions up to the time of the author's acquaintance with him. He was then "in a sort of honourable confinement," and the pasha was not unlikely to release him from it, only by dismissing him from the chance of incurring any more of the ills of this world.

From Baghdad our traveller took his course southward into the lower part of Mesopotamia, into the country of the famous remains of antiquity which lie so thick in that quarter, that they were continually passing ground strewn with remains, or marked with the evidence of their existence underground,—that total want of vegetation which betrays the site of buildings, though the bricks may lie many feet deep. In one place, he says, "we scarcely traversed a mile without passing over the site of some ancient city, or town, or village." Of

these ruins, the most remarkable, of course, were those of Babylon, or what are conceived to be such. These lie almost entirely on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and consist chiefly of enormous mounds of earth, furrowed into channels by the action of rain, and bearing on their summit, or concealing in their mass, various structures of brickwork,—sometimes of sun-dried bricks loosely laid together, with the reeds of the neighbouring river between them, but more frequently of fire-burnt bricks joined by a cement so indurated by age, that they are often broken in the attempt to separate them. These latter are marked with the curious and interesting arrow-headed characters, probably the oldest specimens of alphabetic writing in the world, and closely allied to, if not in the the same language and character with the Persepolitan inscriptions, a key to which has been to all appearance found by the labours of De Sacy, Grotefend, Burnouf, &c. The Persepolitan inscriptions deciphered by means of this, present words in a language closely resembling the Zend, and by consequence the Sanscrit, a cognate language; but curiously enough, resembling the Semitic dialects in the paucity of written vowels, whilst the Zend and Sanscrit, especially the former, are distinguished by their abundance. Another remarkable peculiarity of these bricks, is that they are not only burnt in the maker's kiln, but in many instances a whole pile of them is vitrified and consolidated into one mass, as if they had been subjected to the intense and long continued action of surrounding fire. Many theories have been proposed to account for this appearance, none of them very satisfactory;—the inhabitants of the vicinity refer it to the action of lightning, or as they express it, “fire from heaven.” The description of these vitrified masses reminded us strongly of the “vitrified forts” of Scotland, which have equally puzzled antiquaries, and the theories upon which coincide rather curiously with those broached to account for the Eastern phenomenon.

“The question instantly suggests itself,” says the author, “what have these fire-scathed masses been, and by what means came they to be exposed to so overpowering a degree of heat as they must have undergone? I can conceive nothing less than the continued heat of some glass-furnace sufficient to produce the effect apparent here; and how could that be applied at the height they must have occupied when in their proper place? There is nothing to lead to the idea that much wood could have been employed in the construction of this fabric; and calculated, as it obviously was originally, to last for ages, it is highly improbable that any large proportion of so perishable a material should have been used; yet the combustion of some such substance is the

only means one can conceive by which such heat could have been here applied. The effect is evidently partial. The tall mass of brickwork that stands upright bears no mark of fire—how is this? We have no Scriptural authority for believing that the temple of Belus was destroyed by any miraculous manifestation of divine power; but the Arabs have a tradition, that the Birs [the name of the mass of buildings in question, traditionally reported to have been built by Nimrod] was destroyed by *fire from heaven*. Thus, we have but a choice between the belief of some most extraordinary and inexplicable natural agency, and that of a miracle, to account for the appearances now manifest on this wonderful ruin. The effects of lightning are sometimes tremendous. We hear of its fusing large bolts of metal by a single flash; but terrible, indeed, and nothing short of miraculous, must have been those flashes (if lightning it was) that shivered, fused, and overthrew the blackened fragments that strew the summit of this mighty mass of ruins.”

There is so much of pleasure in enjoying, even by reflected impression, the thoughts produced by such objects as those amongst which the author found himself at this part of his journey—in appreciating with his taste, as well as seeing with his eyes—that we feel we shall be forgiven for making another extract from this very interesting portion of the work before us:

“There was something striking in the solitude and desert aspect of the *coup d'œil* which was obtained from the summit of the Mujellibah, that undoubtedly recalled to the spectator's mind the remarkable fulfilment of the numerous prophetic denunciations of divine wrath, which we find throughout the Scriptures; but the manner of their being recalled was not so impressive as might be supposed. Babylon, though utterly ruined, and the haunt of loathsome creatures, is not altogether deprived of the vestiges of man's vicinity; you see villages and date-groves, and cultivation in various places around, and the walls of Hillah remind one that something of a city exists within view; so that the image of utter desolation is disturbed, and the frame of mind with which the scene is viewed is apt to suffer a corresponding reaction. On the whole, I was certainly deeply interested at the view of these relics of what once was one of the wonders of the world; but as to all those indescribable emotions which travellers seem to hold it a duty to feel in such places, and particularly on this spot, I must plead guilty to a sin against feeling and propriety, if such it be, for truly I experienced little of them. The truth is, that those who are accustomed to scenes of wide-spread barren nature, and whose imaginations have been somewhat *dulled* by the hard and matter-of-fact realities of life, require something more intrinsically striking and tangible than anything that appears at Babylon, to call forth their enthusiasm; and such, I confess, was the case with me. I was more impressed with the solitary ghastliness of the old city of Erij, at Vuromeen, near Tehrân, with its old white furrowed walls standing almost entire, but utterly tenant-

less and deserted, than with all I saw this day. The one was like the skeleton of a mighty place—it still retained some connexion with humanity—it put one in mind of the terrible spectre ship of Coleridge, which, deserted by her crew, had drifted for years and years over the ocean, till bleached to fearful whiteness by the storms of an unknown period. The other is that skeleton mouldering into dust, which we cannot distinguish from other clay—like the stranded vessel that has rotted on the beach, and whose timbers, already fallen to pieces, suggest no notion of the gallant ship that long instinct with life, has breasted the waves of the ocean.

“The Euphrates, notwithstanding my disappointment in its size, was a far more interesting and exciting object. There is something in the living stream which you can commune with. Ever changing, and yet still the same, it speaks to you as a thing of life, and says—‘I am the same as in the days of old—since time was, I alter not. I have seen generations pass away, and yet I remain fresh and youthful as ever.’ The Euphrates *is* the same as in the days when the captive children of Israel sat by its stream and wept; and assuredly the sight of that stream had by far more power, on me at least, to call forth associations with sacred writ, than the heaps of dust, however gigantic, that lay scattered along its margin.”

The principal features of the journey, after leaving the neighbourhood of Hillah, are the peculiarities of the Arabs, with many tribes of whom our traveller came in contact in the course of his journey. It has been already intimated that there are two grand divisions of these people—the migratory or military, and the fellahs, or cultivators. Of the first class a description has already been quoted, on occasion of the siege of Baghdad, which may apply pretty well to the whole class. The stationary Arabs are altogether a ruder race, and in fact some tribes of them pass, even amongst their semi-barbarous countrymen, for undoubted barbarians.* The vaunted hospitality of the Arabs makes but an indifferent figure in the journal of this part of the journey. True, they refused to sell provisions, professing to consider this a stain upon their hospitality; but the only advantage this gave the strangers was, that they were obliged to pay double value for all they got, under the name of a present. The description of one tent-full (and one will do pretty well for all) of these desert-born, in their peaceful trim, might hang up beside any picture of *Salvator Rosa*, or match the most picturesque scene in *Gil Blas*.

“There was a huge blaze flaring in the faces of as wild a set of savages as ever surrounded a cannibal feast; and who, to the number of twenty or thirty, were seated on their heels, most of them with shirts and abbas tucked up to permit their long breechless limbs to rejoice in the general heat. They fed the flame from a great heap of brush-

wood behind them, which occupied the extreme bottom and part of the side of the tent. It was a very Robinson Crusoe-like spectacle indeed."

To add to the peculiar character of this peculiar reunion, the sheikh of this choice company had taken upon himself the charitable office of converting or endeavouring to convert his infidel guest, and appealed to him, as he saw him shiver at one time with the cold, and, at another, manœuvre to bring the screen of a "ragged Arab" between him and the roasting fire, to ask him how he would bear the exaggeration of these two opposite modes of torment in Jehannum. This was kind enough in its way, by comparison; for as far as our reading has gone, the best prayer of a Moslem for an unbeliever is that he may roast in the fire. This has a most ferocious sound when repeated, as it is liberally in the accounts of skirmishes between the Christians and Mohammedans, where the recital of the death of every one of the former is accompanied with this peremptory announcement of his fate in the other world.

Mr. Fraser expresses a very moderate opinion of the bravery of the Arab, unless when excited to fury, or, as he phrases it, "when his blood is up." "The slightest loss disheartens him, and the smallest show of resolute opposition drives him back." This is sufficiently illustrated even in the accounts of their own historians, of the behaviour of Arab troops in the palmiest days of Arab valour. In the early contests with the Greek and Persian forces, the description is almost always of single champions, or whole bodies, exciting themselves by yelling the *Tekbir*, and rushing "with the rush of one man" upon their antagonists; and there are memorable instances recorded, in which the fate of the day was retrieved only by the women in the rear of the camp hemming the path of the flyers, and turning them back by smiting the horses on the nose with the tent-poles. The very school in which the Arab learns his exercise of arms—a life of plunder in the desert, where he trusts as much to the speed of his mare as to the edge of his sword or the point of his spear—naturally tends to encourage this kind of courage, or the want of it.

On the return of our author's party to Baghdad, they learnt the death of the late shah, and the accession of the heir, Mohammed Meerza, to the throne. Of these events a fuller history is given further on in the book, taken from the journal of an officer who accompanied the late king till his death, and from other sources. The shah's death took place while he was

on a journey into the province of Fars, for the purpose of quickening by his own august presence the arrival of the arrears of taxes from that and other provinces. He was then in his eightieth *lunar* year (about seventy-seven years old, according to our solar computation), and had just addressed a boastful speech to his nobles, warning them against supposing that he was too old or too infirm to restrain and punish their disobedience. Five days after (on the 23rd October, 1834) he was a corpse.

The proceedings consequent upon this event, up to the establishment of the prince royal (the present king) upon the throne, are curious enough, as an illustration of the imbecility of eastern policy; and the account of them would look like an exaggerated caricature, if it were not backed by the integrity of the narrator, and the circumstance of his drawing his account from those personally concerned in the incidents he relates. Our old friend the Kaymokâm, or prime minister, whom we have seen so agreeably immersed in an ocean of multifarious correspondence, was wont not only to boast of his ability with the pen, but to declare his total inaptitude to meddle with the sword—by way, we presume, of setting the former accomplishment in strong relief. He even went so far in his zeal to assert the integrity of his literary fame, as to declare himself a coward; and his proceedings on this occasion showed that he had not mistaken his own character. As usual on the demise of a Persian monarch, the lawful heir was not permitted to ascend the throne in peace; the Prince of Fars, against whom the late king's march had been directed to compel him to pay up the arrears of tribute, hearing of his death, hastened to Ispahan, and there took possession of the throne and crown jewels. In this critical juncture, both prince and Kaymokâm acted with the most apathetic neglect of the proper means for securing the throne to the former, and the British envoy and his countrymen in the service of the shah were obliged to give money to the troops, whose pay was three years in arrear, personally to superintend the preparations for the approaching contest, and actually to push on the tardy heir-apparent and his diplomatic factotum to such measures as were absolutely necessary to secure the power if not the life of both. The Russians offered troops to put the young shah upon the throne, but refused all other assistance, and actually encouraged the men of the Russian battalion to desert. By the energetic efforts of the English, the shah was at length established upon the throne, and his competitor defeated; but throughout the

whole proceedings they met with nothing but neglect, in civility, or positive opposition, from those they were so signally serving. Surely all this is but an additional confirmation to the surmise expressed by our author in another work, and alluded to in a former part of this article, that the dynasty of the Kajars is tending to its decay.

But we have a little overrun our author, whom we left at Baghdad, to give some account of the political news which he first heard there, on his road from that city to Teherân. The most remarkable object he passed on his journey between the two places, was Be-sittoon, a large rock smoothed down on its face, and containing a larger and smaller inscription; the former, apparently of the age of the Sassanides, and the latter referable to the more doubtful period, when the arrow-headed character and the Zend language were in vogue. These ruins have been delineated and described by Sir Robert Kerr Porter in his travels, but our author finds fault with his engraving, as giving the idea of too great magnitude. There is a third object also, an arch apparently of the same date as the larger inscription, the value of which to the antiquarian is much diminished by the barbarism of the Mohammedans, who have effaced the ancient inscription to make room for others in Persian and Arabic. Fortunately, there exist other inscriptions, both in the arrowheaded and Pahlavi character, to throw some light upon the languages spoken at the time they were engraved. By the labours of the literati already mentioned, as having illustrated the cuniform inscriptions, and by those of the Baron de Sacy upon the Pahlavi, these languages are shewn to be, if not identical with the Zend and Pahlavi of the sacred books of the Parsees, at least radically the same. The Pahlavi is largely mixed with words of a semitic dialect, probably the Chaldee, while the Zend, clear from any such mixture, bears the closest resemblance to the Sanscrit,—that venerable language, which is not only the parent of the languages of modern India, but in all probability, the oldest of the numerous languages, which, under the name of Indo-Germanic, are spoken from the eastern limit of India, to the western shores of Ireland, as well as over the whole Europeanized part of North and South America. The Zend has been comparatively little studied in Europe, and is almost if not wholly unknown among the Parsees; but we possess imperfect translations of part of their sacred books into Sanscrit, and more modern dialects. From the peculiar position which the language thus illustrated, holds amongst the vast family of

languages we have just mentioned, it is probable that its further cultivation may throw light not only on the history of language, but on the dark and disputed point of the derivation of nations.

The journey from Teherân to Constantinople was performed on post-horses, and for this reason was somewhat less anxious and troublesome than the former part of the route; but even this mode of travelling has many serious disadvantages, which by no means allow of its being compared with "riding post" in England. Sometimes those very necessary appliances for the journey, the horses, are not forthcoming,—another evidence of the miserable regulations of eastern policy.

"Although there are *chupperchees* or postmasters, appointed at due distances between Tabreez and Cazveen, yet scarcely one shilling of the stipulated pay do they receive, to maintain the number of horses on the line. From Cazveen to Teherân, there never was any,—the old king would give himself no trouble about the matter; and when I received an order for four horses on the postmaster at Teherân, he came to me to say that he had not one; that they owed him two hundred tomâns: if I could procure him payment of part of that, he would get me as many horses as I liked, but without money he would do nothing; and so saying off he went to *bust* i. e. sanctuary. You will ask then how it is that the constant intercourse by chupper, maintained between Tabreez and the capital, is carried on. It is done by all manner of expedients; by coaxing, pressing, and sometimes hiring, or *promising* to hire a horse from station to station. When a chupperchee, by either absconding or making a strong representation, obtains attention from the minister, an order is sent, perhaps, upon some unhappy village to furnish him with so much corn and straw, or money; and though he can seldom extract the whole, a little is in this way obtained, with which a horse may be maintained, or hired on occasion.—Then the situation gives a degree of influence which enables the postmaster sometimes to procure horses from individuals; and at others, assisted by the *gholaum* who is sent on the errand, he presses any he can get hold of, in the king's name, and thus drags and lags on this most miserable system."

But we must make much shorter work of the remainder of the journey than our traveller was able to do, contending as he did not only against the artificial difficulties, or rather the want of sufficient artificial aids, which we have partly alluded to, but also against the natural distresses of high mountain ridges, snow storms such as sometimes bury a whole caravan, and cold almost too intense to permit of motion. The chief merit of this latter part of the work, being as it is the account of a continuous journey performed as fast as was in the nature of the

sorry cattle composing the cavalcade, lies in the descriptions of scenery, a species of writing in which our author is very happy. An overland journey from Constantinople completed this tour, of which we are sure the narrative will be read with great interest; not the less from the cheerfulness and stout spirit with which it was performed, and the picturesque language in which it is described.

ART. VI.—1. *First Annual Report of the Irish Temperance Union, on the principle of Total Abstinence from all Intoxicating Liquors, for the Year ending 25th February, 1840.* Dublin: 1840.

2.—*Professor Edgar's Digest of the Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, on the Extent, Causes, and Consequences of Drunkenness.* Dublin: 1840.

3.—*Speech of John Mackay, Esq., on Temperance, delivered on the 29th December, 1837, at the Rotunda.* Dublin: 1840.

4.—*Dublin Weekly Herald; Temperance, Agricultural, and Commercial Journal.*

5.—*The Dublin Morning Register.*

IT is now full six centuries and a half since, in the phrase of the old chronicles, "Ireland was conquered by the English." Many historians have repeated this assertion, and if we are to receive it as the record of an established fact, the English have at this hour much cause to blush for the very slender benefits they have conferred upon that country, and the imperfections of the power they have as yet derived from it in aid of the resources and stability of their own empire.

Looking to the progress which the other sections of the kingdom have made, even within the last century, in all the arts of war and peace, the traveller in Ireland feels certainly astonished at the backwardness of that country in the development of the superabundant means which its position and territory present for the production of national opulence. Stretching out, as it does, a promontory beyond all other European lands, into the Atlantic; indented on every side by natural harbours of the most convenient description, many of them leading, by estuaries, navigable rivers, canals, and spacious lakes, into the interior parts of the island; exhibiting in every direction, by reason of the mountainous chains that girdle the

coast, thousands of torrents that might easily be converted to mechanical purposes; possessing vast quarries of limestone, and marbles of the most varied and beautiful hues, mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, and iron; vast plains and vallies of the most fertile character; a climate which, although humid, is mild, and remarkably salubrious;—it ought, at this period of our history, to have stood forth as the habitation of a highly organised and affluent community, and the grand emporium of the two hemispheres.

What is the reason that the expectations of a foreign traveller, who proceeds from England to Ireland, are so deeply disappointed in every respect, when he compares the one kingdom with the other? There, upon a territory not half so richly endowed by nature, he finds industry of every kind carried to the utmost perfection; everywhere signs of unlimited wealth; a society in the full enjoyment of every comfort and luxury that man can desire. But before he sojourns many days in this the sister-realm, his mind becomes oppressed by the tokens of an inferior state of existence which he sees perpetually around him—towns filled with a squalid population—cabins occupied by wretched families—multitudes of children absolutely naked, or scarcely covered by shreds of the coarsest materials; immense tracts of marshy land, that might easily be drained and cultivated—innumerable acres of more elevated soil, wholly unproductive, which the application of a comparatively small capital might clothe in the richest harvests—noble rivers rushing from heights, and expending what might well be called mechanical energies in empty sound—canals—lakes—many magnificent harbours, with scarcely a single sail to enliven them!

It is not, of course, intended to be said, that Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Waterford, Limerick, are wholly destitute of trade, or that the interior of Ireland is all one mass of barrenness, idleness, and misery. Far from it. But the comparison which a visitor to Ireland, after travelling through England, feels himself obliged to make at every step, is undoubtedly calculated to cast a cloud upon his mind, which all the natural beauties of her scenery cannot remove; for he cannot but perceive, if he be a man of observation and discernment, that the ordinary care of a parental government, and the provisions of a wise and beneficent system of legislation, might long since, without any difficulty, have placed Ireland upon a level with Great Britain in all things that contribute to the power and splendour of a great nation.

Marvellous, undoubtedly, it is, that while the English people are constantly engaged in searching for new continents, distant thousands of miles from their own shore, with a view to the extension of their wealth and power, they pass by the measureless capabilities of Ireland with such profound indifference. Twenty millions sterling are showered upon the West Indies, in order to effect a purpose undoubtedly useful in itself. In the East Indies they spare neither blood nor treasure, when an opportunity occurs for widening the precincts of their dominions. On one side, they, from impregnable fortresses, look down upon Persia; on another, they climb the Himalas, and touch the confines of Russia. On another, they menace the power of China, and challenge her hundreds of millions to battle, in order to protect their commerce. Commission upon commission is appointed to people and govern the Canadas, the Australias, the Zealands; and expeditions are prepared at the public expense, with the view to enter the rivers of Africa, and civilize the natives of that country. And while all this centrifugal energy is exerted in favour of remote dependencies, and of communities connected with them by no particular ties, they absolutely overlook eight millions of men, occupying an integral portion of their home possessions—possessions which, properly administered and fostered, would much more than compensate them for their lost America!

Let men sophisticate the history of English rule in Ireland as they may, it is impossible for any impartial mind not to see, that many of the evils inflicted upon this country have sprung from the jealousies which in most cases render conterminous nations inexorable enemies. When the English first obtained a footing in this country, they did every thing they could to prevent a native government from being formed or matured here. They studiously abstained from planting in it the Saxon tithings, or hundreds, or, indeed, any of the popular institutions previously founded in England, by which the elements of society were organized and prepared for the great superstructure of self-government. They brought with them into Ireland only their naked swords, resolved, if they could not subjugate, to exterminate the native races. A vain attempt! The utmost they could do was to drive before them into the mountains of the western district masses of the Irish people, and to erect land-marks, beyond which, it was made criminal to pass. But the moment they retired from the territory, which they merely overran, the native multitudes again rushed out from their fastnesses, and reoccupied the forbidden

land; and the work of "conquest" was all to be again performed, as if no invasion had ever before taken place. No olive branch was ever held out by the "conquerors,"—as the armed bands of the Henrys, the Elizabeths, the Cromwells, the Williams, styled themselves. No sincere truces were offered, no kindly admonitions tendered; no manifestation was made of anything like a genuine, regal, parental desire to civilize and cherish a people, who might have been easily induced, by kind and honourable treatment, to become the faithful subjects of a protecting power. No. The sword, the torch, the canon, the anathema, treaties made only to be broken—these were the means of government presented by aliens to men treading their own land, and determined never to surrender it.

Confiscation upon confiscation followed. Strangers were created lords of the soil; and, as if these acts of the grossest impolicy had not been sufficient to plant in the breasts of the Irish people the most violent prejudices against English domination, fresh persecutions were resorted to, with a view to force upon them a system of religion altogether different from that which had been handed down to them from their fathers, and had become identified with their homes, their altars, and their graves.

Had the liturgies of Henry, Elizabeth, or Edward, been even less imperfect than they were, they never could have obtained the suffrages of a people to whom they were held out for acceptance, accompanied by laws which already had condemned their clergy to death or exile, themselves to loss of property, their choicest temples to destruction, and their most beloved religious institutions to promiscuous plunder. Could any sane man have seriously supposed that a mode such as this for the propagation of a religion called "Christian," a mode so utterly the reverse of that practised and recommended by the MESSIAH—was likely to be successful? Impossible.

Nevertheless, the blind frenzy of "conquest"—the still more blind spirit of fanaticism—were deaf to the dictates of justice, reason, or mercy. The churches and the abbeys, in those days the great seminaries of education, being overthrown, the Irish were prohibited by severe penalties from teaching themselves. No mode of education was allowed them unless they deserted their religion. And yet even now we hear English declaimers, who aspire to the title of "statesmen," calling upon their auditors to believe, that a community thus robbed of their property—thus interrupted in the

practices of their religion—thus deprived of their schools—are willingly a pauper people, are naturally a demoralized race, and indomitably ignorant, barbarous, and prone to crime of every description! Had those accusations been just, to whom would the causes of such a state of things been attributable? Assuredly to the English “conquerors.”

In treating of this subject, we should wish it to be understood that we do not at all mean to include under the title of “conquerors,” a majority, or indeed anything like a majority, of the English people. We entertain too high an opinion of that people, generally speaking,—of their good sense, their love of liberty, their spirit of justice, and their attachment to religion,—to suppose, that if they had been correctly informed as to the condition of Ireland, and if they had been consulted as to the mode in which it should be governed, they would at any period of their history have countenanced the systems of oppression established, or attempted to be enforced, by various administrations in this country. The political and religious animosity to which those systems owed their birth, prevailed principally amongst families in the higher orders of society, who held large estates in Ireland under titles which they derived from confiscation. With these families were connected many military adventurers, and followers of various kinds, who settled in the northern parts of Ireland, the whole of whose descendants might have been classed at a later day under the denomination of “Orangemen.” Faction thus took the place which ought to have been occupied by generous protection. Religion became only a pretext for persecution. Novel, or questionable, titles to property were real perpetual sources of apprehension, which banded together a small minority of rich men, civil, military, and ecclesiastic, against immense numbers, whom it was their policy to treat as outlaws. But although this minority was long sustained by the British legislature and executive, we are of opinion that it would be a historical injustice to the British people to assert, that they participated in the long series of measures adopted by those authorities to the prejudice of Ireland—measures wholly indefensible upon any of those principles of equity or policy by which nations ought to be ruled.

It is true that some portions of the English constitution have been long since introduced into Ireland. Tribunals of “justice,” (so called), circuits, two houses of parliament, municipal corporations, public schools, and an university, were founded here after the English fashion. To these was added

a dim reflection of the throne and its pageantry. But it need scarcely be remarked, that all these things were done solely in the interest of the "minority;" to protect the alien lord in his possessions, and to sustain a religion which even to this hour is but a withering exotic in Ireland.

To the great mass of the nation never were made known the more ancient institutions of England, so well calculated to beget self-respect, and that early love of liberty which teaches men how to govern themselves, and to defend their rights and privileges against every form of usurpation. To the Irish people the great charter was long a dead letter—the writ of habeas corpus in practice useless—the elective franchise unknown until a very late period—municipal corporations, in their legitimate shape, denied even to the hour in which we write. All the legislators who have yet essayed their skill in providing regulations for the government of this country, even those of the least unfriendly complexion, have, in consequence, being consciously or unconsciously imitating the sapient architect, who commenced his edifice with the attic story, not troubling himself about the foundation, until he discovered that he could not find or make a sound one.

Therefore it is, that at this day, when we ought (if just and wise laws had been in due time enacted for the government of Ireland) to behold here a well-organized and prosperous community, we have in fact, only a mere conflux of families, who have been for some years kept in subjection by the bayonet of the soldier, or the *sabre* of the policeman; for in Ireland it is not the staff of the English constable that is used by the police, but the *sabre* of the French *gens-d'armes*. In fact, although the police in Ireland generally perform their duties in a manner as mild and as inoffensive as possible, they are nothing more or less than soldiers in disguise.

We have no difficulty in affirming, that if Ireland had been left during the last six centuries solely to the energies of her own children, her situation at this day would have wonderfully differed from what it is. If we desire to form a probable conjecture upon this subject, we have abundant data upon which such a conjecture may be fairly erected. Without plunging into the obscurity of documentary records, or examining the claims set up by zealous patriots in favour of Ireland to supereminence above all other nations, in every department of theology, literature, the arts and sciences, at a period generally styled the "dark ages,"—we cannot, at all events, fail to see, in the ruins of temples, palaces, monasteries, and col-

leges, which abound especially in the southern and western provinces of this country, and most of which were built in those ages, unquestionable proofs of a highly civilized, generous, and affluent people. Here is evidence which speaks for itself, which cannot be contradicted or passed over in an argument of this nature.

In the absence of historical testimony of a more positive character, we conclude, and conclude rightly, from the splendid specimens of architecture, sculpture, and painting, which have been discovered in Egypt, especially of late years, that thousands of years ago—one is afraid to say how many—there must have existed in that country successive generations of men, marvellously enterprising and successful in war and commerce, and most admirably skilled in almost every art of peace with which we are now conversant. The same course of reasoning is applied with equal force to India, Greece, and Italy. Why should it not also be rendered applicable to Ireland?

Without going further, look at the many beautiful ruins, six or seven in number, all within vision at the same moment, upon the estates of Lord Dunraven, near Limerick: visit Quin Abbey, near Ennis, still nearly perfect: the ivy-clad structure raised to the honour of the cross, near Thurles: above all, to the majestic piles which crown the Rock of Cashel, and display the great progress made in ecclesiastical architecture from the times of paganism down to those when Irish genius was compelled to fly the shock of arms introduced by the invaders from England. Inspect, even cursorily, these monuments of national sanctity and taste, and say if they are the work of an ignorant and pauperized nation?

Consider also the native music of Ireland, which still lives, and ever must live, even though Moore had not identified it with his own immortality. The faculty of producing combinations of tones which shall always touch the sense and make prisoner the heart—which shall not lose their charm by repetition—which awaken in the soul sentiments of joy, or of melancholy still more delicious than joy, and banish from it at the moment all other ideas—the power, the genius, or whatever ethereal impulse it is which creates sounds capable of working all this witchery, has been, we believe, rarely found, or prized, amongst a sanguinary, ungifted, degraded people.

The recollections of home and kindred, and of boyhood days and years—of scenes haunted when under the influence of cheerfulness and happiness without a cloud—will undoubtedly endear to individuals and races any sort of modulation,

however wild or unmusical, which they had been accustomed long to hear. Airs, however, very agreeable to savage tribes, do not often please the more civilized. They are not frequently translateable into ideas of an amiable character. They tell of war, and of the cries of captives, the fury of anger, and the revelry of revenge.

But where is the country, not wholly barbarous, in which the melodies of Ireland have not been favourably received? The love with which they are universally cherished, speaks volumes for the natural genius of the people from whom those divine effusions have emanated, and attests a state of society amongst them conversant with every graceful form of imagery and thought; with innocence that suspects no vice, compassion that knows no selfishness, and resignation that never verges on despair. These are not the characteristics of an irreligious, uneducated, ill-disposed community.

Pass from the epoch of the Irish harp, cathedrals, and monasteries,—or, in other words, from the days when learning, music, poetry, religion, domestic happiness, cheerful industry, refined taste, and general prosperity, reigned in this country, to the period when the British laws against the property, the education, and the religion of the natives were enforced with the most relentless cruelty; and what do we behold? A nation driven indeed into the wild recesses of their mountains, and deprived of every means of intellectual cultivation;—but within those very fastnesses their numbers began to swell in a ratio which has ever since gone on increasing, in despite of oppression, periodical famine, pestilence, and misery of every denomination.

Is it then to be wondered at, that on their return to the vallies and the plains, from which it became impracticable from their numbers again to expel them, they no longer appeared to be the same people that built the edifices of which we have spoken? An English peer, the great champion of the “minority,” the would-be “conquerors” of Ireland, not long since described that great population as “aliens from England in blood, in language, and religion.” Suppose this description to be just, what a satire did he pronounce at the same time upon the whole previous course of English legislation in Ireland! What! six hundred years of asserted supremacy on the part of England over a country within six hours’ sail from her coast, and the great mass of the inhabitants of that country still as much “alien” from her in “blood,” in “lan-

uage," and "religion," as they were when first she drew her sword against them! Oh! impotent "conquerors!" Here is a confession of paralysis at the core, for which, who can find a remedy?

The Irish, it is said, in sermon and debate, are "ignorant." If so, who was it that first shut up their schools, and forbade them, under severe penalties from acquiring even the rudiments of knowledge?—The progenitors of the faction that now utters this accusation. In Ireland, we are every hour told, human life is estimated at no value, and that here wretches may be found who for a few pieces of silver undertake to murder any individual pointed out to them by their employer. Such things, no doubt, have occurred. But who were they that by law enacted that the murder of a "mere Irishman" was not a capital offence,—on the contrary, that it was a deed worthy of reward?—The same English faction that now denounces the crime their misrule encouraged. Above all, how often have we heard, during these last thirty or forty years, of the inveterate, incurable, propensity of the Irish to habits of intoxication? Be it conceded that they have been long the slaves of that dreadful vice, the parent of all other evils: that the facility which has been afforded to them by the cheapness of a beverage ardent to an excessive degree, and calculated from its influence upon the nervous system more than any other liquor to "madden to crime," has frequently produced in this country consequences of a most frightful character. But at the same time let us be just. Let us enquire what sort of policy that was which afforded every possible encouragement to the production of that liquor in Ireland, bringing it home to every man's door, tendering to him, in exchange for the hire he received for his day's work, as much of the poison as would prepare him and the whole of his family for any deed to which the "fiend" might tempt them in moments of resentment? The government that derives revenue from the distillation of whiskey, and in order to increase that revenue by a larger consumption, lowers the duty upon its production, unquestionably contracts a most awful responsibility. Nevertheless, this responsibility is and has been fearlessly contracted by the same power, which executes the criminal whom its fiscal laws have created.

Let us go a little further. Can it be doubted that much of the habit of intemperance, which, until lately at least, pervaded the lower classes of society in Ireland, descended to them from the ranks of what is called the "gentry,"—a ruined race,

composed partly of English blood, partly of men of the "pale," that is of Irish who deserted the cause of their country and their religion, in order to retain or recover property of which the confiscatory and penal laws would have otherwise deprived them?

The pictures given of the manners of these "gentry," during a considerable portion of the last century, and, indeed, down to a still more recent period, by writers whose testimony cannot be impeached, are anything but creditable to the "order." The whole object which "lords," and "esquires" of those days appear to have had in view, was to lead a life of what they called "amusement," for which, hunting and shooting parties merely formed pretexts. The *summum bonum*, was the enjoyment after the day's sport—the lavish banquet—the claret and champagne—and at night the supper of highly-seasoned meats, to act as stimulants for the whiskey punch that was to be drunk until the morning broke in upon them. The triumph of those times of which "gentlemen" were most accustomed to boast, was the number of their boon companions whom they were enabled to out-drink, or, in their own phrase, to see "under the table."

Sir Jonah Barrington has been accused, by those who were but little acquainted with Ireland at the period to which we allude, of over-charging his sketches of the modes of life that prevailed amongst his contemporaries. We will not undertake to defend him at every point from this accusation. It is possible that his own convivial and joyous temper led him now and then into exaggerations, which, it must be confessed, are irresistibly amusing. Nevertheless, after making all just allowance for his colouring, enough remains to shew that the chief characteristic of the upper classes in his time were, "improvidence," "extravagance," horse-racing, hunting, duelling, drinking, and swearing. Those "gentlemen" scarcely uttered a sentence without blasphemy, and went out to shoot each other with as little remorse as they would feel in aiming at a woodcock. The duellist who had taken down his man was a "hero," whose fame excited envy. If he exceeded that number, and murdered his half dozen, his name in the Irish temple of renown was immortal.

The proof that those habits of wild and wasteful expenditure, which Sir J. Barrington so humorously describes, did exist to a very great extent, may be found in the fact—notorious as the noon-day—that there are at this moment very few estates in Ireland free from incumbrances—incumbrances, the

result of those habits—and, in many cases of such an amount as to place the whole income in the hands of mortgagees. Hence have arisen those enormously high rents which the tillers of the soil are compelled to pay for their holdings in that country. The truth is, that the nominal proprietor of the fee, generally speaking, would have no means of existence, unless he could force his tenants to pay him a tribute much above the fair value of the land; and as the poorer inhabitants are all agriculturists of necessity, competition never fails to procure him promises, at least, of a clear income—promises often impossible to be realized.

Let us sum up, then, the remarks we have just made. The mass of the Irish people had been long reduced to the lowest depths of misery by being treated as outlaws. They were deprived of their religious and secular teachers—their ecclesiastical edifices were unroofed, and in many places levelled to the ground. Thus demoralized, they rushed back again upon the lands from which they had been driven; and, when permitted in the capacity of serfs (for they were no better) to hold at will or otherwise, small portions of land, they came in contact with an order of “gentry,” whose only pride it was to rival each other in extravagance, idleness, gluttony, intoxication, murder, blasphemy, and vice of every description.

Is it surprising, then, if the manners of the upper classes were by degrees adopted amongst the masses whom they held in villeinage? Can we feel astonished that, when duels were fought, as they frequently were, by “gentlemen,” in the presence of thousands of the people, the spectators went away, prepared for any evil deed which might be suggested by personal resentment, or proposed for a mercenary reward? Need we go further, in order to learn how it happened that whiskey drinking became so general, that when the lower classes could not procure it at prices within their reach, they manufactured it for themselves? And when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to suppress private distillation, reduced the duty on spirits to such an amount as would enable any peasant in the land to get drunk for his day’s wages, is it not unjust, to say the least of it, to impute the moral degradation of the Irish people to innate propensities incapable of amendment?

Let us observe, in passing, with what unerring certainty vicious example, sooner or later, recoils upon its authors. The criminal habits which descended from the higher to the lower orders, in due season produced their fruits. Some of the “gentry” have been assassinated by “mistake.” Some have

fallen the victims of malignity, maddened to frenzy by intoxication. Many have been threatened with similar penalties; and such has been the state of terror in which great numbers of landlords have been kept by obscure or open menaces of massacre, that those who could not conveniently take refuge elsewhere, have been obliged to convert their dwellings into fortresses—to live within gates closely guarded—to sleep with arms under their pillows—to feel, at every breath they drew, that they were strangers in the country, blockaded on every side by a host of enemies, latent or declared. These are facts; we do not mark them for any other purpose, than to show the natural process of evil example.

Take, therefore, the whole history of English connexion with Ireland, and see how it has operated. Invasion succeeded invasion; confiscations, the most lawless that have ever been attempted in any country, followed each other rapidly. Then came the efforts to force upon the people a new form of religion, sustained by penal statutes of the most iniquitous character. Civil wars were the inevitable result, and new confiscations, and the effusion of blood in the field and upon the scaffold. All the devices which human ingenuity could discover having been exhausted, at length the reaction commenced, and one of its first and most decided symptoms was the celebrated Clare election. It was the result of that election which sent Mr. O'Connell to the House of Commons before the law allowed him to sit there, which inspired the Irish people with some idea of their gigantic strength, and warned the Duke of Wellington that if he did not in time take measures of precaution, the empire would have been speedily convulsed to its centre.

“Bellum ostendite—pacem habebitis;” here is the great maxim upon which O'Connell has grounded that system of agitation, which he has since brought to so much perfection by his eminent skill in law; his fearlessness in treading upon the verge of insurrection, but never passing beyond it; his masterly power in keeping the flame of patriotism always burning, but never flaming into conflagration; his cool discretion, even in the midst of clamour, and under loads of insult, that would have broken down any other man, by which he has kept himself and his followers uniformly in the right, and prepared at every step he took to bid defiance to his enemies.

His idea of war was not, indeed, that of armed contention. Feeling that he had the multitude with him, all that he had to do was to display their numbers, to teach them their rights,

to collect their sentiments, and to show how impracticable against a whole nation would be the application of artillery. In this noble work he was assisted by the Catholic clergy—a clergy endeared by persecution to the people, and venerated for their virtues. The power of that order was manifested in all its strength at the election for Clare, for it was on that occasion that they issued an absolute mandate to the people to abstain from whiskey, at least while engaged in that great achievement;—and the mandate was obeyed! Though thousands of electors and non-electors were assembled on that occasion, not one intoxicated man was anywhere to be seen—a moral spectacle, which predicted the most extraordinary revolution that has ever yet been witnessed in any nation.

None but those who have been much in Ireland, can appreciate the zeal with which the Catholic clergy perform all their duties in this country. They have always seen that the true parent of every crime in the Irish mind has been the inordinate use of whiskey; and they have, in consequence, seldom left their altars on Sundays without appealing to their flocks, sometimes in the most moving accents of charity—sometimes in the most vehement and eloquent denunciations against the practicers of that most degrading vice. For years have they laboured with particular energy in this department of their sacred office. The want of success never deterred them from their career. The hearts of the great mass of the Irish people, however open to all generous impulses, seemed completely impenetrable on this subject. The use of whiskey had become so universal, and so inveterately engrafted on all the modes of their existence, that the legislature found it necessary to interfere four or five years ago, and passed an act empowering the police in Ireland to apprehend any drunken persons whom they found in the streets, to take them before the magistrates, and have them fined in a small penalty. This act was undoubtedly attended with very beneficial consequences. It tended, at all events, to confine drunkards within their own houses, and to lessen very considerably the number of those riotous assemblies, which were the never-failing concomitants of races and fairs, especially in the southern and western districts.

Nor were the examples, the tracts, and the missions of the Temperance societies, established during the last eight or ten years in America and England, without their effect in Ireland. Such of the tracts as we have seen are exceedingly well executed. Many of them contain extracts from the evidence

given before the select committee of the House of Commons on drunkenness, in 1834—a committee obtained at the instance of Mr. Buckingham; and although it was much derided at the time, the mass of information which it collected on the subject has been since working its way through many channels to public attention, and has contributed very materially to the wonderful change we now behold going on before us.

The connexion, for instance, between drunkenness and the rebellion in 1798 in Ireland, and between that vice and crime generally, is, we think, clearly established by this report, as the following extracts will show.

“The first thing I would mention,” said one of the witnesses, “is that the increase of crime is an evidence of the increase of drunkenness in Ireland. It is a remarkable fact, with reference to the rebellion in Ireland in 1798, that in 1797 and 1798 there were distilled and consumed one-fourth more whiskey than in the two preceding and succeeding years; that statement I have here, which I can refer to. In the year ending March the 25th, 1796, there were 3,681,103 gallons of spirits charged with duty; in 1797, 3,860,148; 1798, 4,783,954; 1799, 4,253,187; 1800, 3,621,498; and in the year ending 5th of January, 1801, 277,747; and by a return from the head police office, the number of prisoners disposed of at the different police offices in Dublin, from the year 1811 to 1814, which is in proof of this, is as follows:—In 1811, the number of prisoners was 10,737; in 1812, 9,908; 1813, 8,985 (during the last two years distillation was stopped); and in 1814, 10,249; thus showing, that merely rendering spirituous liquors more difficult to be obtained during eighteen months, in that short time reduced the number of criminal offences in Dublin nearly one-fifth; and that the instant the difficulty was removed, crime again prevailed to its former extent, although those prohibitions to distillation from corn took place during times of scarcity and distress, when it might have been expected that crime, urged by want, would have increased rather than have diminished. In a late murder that took place between Ross and Waterford, in March, 1833 Malone, the murderer of Mr. Lennard (when the verdict guilty was pronounced against him in Kilkenny court-house), said to the judge, ‘Yes, my lord, I am guilty;’ and pointing to his mother in the same dock, said, ‘She has been the cause of it.’ The fact is, the aged monster had agreed for the price of the blood to be shed by her sons; there were two implicated; she was above eighty years of age, and she watched the approach of the unfortunate gentleman, and handed the pistol to her son when she saw him coming. Malone, at first, was startled, and said, ‘How can I murder the poor gentleman?’ ‘Take this, you cowardly rascal,’ said the old woman, and gave him the remains of a half-pint of whiskey obtained for the occasion.

“Was the result of his taking that half pint of whiskey the cause of

the death of the gentleman?—Yes, he drank the whiskey, and murdered the gentleman, and was tried and hanged.

“Was the woman habitually a drunkard herself?—I do not know; but have heard that the young man himself was one of the best-natured fellows in the country, yet so immoderately fond of whiskey was he, that he would stop at nothing to get it. * * *

“The emigrant ship, *Tottenham*, from the port of New Ross, in April, 1833, was pursued to the mouth of the harbour by the king’s officers in quest of Whitefeet accused of murder; four persons were taken and lodged in Kilkenny gaol; one of the four appeared quite unmoved; the other three expressed wonder at his being taken, and acknowledged that he was a wise man, for they never could induce him to drink whiskey, or join their nocturnal meetings at public-houses; they now wished they had followed his example, and taken his advice; and one of the party, in the bitterness of his grief, was heard to lay his curse on whiskey in the most emphatic terms. The Kilkenny magistrates found that the capture of this sober person was quite a mistake; he was accordingly liberated.”

“It may be recollected that the murder of the chief part of a family, named Kaneelly, took place some time past in the county of Tipperary, between Caher and Cashel; three brothers, young men in the prime of life, were murdered, and I was informed by an aged Roman Catholic clergyman in Clonmel, well acquainted with the habits and feelings of the people, that the party of murderers which destroyed the Kaneellys, intended merely to beat them and frighten them from the possession of a piece of land taken in opposition to the rules of the Hurlers or Whitefeet. Unfortunately, the leader of the party gave each of them several glasses of whiskey, and, maddened by the poison, nothing could satisfy them but blood.”

“Another proof I would adduce of the connexion between crime and drunkenness is one of an incidental kind, yet, perhaps, as much to be relied on as more formal proof. A gentleman near Caher very reluctantly distrained a refractory tenant; he induced another of his tenants to purchase some of the distress at the sale (people were afraid to do so at that time); the purchaser was accordingly visited shortly afterwards by the Whitefeet, was beaten unmercifully, and supposed to be left dead. A magistrate came to the house of the wounded man the following day to take his deposition, and asked him, ‘Did you know any of the party?—No, sir.’ ‘Were they drunk?—No; they were all well able to do their business.’ ‘Had they drunk anything?—Well, I wonder that your honour, that a gentleman of your knowledge should ask such a simple question; sure, you do not think they would come without preparing themselves; I will engage they had two or three glasses of whiskey a man, whatever more they might have drunk.’ I mention that as incidental, showing that crime is not even attempted without spirits.”

The following facts mentioned by Mr. Mackay (a gentleman of the Irish bar) at a meeting of the Howard Society in Dublin, bear also very strongly upon this point:—

"I will now," said Mr. Mackay, "mention another circumstance, that of a servant who lived with a gentleman in the same street in which I reside; he was then a member of the temperance society to which I belong, the St. Peter's District Temperance Society, and was one of the best conducted, sober servants in that street, and almost the sole support of an aged and decrepit mother and young sister. Unfortunately for him, his master died, and on his death he went to live with another master, who was in the habit of staying out late at night, and as he was in the habit of keeping such late hours, he thought it necessary to give this servant every evening a tumbler of punch. For some time this contented him, but it was for a short time. He then treated himself to one or two tumblers more; then he got some of his acquaintances to join him; his wages were not sufficient for this, and it ended in robbing his master's plate, and pledging it to buy whiskey; for this he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to transportation for life. His poor mother and sister tried every means, in vain, to have his sentence commuted; and the day on which he was removed from Newgate to the hulk at Kingstown, his unfortunate sister became deranged, and the inmate of a mad-house. The only other instance I will trouble you with, though I could mention several which have fallen under my own observation, is that of one of the persons accused of the burning of the unfortunate Sheas, of Wildgoose Lodge, in the county of Tipperary: all that hear me must recollect that most atrocious crime. Some time after its perpetration, happening to be in that county, I had a conversation with one of the persons implicated, a very well-looking young fellow, not quite twenty years of age. I asked how he could be induced to take part in so base and cowardly a crime? His answer—I shall never forget it—was, 'I was made drunk; and with the aid of whiskey would not only commit such another crime, but twenty others like it.'"

In a sketch of a recent *Ramble into Ireland*, which we find in an excellent weekly periodical, entitled, *The London Saturday Journal*, the following amusing account is given of a "row," manifestly caused by whiskey:

"It is necessary for me to observe that the vices most dominant in Ireland have hitherto been distinctly traceable to the immoderate use of ardent spirits. I believe it is no longer a subject of doubt, that the different kinds of atmosphere we inhale, the viands we eat, and the beverages we drink, have each the power of influencing sensation and action in different ways. For instance, the atmosphere of one day will fill the same mind with pleasant thoughts, while the atmosphere of another day will overcome it with gloom to such an extent, as, in some instances, to lead even to suicide. Sir Humphrey Davy composed a gas, the effect of which when drawn into the system was, to produce an inevitable propensity to laughter. Opium is known to awaken varied and curious visions in the mind, and the great virtue

of the cigar is to tranquillize the busy thoughts, and bring on a disposition to reverie.

"In strict analogy with these effects, it cannot be questioned that the inordinate use of whiskey urges the muscles and limbs into angry action. Three or four Irishmen shall sit down together in the best possible temper with each other. They are intimate friends—relations if you choose. They drink whiskey, mixed or unmixed, until the cheek and forehead become ruddy. The period of danger then commences. If they go on much further, the slightest word, the momentary recollection even of a long by-gone offence—the smallest difference of opinion—will be sufficient to kindle a contest between these before "most loving friends," and as in Ireland the hard word instantly leads to hard blows, a battle forthwith ensues. When the temporary effect of the whiskey ceases, these same four men shall feel no hesitation in embracing each other as the best friends in the world, and shall wonder what it was that that made them yield for the moment to such extraordinary resentment. This is no fiction. I have myself more than once witnessed scenes of this kind.

"The malignant action of whiskey on the nerves—its potency in urging its victim to pugnacity—never were displayed to me more decidedly, and at the same time more comically, than on one occasion, when I happened to be present at a public breakfast given on Dinas island, in one of the lakes of Killarney, after a most splendid stag hunt which had taken place in the morning. Many of the peasantry of the neighbourhood had of course assembled to participate in the pleasures of the day. When the chase was over, they found admission to the island, formed themselves into groups, which were abundantly served with whiskey by women who had brought with them little kegs of that liquor, and who went about from group to group disposing of their poison. By and by, while we were at breakfast, at which all the gentry of the district had assembled, a row was announced. In a moment the battle became furious, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the combatants were separated by the magistrates who happened to be present.

"The whiskey was by this time all consumed, and the very same men who had been so recently fighting against each other, having regained possession of their senses, I saw afterwards congregated here and there, talking to each other as if nothing had happened. I was curious to know the origin of the fight—and the number of broken heads. But the only answer I could get was, 'Sure, your honour, it wasn't a fight at all; it was only some *villins* from another parish that came here to make a disturbance!' No traces of ill-will were to be discerned anywhere: no blood to be seen, except that of a rioter, whose ear somebody had cut off with a *spade*, while exerting himself to quell the war. It was one of the characteristic occurrences of the day, the use of a spade as an implement for restoring the peace—the cleaving down of the ear from the offender's head seemed quite an ordinary affair. The whole thing passed off

like a few flashes of lightning, and the ladies and gentlemen went on with breakfast.

“ There was, however, one fellow so tipsy, that he had fallen insensible on the ground at the commencement of the row, after he had given and received a few blows. He came under my notice just as he was emerging from an uneasy slumber. He had a shilela in his hand, with which, as he arose, he struck the air, and finding that he had no other foe to call forth the remainder of his still unexhausted ire, he flung down his hat on the ground, and literally beat it into fragments.

“ ‘ What is this man at ? ’ I asked of an old woman who was selling apples—‘ why is he so angry with his hat ? ’—‘ To cool himself, your honour—he’ll be sober enough immediately.’

“ Several persons were on the spot—yet nobody except myself took the least notice of this ludicrous example of the pugnacity produced by alcohol.”

Temperance associations have been established in several parts of Ireland within the last ten years, very much through the influence of the Society of Friends, who have been always popular in that country, from their affable demeanour, the employment which they afford to great numbers of the people in their extensive corn-mills, and the benevolent attention which they have shown on every occasion to the labouring poor within their neighbourhood. A Temperance Union was formed in Dublin in the early part of last year, by several highly respectable persons, who appear to have set about their work in a skilful manner. They began by establishing an efficient travelling agency of well-qualified individuals, instructed to avoid polemics and party politics; to procure statistical details respecting prisons, penitentiaries, lunatic asylums, and hospitals, with a view to exhibit the ravages of intemperance, and generally to collect such information, as it might be useful to submit to the public, and to persons in authority, upon this subject. They have wisely made it an object of primary importance to communicate constantly to the newspapers throughout the country statements carefully drawn up of the progress of temperance, and such other matter as they deem conducive to the success of the great cause in which they are engaged. They have selected a particular journal, *The Dublin Weekly Herald*, as their official organ; and from the specimen which we have seen of their labours in that publication, we are inclined to hope that they will materially assist in the moral revolution now advancing with such mighty strides in Ireland. They propose to hold annual meetings of temperance delegates in Dublin from the different local societies—an arrangement in which we hope they will be successful,

as it would, if carried into effect, form a strong guarantee for the stability of the reform which has been already so triumphantly commenced.

We have now before us the first annual report of this Union, and though brief, it promises more materials for reflection, more solid grounds for hope as to the future destinies of Ireland, than any publication that has ever come under our notice. It mentions, with due praise, the labours of that eminent promoter of temperance in America, Mr. Delavan, who lately came over to Ireland for the express purpose of aiding in the temperance movement. He brought with him a great number of admirable tracts, which have been already circulated by the "Union" throughout the country. They commemorate also, in just terms, the visit to Ireland of John Hockings, the well-known Birmingham blacksmith, the eloquent advocate of the "total abstinence principle," whose exertions, they assure us, "were the means of enlisting the zeal, or disarming the hostility of thousands." But they hail, as undoubtedly they ought to do, with the utmost "delight, the great moral reformation," brought about principally through the instrumentality of the very Rev. Theobald Mathew, the distinguished "apostle of temperance," as he is now designated, by the common consent of all parties and sects in the three kingdoms. They correctly state, that it is "a reformation, which, for the rapidity of its progress, and the excellence of its immediate results, is unexampled in history. To him," they add, "is due the merit of being the first Roman Catholic clergyman who [prominently] stepped forward in Ireland as a temperance reformer; and to the consistency of his practice, the previous benevolence of his life, and the confidence with which he is regarded, is to be attributed the fact, that so large a number of the Irish people are now pledged to the total disuse of all intoxicating drinks."

We are happy to be able to add our own personal testimony to the justness of this remark. The writer of this article has been intimately acquainted with the object of this well-earned panegyric from his earliest boyhood, and he can truly say, that even at that early stage of life he knew nobody so much or so generally beloved as the individual who is now the "observed of all observers" throughout Ireland. Incapable of anger or resentment, utterly free from selfishness, always anxious to share with others whatever he possessed, jealous of the affections of those to whom he was particularly attached, remarkably gentle in his manners, fond of expressing himself

rather in smiles than in language ; averse from the boisterous amusements to which boys in general are prone, and preferring to them quiet walks by the banks of a river, or by the side of green hedges, in company with two or three select associates, and yet very far from being of a pensive disposition ; on the contrary so cheerful that the slightest ludicrous occurrence turned the smile he generally wore into hearty laughter—he grew up esteemed by everybody who knew him. Even in his boyhood he seemed never to live for himself ; and yet by not seeking it he exercised an influence upon those around him, which they never thought of questioning. Such was his character in his earliest days. And when the writer of these lines, after an interval of thirty years or more, visited Mr. Mathew in the autumn of 1838, he could discern no change in the outlines of that character, except that it was accompanied by a greater degree of physical activity, acquired from almost incessant motion in the performance of sacerdotal or charitable engagements, which seemed to have no end throughout the whole day.

It was delightful to observe the mode in which Father Mathew was always received as he passed through the streets in Cork. Everybody knew him—especially the poor. The men touched their hats, and made way for him ; the women curtsied, brightly smiling, apparently deeming it a lucky omen that they had seen their good shepherd that day. All blessed him with looks of genuine affection. But these marks of universal respect, or rather of love, caused no emotion in his heart bordering in the slightest degree upon vanity. The perfect simplicity of his character remained untouched ; he was still in mind and heart the boy of ten years old.

Even from that early age, Mr. Mathew stated his firm resolution to be a priest. He was born at Rathcloheen (county of Tipperary), near Thomas Town, the seat of the Llandaff family, with which his own is nearly connected. He is one of six brothers, all of whom are respectably situated in life, and have uniformly looked upon him as the ornament of their house, where they generally assemble from their different places of residence once a year, to renew the ties of fraternal affection. It is a circumstance not to be passed over in estimating Mr. Mathew's character, that one of his brothers has been for many years a prosperous distiller, at Golden, in the county of Tipperary, and a near relative of his has also a large establishment of a similar nature at Middleton, in the county of Cork. We need not, therefore, remark how little consis-

tent with considerations of a worldly nature are the present occupations of the apostle of temperance. The brother and the relative naturally write to him, and say, "If you go on thus, you will certainly ruin our fortunes." His answer is "Change your trade; turn your premises into factories for flour; at all events my course is fixed. Though heaven and earth should come together, we should do what is right." This is language worthy of the MESSIAH.

Father Mathew received the rudiments of his education at an excellent grammar-school at Thurles (county Tipperary), which was kept in the market-house of that town by a very good classical scholar, named Flynn. From that school he proceeded to a seminary in Kilkenny, and thence to Maynooth, to complete his education for the Church; after which he became a member of the Capuchin, or reformed Franciscan order of friars, one of whose institutions has been long established in Cork. Of that institution he is now the prior. After many years spent in the labours of his mission, he devoted all his pecuniary savings, and the proceeds of his patrimonial property, amounting to a sum of nearly £5,000, to the erection of a church, which, with the assistance of penny subscriptions from his congregation, and a loan of about £300 from the Irish Board of Works, he has been engaged during a period of seventeen years in carrying on towards its completion. The House of Commons should testify their gratitude for the public services of this good man, by not only converting that loan into a grant, but also voting a sum sufficient to perfect the sacred edifice according to its original design. If finished upon the plan upon which it has been commenced, it will be a great ornament to the city of Cork, and one of the most beautiful Gothic churches in Ireland.

Another most valuable public work, which will always endear the name of Father Mathew to the poor of Cork, is a cemetery which he has established at his own expense near that city, upon the plan of Père-la-Chaise. It is an universal ambition of the Irish people to have what they call "a fine funeral." Loving that people with a truly parental affection, this admirable pastor has secured, under many difficulties, the attainment of their much prized object for his congregation. For the rich who desire to be buried in his cemetery, there is a portion of it set apart, from which a small revenue is raised. Every sixpence of that revenue is applied either to the maintenance of the cemetery, or to charitable objects of a different character.

No person is better acquainted with the virtues and failings of his countrymen than Father Mathew. In common with his reverend brethren throughout Ireland, he has always been of opinion, that a people more richly endowed with virtuous dispositions, generous feelings, and intellect of the highest order, exists on no other part of the globe, and that no crime has been perpetrated to any extent among them which is not clearly traceable to the inordinate use of whiskey. Against that one gigantic vice, therefore, he laboured, like his brethren, for many years; and it is truly consoling to the friends of education in general, to see now, in the results of all these labours of the Catholic clergy, the manifestation of a great moral truth—that the good seed, though for awhile its shoots may be unseen above the ground, is certain, nevertheless, sooner or later, to make its appearance. Those pious men, who have worked indefatigably in the vineyard so long, and for a season so hopelessly, may, indeed, now rejoice; for, “the winter is now past, the rain is over, the flowers have appeared in the land, the fig-tree hath put forth her green figs, and the vines in flower yield their sweet smell.”

Towards the close of the year 1838, Father Mathew had no more than about six thousand names on his temperance list—a large number, certainly, and much larger than that of any one temperance society existing in any part of the three kingdoms. In the November of 1839, the writer of this article again visited his friend, and found him in his humble home, engaged in administering the temperance pledge to about thirty individuals, two or three of whom were females. Nothing could be more simple than the form of his proceeding. He stood with his hat off, with his back to a table; the candidates for admission into his society knelt down in a semi-circle before him, and he desired them to repeat after him the words of the pledge:—

“I promise to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, except used medicinally, and by order of a medical man, and to discountenance the cause and practice of intemperance.”

He next passed round the semi-circle, placed his hand on the head of each, and gave them his blessing, making, at the same time, the sign of the cross, and left the room. The new members then proceeded to two tables, where secretaries were sitting, each with a large book before him, in which he registered their names and addresses, after which he gave to each member a medal and a card, folded in three or four printed papers, containing the rules of the society, and

a few maxims for the general regulation of their future conduct. Such as possessed the means, paid the trifling sum of eight pence for the medal, cards, and printed papers. Those who were so poor as not to be able to pay, obtained these tokens of their admission gratis. Any surplus remaining, after the payment of the necessary expenses incurred in the office, was applied to the purposes of charity; one of those purposes being, the defraying the fares of the poor, wearied, or infirm men who had come, many of them, one hundred miles and more, from their homes to Cork, to take the pledge from Father Mathew. The number of the names then upon his registry amounted to seventy thousand! The members were inhabitants of different parts of Ireland, from which many had come upon stage-coaches, cars, waggons, horses—many in boats by the sea-coast—many had walked. The roads for miles all round Cork were daily thronged with persons hastening to declare their abandonment of their habits of intemperance, in the presence and under the sanction of this simple friar, who felt perfectly astonished at the sort of *prestige* already so generally attached to his name, that “it would be of no use,” the postulants declared, “to take the pledge from any other man”—although many local societies had been established by that time, through the instrumentality of the Society of Friends, the Catholic clergy, and that admirable order, the “Christian Brotherhood,” who dedicate their lives to the education and general improvement of the poor.

The “prestige” is said to have arisen from the fact of its having become a matter of common observation, that the people on Father Mathew’s list appeared, after a little perseverance in their newly-acquired habits, to enjoy better health than they had known for years before; and it was therefore inferred that the good father was endowed with preternatural powers in that respect. The ameliorated health was, of course, the result of their temperance; but the natural cause was overlooked, as is often the case: and, as the human mind, when undisciplined, is prone to superstition, the belief in miraculous operation on the part of the great temperance leader, does undoubtedly appear to have spread very widely amongst the lower orders of the Irish community. Indeed, some cases have been mentioned of instant cures of paralytic and other long-standing maladies having been effected by the mere touch of the rev. gentleman’s hand. These fond ideas, we are bound to say, Father Mathew has frequently taken opportunities to denounce in the strongest manner. He may well afford to

disclaim all influence of that nature, for he cannot desire to be the instrument of any miracle so well deserving of the title, and so manifest to the eyes of mankind, as that which he is engaged in producing from day to day: for within a period of about eighteen months, the names upon his temperance register have increased from six thousand to at least one million!

It may be of importance to mark, while they are yet fresh to our contemplation, some of the leading features of this extraordinary movement amongst the Irish people. Father Mathew, in consequence of the most pressing invitations from all parties and sects, and especially from the reverend brethren of his own church, arrived in Dublin on Saturday the 28th of March, for the purpose of administering the pledge, the words of which were, to suit the wishes expressed to him from different quarters, varied from their original form. They now stand thus:—

“I solemnly promise, with the Divine assistance, as long as I will continue a member of the Tee-total Temperance Society, to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, except for medicinal or sacramental purposes, and I will do everything in my power, by advice and example, to discountenance drunkenness.”

Thus it will be seen that any one who takes the pledge, may give it back again if he finds that he cannot keep it with all the strictness which the society requires. There may be many persons, for instance, disposed to agree with Dr. Sigmond, who maintains the doctrine that

“Good wine is a cordial, a good cordial, a fine stomachic, and, taken at its proper season, invigorates mind and body, and gives life an additional charm. There can be found no substitute for the fermented liquors that can enable a man to sustain the mental and bodily labour which the artificial habits of society so constantly demand. Temperance and moderation are virtues essential to our happiness; but a total abstinence from the enjoyments which the bounteous hand of nature has provided, is as unwise as it is ungrateful. If, on the one hand, disease and sorrow attend the abuses of alcoholic liquors, innocent gaiety, additional strength and power of mind, and increased capability of encountering the ever-varying agitation of life, are amongst the many good results which spring from a well-regulated diet, in which the alcoholic preparations bear their just proportion and adaptation.”

This doctrine may be unobjectionable with reference to those classes of society in which the practices of religion are sincerely cultivated, and habits of self-respect forbid excesses of every kind. But for the multitude it would not do. It

would open the door to indulgences which unfortunately they know not how to restrain; and it is undoubtedly wiser to choose between total abstinence and no restraint at all, than to choose a middle course, which could only lead to a reproduction of the evil sought to be removed.

A large open space near the Custom-house having been fixed upon for the assemblage of the postulants, the reverend gentleman made his appearance there on the morning of Monday the 30th. The scene is thus described by a writer who witnessed the proceeding.

"The day was unfavourable: a cold drizzling rain continued to fall throughout, but this did not in any wise damp the ardour of the multitude, which increased every hour, till toward the close of the day they amounted to probably ten thousand or upwards. The arrangements made by the police were excellent. A strong force of them formed an enclosure; at one end the people were admitted to receive the pledge, and at the other they took their departure. A body of horse police paraded in front, so as to keep off the pressure of the crowd. There was no military present, nor indeed was there any necessity whatever for their services. The conduct of the people was excellent; and it deserves to be noticed particularly, **THAT NOT A DRUNKEN PERSON CAME FORWARD TO BE PLEDGED.** This forms a striking contrast to similar proceedings in the country parts of Ireland, where much discredit has been cast upon the temperance movement, owing to the numbers of inebriated persons who have presented themselves to the Rev. Mr. Mathew to be received as members. The steps were strewn over with saw dust to render it convenient to the people to kneel down, it being in a kneeling posture that they repeated the words of the pledge after the rev. gentleman."

Before administering the pledge to each batch, as it came up, Father Mathew addressed them in language at once simple and fervid, occasionally playful, and tinged with that tendency to mirth which marks the Irish mind, under circumstances even of the most grave and solemn nature. The great object of his exhortations was, of course, to inculcate the duty and advantages of temperance. Of necessity there was in his addresses little variety, except that now and then he introduced a little anecdote or fable, to bring the matter to the level of his audience. Nevertheless, the earnestness of his manner, the very simplicity of his language, the great truths which he enforced, the circumstances under which he spoke, the multitudes by which he was surrounded, the fact unprecedented of a truly meek and unaffected man—a Capuchin friar—a reformer actuated, as is admitted on all sides, by no motive except the welfare of his fellow-men—thus called

from his distant residence to the second city of the empire, to perform the great task assigned to him by Providence—were of themselves abundantly sufficient to lend a sublimity to the spectacle, to which no power of eloquence could give additional effect.

The summary of his principles and exhortations may be thus stated :—

“It might, perhaps, be unnecessary for him to address them on the subject of the innumerable good effects of abstinence, or to recount to them the mighty change that had taken place throughout the south of Ireland in the morals and habits of the people—not only in their morals and their habits, but also in their comforts. Prosperity, and plenty, and happiness, flowed in upon them since they had renounced altogether the use of intoxicating liquors. Yes, there was a blessing of heaven upon teetotallers—they possess comforts in this life which they had never known before—their homes were the homes of peace and comfort—their wives and their children were contented and happy. The Teetotallers’ Society was not a sectarian or a political society; it had nothing whatever to do with such matters; it embraced members of every creed, and of every shade of politics. Why, the very first who had ever come forward to support him in this great work were members of the Society of Friends, Protestants, Presbyterians; and all, of every sect of religion and party, had, with equal zeal and sincerity, supported him in the undertaking. But, above all, he wished it to be known to all who heard him, that the impulse to this good work was not imparted by man—it came from Heaven. The impulse that had hurried so many hundreds of thousands of his fellow-men to flock to the pledge of abstinence from the baneful liquors of intoxication, it was not, he trusted, presumption in him to declare was the work of God. These words were not his alone. Mr. M’Affee a Dissenting clergyman, happened some time ago to be in Londonderry. He then took part in assisting the progress of temperance. In the course of his efforts there that gentleman had been so good as to speak favourably of his (Mr. M’s.) exertions in the same cause. On Mr. M’Affee’s return to the south he went to thank him for his kind expressions towards him. His answer was—‘Father Mathew, it is not to you, or to me, or to any man, that thanks are due. I have travelled through a great part of the south of Ireland; I have been also to the north; I have witnessed the progress of total abstinence, and I am convinced that the work comes from God, and not from man, and that it prospers in the hands of our Creator.’ Such were the very words of Mr. M’Affee. Besides the fact of its raising the people from a state of degradation—the consequence of drunkenness—another excellent effect of the society is this, that it unites every sect and party together, so that all will be but one people—the people of one great and common fold. Hitherto the different parties into which the people were divided were like so many wild horses; one always found to be

pulling against the other ; instead of, like rational beings, all pulling strongly and firmly together, for the common benefit of all. This latter and most desirable state of things the Teetotallers' Society was eminently calculated to achieve. After this great moral change, no employer will inquire of what creed the man is whom he is about to engage ; no landlord, who may be going to let his land, will trouble himself to find out of what sect or party a person offering to take it may be. His only question will be, is he a teetotaller ? and if so, that will be to him a sufficient recommendation. No one is debarred from the enjoyment of comfort by taking the pledge. On the contrary, they secure many comforts unknown to them while they gave themselves up to indulge in the use of unhallowed liquor. Now, it required much more of fortitude in a man to stop at one tumbler of punch, or at one pint of porter, than was required of a teetotallar to abstain altogether. By refraining entirely from the use of these liquors their health would not suffer. On the contrary, it would be infinitely benefited."

" He would give them a melancholy instance how the great misfortune of drunkenness frequently occurred to previously temperate persons, for the want of some solemn tie over them, which would bind them to the exercise of some control over the weakness of their nature. He had known a highly respectable lady, the mother of a large family ; in consequence of some domestic affliction she took to drink. She took seriously ill some time after, owing to this indulgence in the use of ardent liquors ; she grew rapidly worse ; he was called to attend her ; he hastened with all possible speed to her house, but on his arrival there, he found her a corpse in her bed, and an empty bottle by the side of it. She had died drunk. In proof that drunkenness was, in nine cases out of ten, the cause of poverty, and that prosperity was the result of temperance, he would mention an instance. One day in the streets of Cork, a man of the name of Barry, a corn-dealer, on his way to the savings' bank, was met by a publican, named Murphy ; the latter said to him, ' Why do you not come to see me now as often as you used ? ' To this the other answered, ' I cannot do any such thing now, as Father Mathew has desired me to keep out of the way of temptation. ' ' I am sorry to see you looking so very badly, ' said the publican ; ' why your face is quite yellow. ' ' Why, ' said Barry, ' if my face be yellow, so is my pocket too, thank God, ' and he pulled out of his pocket four sovereigns, which he was going to lay up in the savings' bank. Not less than three or four hundred new books had been opened in the Cork savings' banks since the spread of temperance there. By laying by money in that manner, they would have but little need for poor-laws or workhouses. By becoming teetotallers, the people would, in fact, constitute poor-law societies amongst themselves. Then, neither the aged father nor the mother of a teetotaller would be under the heart-rending necessity of applying for admission to a workhouse. ' And my friends, ' (continued the reverend speaker,) ' when you die, you

may be sure of having fine funerals, an object so dear to all Irishmen."

"He regretted that many people seemed to be angry with him, because he had carried on temperance to such an extent. But would these persons have him to abandon the cause which had accomplished such good? He knew that partial evil to some must be the result of the movement; but that was not his fault. No good work could progress without partial loss to some person or other. 'But,' said Mr. Mathew, 'THOUGH HEAVEN AND EARTH SHOULD COME TOGETHER, WE MUST DO WHAT IS RIGHT.' He then mentioned numerous cases of good that followed in the country parts of Ireland and in the great towns. In many places, butchers' shambles had been opened to supply the demand for meat; and the poor women visited the houses of their wealthy neighbours to learn from their servants how to dress it. Crime had wonderfully decreased; and it was very remarkable, that not a single member of the Total Abstinence Society in the south of Ireland, had been charged for any offence against the law. As soon as the people were all members, secret societies would be broken up; he every where warned the people against these societies, and against combination, and other illegal oaths. He deprecated the charge that had been made against him, of carrying on temperance for the purpose of raising money; so far from that he was rather a loser than a gainer. He was often obliged to support the poor who came to Cork, and to defray their expenses home again; besides having to pay secretaries, and to incur numerous incidental expenses. He had refused from different societies, sums of money amounting to nearly one thousand pounds; gentlemen in England had offered him any sum he required, but he had declined all such offers. He cautioned the people against spending their money in ginger-beer, cordials, and such like things; home was the place for them, and there they should enjoy themselves."

However unfounded the idea that Father Mathew had the power to cure all diseases, it was nevertheless a most striking part of the spectacle, that an immense number of persons afflicted with various diseases and deformities presented themselves to the reverend gentleman, and supplicated his blessing. This he did not refuse; but at the same time he told them that their belief of his possessing any power of healing was altogether erroneous, and that he hoped they would not injure the sacred cause of temperance by propagating or entertaining any notion of the kind.

Another highly impressive circumstance characterizing these scenes was, the solemn effect produced by the mingled voices of a thousand, sometimes of fifteen hundred men, repeating slowly and emphatically aloud, under the canopy of heaven,

after their pious and humble leader, the words of the pledge. Those who have been present on these occasions say that they never can lose the remembrance of that impression. "It was a new feeling," they say, "of which we could have previously formed no conception."

The following statements made by Father Mathew are well worthy of attention, in considering the progress of this mighty moral revolution :—

"To show you the value of being a tee-totaller, I may state that I was informed by a most respectable gentleman, a magistrate of the county of Tipperary—I will mention his name—Mr. Ryan, of Inch, that at the late races of Thurles, which on former occasions presented a scene of drunkenness, and which never passed over without broils and quarrels, there was only one drunken man to be seen on the course during their entire continuance. A circumstance that occurred before that, at the races of Newcastle, afforded a great triumph to the society :—A gentleman went round the course with a purse containing thirty sovereigns, and offered it to any tee-totaller that would break the pledge ; but, to their eternal credit be it said, no person would do it. I forget the name of the gentleman ; but it is a fact that thirty sovereigns were offered to any person that would break the pledge ; and to their honour be it spoken, they resisted the temptation held out to them to break that pledge, and disgrace that society they had joined. I was in the town of Galway on last Patrick's Day, and to the astonishment of the judges, of the counsellors, and of every person who witnessed it, although, in consequence of the assizes and the tee-total proceedings, there could not be less than 200,000 persons congregated together—the streets were, in fact, impassable—not one man or woman was to be seen in a state of drunkenness ; on the contrary, all were sober and well-conducted ; and I am sure there is not a single person in all Connaught or Munster, or in that portion of Leinster which has become tee-totalized, who is sorry for having taken it."

The following address is so truly apostolic in its spirit and language, that we cannot omit to record it :—

"The scene which they were then witnessing before them was one which would be attended with the greatest blessings to their common country. The history of Ireland in times past was the blackest on the book of time ; but henceforward it would be equally remarkable for peace, prosperity, and the total disappearance of religious differences. Tee-totallism and charity would heal the wounds which were inflicted by political and religious dissension and bigotry. All creeds and classes will live together in unity and harmony, and, in a word, as Christians should live. The Divine Redeemer has said—'By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, that you love one another.' The word charity is misapplied when it is referred to alms-deeds, which is, in fact, but the effect of charity. They should do all

the acts of their lives for the love of God, and it was impossible for them to love Him, if they did not also love their neighbours, who were his children. With the greatest reverence in the comparison, he would put it to them—how could a man say he had esteem for another, if he hated or ill-treated his children? If a man who would so act met his neighbour and said to him, ‘I am most happy to see you, my friend;’ would not the other say to him, ‘how can that be, seeing that you met my child cold and hungry a while ago, and you refused to give it any relief?’ Would he not then drive the pretended friend away from him; and is it not so with the Almighty God? For how can any person love him when He will not do any good to the poor, who are his tenants? Every man can do good to his neighbour, no matter how poor he may be; for our Divine Redeemer has said, that even a cup of cold water given in his name will meet with its reward. Even among the poorest of the poor, charity of this kind can be exercised; for those who are too poor to give money will be able to give advice, and their well wishes, when sincere, must meet with a blessing. It was one of the strongest marks of the tee-totallers, that they were obliged to be tee-totallers in everything. He must be totally free from all crimes, totally reformed, if he had been a drunkard; totally charitable and virtuous; and he may expect ultimately to meet an eternal reward in heaven.”

The pledge being solemnly repeated by the postulants, the reverend gentleman then gave them his blessing in these words :—

“May God give you grace and strength to keep the pledge you have taken, and make you good citizens, subjects, sons, and husbands.”

It has been calculated that during the seven or eight days the reverend gentleman remained in Dublin, he administered the pledge to at least 60,000 persons. From Dublin he proceeded to the county of Wexford, and other parts of Ireland; in every place he has been attended by thousands, anxious to receive the pledge from his hands.

Upon the effect already produced, or likely to be produced, by these proceedings, it is almost unnecessary to expatiate. The cause of temperance, says the Report, the title of which stands at the head of this article, has now “overcome all opposition. The people are anxious to obtain information; speakers are listened to with marked attention, and it has become evident that in learning the truths of temperance, as well as in practising it, they have also learned to value knowledge and reason. It is now considered creditable to be a member of the Temperance Society, and the people feel proud of the progress of the cause throughout Ireland. The drinking customs are fast giving way before it; and there is reason to hope

that amongst the working classes intemperance will soon cease to be a prevalent vice."

"When Ireland," says the committee of the Irish Temperance Union, in their address to Father Mathew, "becomes a sober nation (and we believe the day is not far distant), what may we not hope for as the certain consequence of such a happy consummation? Plenty will prevail where famine was a frequent visitant—religion and peace will flourish where crime and disorder were rampant—public confidence will increase—capital will flow into the country—party spirit and civil broils will decline, along with their foster parents, ignorance and intemperance. And in other countries our national reputation for the more solid, as well as the more brilliant, moral, and intellectual endowments, will rise to a height hitherto unknown. The increase of domestic happiness, which the success of this cause has already produced, it would be difficult to conceive, and impossible to pourtray."

"Already," say the members of the National Total Abstinence Association, in their address to the reverend gentleman, "is the seed beginning to germinate; our country having heroically burst from the fetters of sensual prostration, is now rising in the power and plenitude of her moral beauty, presenting the majestic spectacle of a people at once virtuous and brave, patient and generous. The temples of religion are crowded with worshippers; crime has disappeared from amongst your followers; the cottage and the hamlet are now the abodes of peaceful industry and domestic comfort. The artizan consults the wants and interests of his growing family, conscientiously discharges the duties of a husband and a parent, and moves with credit and respect in the honest and laudable vocation which Providence has assigned him. A tone of self-respect has been generated, which is generally diffusing itself, and silently pervading all classes of the community; while the effects of this mighty movement on the rising generation may be anticipated in the substitution of intellectual enjoyment for sensual indulgence, in the exercise of those rational pleasures which a cultivated taste will inspire; and in the universal emulation to acquire a *sound, moral, and literary education*, that high prerogative of intellectual man, to the attainment of which by all classes, the dissemination of our principles will, we feel convinced, give an inestimable impetus."

In the appendix to the Report before us, there are numerous statements collected, showing the results of the temperance movements in many parts of the north of Ireland.

"A moral regeneration," says the late Mayor of Limerick, "has taken place among the people of this city, which is really most astonishing, and truly gratifying to every philanthropic mind. Our police reports are much lessened, petty-sessions business considerably reduced, and even summonses in the Court of Conscience have fallen off one-third. Our streets and places of public resort are regular and quiet; and that which must be most gratifying, is the fact, that although reports have, at different times, been industriously circulated of members of the society having broken their temperance pledge, I have not been able to make out a solitary instance of such being the fact."

"The appearance of our city on Saturday (market day), bore evidence sufficient to convince the most sceptical of the improved habits of the people. We did not perceive a single drunken person on that day, nor have there been since then, as far as we can learn, more than four or five cases of drunkenness in the Mayor's office."—*Kilkenny Journal*.

MALLOW.—The fair which took place on Monday was well attended. I walked through the fair, and it gives me sincere pleasure to state, that I did not see one drunken man, or any person in the slightest degree intoxicated.

BONMAHON.—"A happy change is already visible; this village and adjoining roads, which presented the disgusting scenes of drunkenness and quarrelling on Sunday evenings, were last night as still as death; a stranger coming amongst us would imagine we were living under a curfew law; not a person was to be seen outside doors. Every man was in peace at home, surrounded by his joyous family, listening to his recital of the miraculous history of the day."

"We notice coffee shops already driving a thriving trade; the bakeries obliged to do double work; the shambles scarcely equal to the demand; the grocers quite satisfied with themselves; and the publicans, heaven help them, in the mumps. Glorious signs these for our country; harbingers of halcyon days."—*Waterford Chronicle*.

LOUGHREA.—"Our town, which was heretofore infested with drunken brawls, and the whiskey shops thronged with unfortunate beings eagerly swallowing the deleterious drug, presents a most happy and beneficial change.

"It is a melancholy fact, that while every other branch of trade in this town has been for some years in a declining state, upwards of sixty public-houses have had 'a respectable share of business.' Habitual drunkards have disgraced our streets; and, on market-days, in particular, the police were actively engaged in dragging unfortunate victims of intemperance to a prison. The case is happily altered; order and decorum are observed; the reformed drunkard, no longer brutalized by intemperance, is peaceable and industrious; and even those who have not yet taken the pledge (not being surrounded by their late boon companions), are ashamed to be seen frequenting the dram shops.

“Some publicans have given up their licenses, and are about opening soup shops and coffee rooms; and altogether the aspect of affairs is completely changed.”

CLONMEL.—“The face of society here is altogether changed. Not a single case of riot or assault occurred at the last fair. The respectable inhabitants were as much surprised as gratified at this, and all persons felicitated themselves in the great change that has taken place. The effect the society has in this part is indescribable.”

The change, indeed, must be marvellous, for we find from the evidence given before the committee on drunkenness, that there was scarcely any part of Ireland in which that vice prevailed more extensively than in Clonmel. In 1826, there were in that town (the chief town of the county Tipperary) 97 licensed public-houses or spirit shops; since 1826 there has been an increase of 83; the total now, (1834) 180. The gallons of spirits, which are 25 degrees over proof, received by the retailers for one quarter, was 77,897; supposed to be drunk by the sober population at home, one-eighth, 9737; leaving, as drunk by workmen and paupers, 68,160 gallons: one-sixth allowed to be added by the retailers in the way of water, and so forth, 11,360; total per quarter, 79,520, which per year amounts to 318,080 gallons; value, at 6s. 8d. gallon, or 2½d. per naggin of licensed spirits, 26,506l. 13s. 4d. per quarter, or 106,026l. 13s. 4d. a year.

NENAGH.—“It is really astonishing to behold the most abandoned and reckless characters, who a few weeks before were a scandal to society and the victims of drunkenness, now showing forth in their lives models of virtue and temperance, and putting to the blush those who in the beginning both sneered at and were sceptical as to its results.”

KILLARNEY.—“Before the foundation of the society, the publicans in this town numbered about sixty-four; at the October sessions fifteen surrendered their licenses, and as many more will follow their example at the next sessions. The respectable publicans, whose receipts hitherto averaged from two to three pounds per day, do not now receive ten shillings in the day.”

CARRICK-ON-SUIR.—(After describing a procession which attended the funeral of a deceased member of the Temperance Society)---“A little month ago, and the most of these men were the veriest victims of the most debasing brutalizing intemperance; ever and anon they might be seen tottering from those moral pest-houses—the dram shops—revolving masses of filth and rags, breathing blasphemy, disturbing public order, outraging public decency, loathsome objects of pity or disgust. ‘A little month,’ and now they walk abroad redeemed, emancipated from the vile enslavement of this most incorrigible, most predominant of vicious propensities, drunkenness,—decently and com-

fortably appareled, exhibiting in their *tout ensemble* not only the indications of cleanliness and comfort, but presenting a mental amelioration, and looking cheerfulness and contentment; altogether so completely reformed as to render their recognition an act of pleasing difficulty."

The population of the town and parish of Dungarvan (county Waterford) numbers about 11,000. It is calculated, that of these, at least 1,000 spent sixpence a day in drink, which would amount to about 9,000*l.* a year. Only imagine the benefits which these whiskey drinkers (supposing even only 2,000 out of the whole to be reformed) must derive by converting 9,000*l.* a year to the purchase of clothes and other articles conducive to their comfort! There were, even so late as last autumn, 75 whiskey shops in that town, and a careful inquirer has stated, that on an average, their sales amounted to 15*l.* a week each house, which would be nearly 60,000*l.* a year. This expenditure upon whiskey and porter, contributed, let us assume, from a semi-circle whose radius shall be fifteen miles in extent, (Dungarvan being a sea-port town) applied to better purposes, must of necessity speedily ameliorate the whole form and appearance of society in that country. A decided improvement shewed itself in that town early in November, when the writer to whom we allude assures us, "that the public houses, shebeen shops, and dram counters, are now as deserted as Goldsmith's village ale-house. *Number One*, the apartment in our Bridewell designed for the reception of drunkards, is now at the service of any elderly lady or gentleman who may be in want of a good dry lodging in a retired situation. Our meat shambles are crowded with the wives and daughters of tradesmen, labourers, and fishermen, laying out the money hitherto spent in whiskey. The sale of tea, coffee, bread, oatmeal, and all other necessities, which may be deemed luxuries to the humbler classes, has increased in a ratio of 60 per cent.; while the business of petty sessions courts, within a circuit of fifteen miles about Youghal and Dungarvan, has decreased in a ratio of 80 per cent."

It is stated by Mr. Cyrus Clark, of Glastonbury, Somersetshire, a member of the Society of Friends, who lately made a tour in the south of Ireland, that at Fermoy (county Cork) the usual number of spirit licenses applied for at the beginning of the year was, as he learned from good authority, eighty: but that this year the applications did not exceed five! "I have now," he adds, "returned to Dublin, and repeat that I have not seen more than one drunken man, to my know-

ledge, in the south of Ireland, and not one in Waterford, Clonmel, Cork, or Limerick! What a change!"

The Irish excise revenue returns for the last quarter, especially from the southern and western districts, fully corroborate these various statements. We find it affirmed, upon what we know to be good authority, that "the periodical returns heretofore made from the local districts to the Excise-office in Dublin, yielded upon an average 20,000*l.* each, and those returns are made about every two months. The last returns do not average more than from 200*l.* to 500*l.* each. The excise revenue of Ireland has considerably exceeded 1,000,000*l.* per annum. The amount now received can scarcely reach half a million! Possibly it is much less, as whiskey has been the great source of excise revenue in this country. The temperance system has been rapidly extinguishing this branch of revenue; and in several counties the sums now paid to the collectors would not defray a fourth part of the salaries of the staff of officers employed in the collection."

No doubt the returns from the eastern counties, which Father Mathew has been recently visiting, will speedily show a similar decrease. We should not be at all surprised to find, in the course of a few months, the million per annum reduced to a sum not much exceeding £100,000. For the revenue, however, we have no apprehensions. The deficiency under one head will be rapidly supplied by a more than proportional augmentation under others—as that of tea, for example, which alone will probably compensate the chancellor of the exchequer for his temporary losses. But even were this not likely to be the result of the great moral revolution which is going on before our eyes, assuredly the solid ground-work thus laid for the regeneration of Ireland, would have been very cheaply purchased at the total sacrifice by the national treasury of a million sterling per annum. As to the inconvenience which this change may cause to distillers and other traders engaged in the manufacture or sale of spirits in Ireland, that also is a matter which may be easily amended. They would act wisely by taking their course at once, and transferring their capital to some other channel of employment.

Some months ago, when the effect of Father Mathew's operations began to show themselves in very decided colours upon the surface of society, there were many who doubted the facts related concerning those operations, and perhaps a still greater number who looked upon the impulses towards temperance which thus simultaneously appeared in different parts of the

country, as mere fanaticism, or, at best, a sort of contagious sympathy, which must have speedily spent itself in resolutions not intended, or not possible, to be kept inviolable for any length of time. We have it now, however, upon evidence not to be disputed, that a very large number of persons, say at the least five hundred thousand, have scrupulously adhered to the pledge during a period of three months. Here is a fact not to be denied. That some may relapse into their former bad habits is highly probable. Human frailty tells us that we cannot depend upon the attainment of moral perfection, even by a long course of virtuous action. But making every allowance for the weak and vulnerable points of our common character, we think we ought not to be charged with fostering mere visionary hopes, if we congratulate ourselves and the country upon the events now going on in Ireland.

We think that there are not a few strong guarantees for the permanence of the change that has already taken place. In the first place, the vice of intemperance is of itself so disgusting, so injurious to happiness, health, and fortune, that when once it is abandoned, even for a short season, it is contemplated with a degree of horror which is a most powerful bar against the return of its ascendancy. In its absence, virtues are acquired not practised before—little stores of wealth are gained, before unknown—the hearth, formerly neglected, is now kept clean—the parents and the children, long accustomed to mere rags, are now comfortably clothed—the pot on the fire, hitherto familiar only with potatoes, now contains a leg of good mutton, or a piece of bacon well garnished with cabbage—the “rent” is easily paid—a cow is added to the two or three pigs which in days scarcely yet gone by were the sole payers of the rent, all other sources of gain having been squandered on whiskey. It is morally impossible that those days of destitution and misery can ever come back upon a people who have even for a short time become acquainted with the results of the temperance system. Add to these circumstances the feeling of self-respect, attested from all quarters to have been already acquired by the practisers of temperance—the public shame that attends relapse—the diminution, by reason of the almost total extinction of distilleries and whiskey shops, of the occasions of temptation—the increased vigilance and renewed exhortations of the clergy of every religion, and the deeper impression which such exhortations must produce upon minds newly opened to the charms of those ever-admirable precepts that constitute the foundation of Christianity. The local so-

cieties existing, or that soon will exist, in every quarter of the island, must also acquire a power within their districts which it will not be easy to overthrow, or even resist or elude to any material extent. These are all, as we humbly conceive, guarantees of the most satisfactory description for the realization of our best hopes on this most important subject. In short, as it appears to us, the relapse of any considerable portion of the Irish temperance societies into the habits of drunkenness, so long the disgrace, and hindrance to every effort for the amelioration, of that country, would now be a more astonishing change than even the sudden and sublime diversion from the ways of evil to those of every virtue, which has been recently effected in that country. It is comparable to no event recorded in history, except the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. The God who opened to his people that path through the waters, and closed them again upon the Egyptians, their chariots and horsemen, knows how to set up his barriers against the second captivity of a nation which he has just set free from a still more terrible oppressor.

It is too soon yet to shape out all the political consequences which must follow from the moral changes now in progress through every part of Ireland. Temperance must beget wealth; wealth — self-respect, self-government, knowledge, power, tranquillity, the amalgamation of all parties into one people, the promotion of Ireland from a province to a nation. The example set by this country cannot be without its effect upon England, upon Europe, upon the whole earth. Let but the seeds of regeneration be freely cast upon that earth, and at the harvest time assuredly shall come the good fruit. Vast movements of men from the courses of vice to those of virtue may be hereafter looked for, as the result of labours directed betimes to that grand object. Thus shall the paradise so long lost to human vision be restored, and the sons of men be embraced in the one great fold of religion, charity, and peace.

ART. VII.—*Romish Review of "The Roman Schism," with Mr. Perceval's Reply.* [Episcopal Magazine and Church of England Warder, for May, June, July, and August, 1839.]

THE Honourable and Rev. Arthur Philip Perceval's *Peace Offering and Roman Schism*, were reviewed in the sixth number of this journal. As the author is a man of considerable learning and repute, his reply to our strictures on the

latter of these works deserves examination. On the former occasion, our remarks ran out to a considerable length, and now we fear we must introduce the reader into details often prolix and sometimes uninteresting; however, we engage not to put his patience to so severe a test as we did before, and to be as brief as the importance of the discussion will allow.

The rev. author has paid us the compliment of reprinting nearly the whole of our article in conjunction with his reply. This is far more than we were entitled to expect; and it at the same time indicates a wish to deal fairly, and a confidence in the justice of his cause. We readily yield him the advantage derivable from the presumption which a reader ordinarily forms in such cases. On the other hand, it would be unfair to draw a conclusion against us, from our not following his example in this particular. We shall quote largely from Mr. Perceval, taking care, whilst so doing, to avoid a certain practice which he seems studiously to have adopted.

We allude to the *manner* in which he has reproduced our strictures in his pages. He has marred the grace of his liberality; for with all this show of supererogatory generosity, there is a want of substantial fairness. It is not anatomy of the subject-matter, but hacking and mangling. Yet Mr. Perceval is no bungler; he can dissect and arrange skilfully when he has a mind to do so. Here we have paragraphs broken up capriciously; the sequence of an argument disturbed, often for a paltry quirk or sneer: contradiction given to some assertion, and a diversive discussion raised upon it, without waiting for, or subsequently noticing, its accompanying qualification, or the reasons offered in its support. Of this mode of treating the subject, the reader will have some examples before him hereafter, and it rests with him to say whether it do not form a considerable abatement to Mr. P.'s claims to the praise of liberality; claims which otherwise we should be foremost to concede. As it is, Mr. Perceval has our thanks; for we wish not to be exceptionous; and on the matter to which we have alluded, we would rather abide by the opinion of any indifferent reader of his work, than contend for our own: the more so, because the rev. gentleman avers it to be his belief, that "we do not know what fair and plain dealing is." (*Reply*, 400.) Certes, we have not formed so mean an estimation of his understanding; we are sure that he can discern and appreciate fair and plain dealing, and it must be his fault if he ever sin against his better knowledge; our aberrations he will, in mercy, consider as misfortunes only. But we will

waive this favour tendered by our generous opponent :—we would not deprecate the severity of his censure. There is indeed *one* personal imputation to which it will be necessary to advert, lest our silence should be misconstrued,—an imputation disgraceful indeed to him against whom it is levelled, if true ; but if otherwise, equally disgraceful to the man who causelessly prefers it. For the rest, we are perfectly indifferent. Mr. P. may describe us as “drawing largely on the credulity or ignorance of our readers ;” he is at full liberty to affirm of a sentence expressing nothing but an undeniable fact, that, (*Reply*, 284) “a more foolish sentence was never written ;”^{*} to characterise a paragraph containing an admonition to him to state his case fully and fairly, as “all rubbish,” (*ib.* 341), to tell his opponent,† that “he knows not of what he is writing ;” (*ib.* 402), and without meeting his argument, describe it “as poor work indeed.” He may do this, and as much more of the kind as he may think becoming or serviceable, and we shall “let it pass for what it is worth ;” *floci, nauci, nihili*.

We begin with laying before our readers a few specimens of the temper and candour with which the writer thinks fit to conduct a religious enquiry. In speaking of the entireness of confession we observed :—

“If the Catholic believes that confession is the necessary remedy for mortal sin committed after baptism, he readily submits (if he value his soul) to the full disclosure of his guilt, whether of deed, or word, or thought. A judicial office is held by the priest, and that office has its rules. The priest’s power is recognized to interrogate the penitent, that the disclosure *may* be, what the penitent firmly believes it *ought* to be, entire.”—*Dublin Review*, vol. iii. 502.

Upon this Mr. Perceval remarks as follows :—

“Aye, much virtue in an ‘if.’‡ If the layman does, it is much more than many of the priests do, as is clear from the Council of

* The reader shall see this very ‘foolish’ sentence, and then he will be able to form his judgment of Mr. P.’s taste and temper. “At Chalcedon the exposition of the Catholic faith as given by the Roman Pontiff, was adopted by the council as its own dogmatical decree.” Here is the ‘foolish’ sentence. We give the sequel of the paragraph which Mr. P. has interrupted. “Peter was declared ‘to have spoken by Leo : his successor and faithful interpreter had *presided* at their consult as the *head over its members, or a father over his children.*’” (Synod. letter, Labbe iv. 883, seq.) *Review*, 481.

† Mr. P. is totally mistaken in ascribing the review of his work to Dr. Wiseman. That gentleman could have no knowledge of the paper, till some time after its appearance in print.

‡ Our respondent seems to think that there is a charm in the iteration of this form. We meet with it again and again.

Trent, which contemplates the case of priests making a jest of the whole affair as of *common occurrence*, and provides accordingly. But do the Romans,* as a body, believe that confession, such as practised in the Church of Rome, is binding on them by the law of God? *Not so*; they believe that they cannot go to heaven without the fiat of the sacerdotal judge, which they further believe it is in his breast to give or to withhold *at pleasure*; and they therefore think themselves under the necessity of submitting to *any* conditions, and this amongst the rest."—*Reply*, 402.

That is to say, the Council anathematizes those who declare with Luther, that the absolution pronounced in jest, is as valid as if it were pronounced seriously; therefore the Council contemplates the case of *priests* making a jest of the "whole affair" as a *common occurrence*! and thence it is *clear* that many of the priests do not believe what they teach on the necessity of confession! The profanity was held by innovators not to vitiate the ministerial act; the Council determines that it does vitiate it; and *therefore* those who teach what the Council teaches, are frequently guilty of the profanity. The Hon. and Rev. gentleman's logic, is on a par with his charity. For his imputation on the laity, we are to accept, we suppose, the following words as proof.

"Such is the force, which the term [judicial act] made use of by the Tridentine Council bears; such is the power which that council, according to the plain meaning of the language it uses, attributes to the priesthood; and such is the power, which, practically speaking, it is clear from the transactions in Ireland, the denunciations at the altars, the threats at the election booths, the laity of the Roman Church believe their priests to be invested with, and under which they crouch with a slavish fear, more abjectly than the negro slaves beneath the overseer's lash."

Whom have we here? Is it Perceval the Sligo Colonel, or Perceval the Surrey clergyman, that declaims in this strain? Is it the soldier Orangeman, or the gentle Peace Offerer? We may be suspected of quoting from the files of the *Standard*, instead of from the pamphlet before us;—no, we quote from page 406 of the latter. They are the words of one, whose "sole aim and purpose was (in 1829), to endeavour to defend and advance the sacred cause of Christianity, by the Christian means of promoting Christian truth and charity among all true Christians." (*Peace Offering*, 164.) To be sure, it seems that he then erred, in one respect at

* "They (the Paulician heretics) call us *Romans*," says the Greek historian Cedrenus; quoted by Pouget, i. 429.

least, 'from excess of charity,' though he repels the attempt "to convict him of inconsistency." (*Reply* 269.) Here then we have charity without excess; unadulterated truth. The priests are tyrants, the people under them are fools, and more degraded in mind than the negro slaves. Charity and truth! A foul libel on the one and the other, which we dismiss with this short remark. Even were the imputation on our countrymen true instead of being calumnious, it would not establish what the accuser has taken upon himself to assert respecting Catholics as "a body." For Ireland is but a small portion of our Church, after all. Mr. P. knows nothing of the feelings of our laity:—we are willing to suppose this,—why then does he pretend to expound them?

He acknowledges as "reasonable" our stricture (*Review*, 501), on his inference from the fourth chapter (Sess. XIV) of the Council of Trent, "that attrition or the mere fear of punishment, is a sufficient disposition for attaining the grace of God in the sacrament," [of penance.] "And should I have occasion to reprint my work, I will [correct the error, of course,—No!] I will place my sentence thus:—Attrition, *or* the fear of punishment, provided there be hope of God's pardon, and no *present* intention of committing sin, is held to be a sufficient preparation for the grace of God, in this would-be sacrament,* *though there be neither detestation of sins past, nor any fixed resolution to avoid them for the time to come.*" (*Reply* 401.)

The Catholic's feeling revolts at such a description of a sufficient preparation for the grace of God in the sacrament of penance. And the Protestant must be egregiously ignorant of our tenets if he can believe it to be correct. However, as habitual misrepresentation will betray even the candid and intelligent into the grossest errors; as the subject is important in itself, and important as furnishing a test of Mr. Perceval's accuracy, we give below† extracts from two of our

* "This would be sacrament." "In baptismo utique remissio peccatorum omnium est: quid interest utrum per poenitentiam an per lavacrum hoc jus sibi sacerdotes vindicent? *Unum in utroque mysterium est.* Sed dicis quia in lavacro operatur mysteriorum gratia. Quid in poenitentia? Nonne nomen Dei operatur? Quid ergo? Ubi vultis vindicatis vobis Dei gratiam: ubi vultis repudiatis?" St. Ambrose, De Poenit. i. c. 8. (Ed. Ben. ii. 400.)

† *Ferraris*, Biblioth. (v. Poenit. art. ii.) "Contritio in communi, prout est *genus* ad attritionem et contritionem est "Dolor animi," &c. Sic expresse Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. c. 4. . . . Contritio sic generatim et in communi sumpta dividitur in contritionem perfectam et in contritionem imperfectam seu attritionem. Contritio simpliciter et absolute dicta est "Dolor animi et detestatio peccati propter Deum summe dilectum et super omnia, cum firmo proposito non peccandi de cætero." Contritio imperfecta, sive Attritio, est "Dolor animi ac detestatio peccati contra Deum commissi, propter turpitudinem peccati *vel* metum inferni

divines, writers whose works are in common use, and the first we have laid our hands upon. We will do more. We will give the document itself whence Mr. Perceval draws his inference, and in his own version. The extract is long, but well worthy of the reader's attentive perusal.

"Contrition, which occupies the first place among the said acts of the penitent, is a grief of mind and detestation for past sin, with an intention [purpose, propositio,] of not sinning for the future. But this motion of contrition was at all times *necessary* for obtaining the pardon of sins; and in one who has lapsed after baptism, it then indeed disposes for the remission of sin, if it be joined with confidence in the divine mercy, and a wish of performing the other things which are requisite for the due receiving of the sacrament. The holy Synod therefore declares, that this contrition contains not only cessation from sin, and the intention [purpose] and commencement of a new life, but also a hatred of the old one, according to that saying, 'Cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed, and make ye a new heart and a new spirit.' And certainly, any one who shall consider the cries of the saints, "Against Thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight. I am weary of my groaning, every night wash I my bed. I will recall before thee all my years, in the bitterness of my soul," and others of the same kind, will easily understand that they flowed from a vehement hatred of the past life, and detestation of the future.* The synod teaches moreover, that although it may sometimes happen that this contrition is perfected by charity, and reconciles a man to God before that this sacrament is actually received, nevertheless the reconciliation is not to be ascribed to the contrition, without the wish of the sacrament which is included in it. It declares also that imper-

vel alterius mal. conceptus, cum FIRMO proposito non peccandi de cætero.... Unde Contritio et Attritio conveniunt in hoc quod UTRAQUE est dolor supernaturalis cum proposito non peccandi de cætero, sed differunt inter se et ratione motivi et ratione effectûs.—*Gabr. Antoine.* (Tr. de Pœn. art. I. Qu. I.) Contritio generice sumpta est animi dolor, &c.... Con. Trid. Sess. 14. c. 4. Ut autem valeat ad remissionem mortalium sive intra sive extra sacramentum, *necessario* debet esse interna, supernaturalis universalis, *efficax*, appetitiæ summa. Dividitur in perfectam et imperfectam. Contritio perfecta, &c... Quare differunt specie, cum habeant diversa motiva: differunt etiam ex parte effectus, nam perfecta Deo reconciliat extra sacramentum, cum ejus voto; non imperfecta: *quoad cætera conveniunt.* Qu. 6. Ad valorem et effectum sacramenti *requiritur* contritio formalis..*efficax*, &c. Efficax et absoluta, ita ut excludat omnem affectum ad *quodvis* mortale et contineat propositum *firmum* servandi omnia mandata et ad mandatorum observationem necessaria, cujusmodi sunt destructio causarum peccati, &c... Nam Conc. Trid. Sess. 14. c. 4. requirit propositum, &c. To our Catholic readers all this doctrine is familiar: et pueri sciunt. With many Protestants it is otherwise; and it is for such that this note is intended. When they have read it let them turn again to Mr. P.'s proposed alteration.

* Thus far the Council has been speaking of contrition in general; of that which is common to perfect and to imperfect contrition. It proceeds to note a specific difference between the two.

fect contrition, which is called attrition, since it is *commonly conceived either from* a consideration of the vileness of sin, or the fear of hell and punishment, if it excludes sinful will, [voluntatem peccandi] and has hope of pardon, not only does not make a man a hypocrite and increase his sin, but is indeed the gift of God and the impulse of the Holy Ghost; not indeed as yet indwelling, but only moving, whereby the penitent is *assisted* to prepare for himself a way to righteousness. And although it be unable of itself to bring the sinner to justification without the sacrament of repentance, yet does it *dispose* him to obtain the grace of God in that sacrament. For when the Ninevites were beneficially struck with this fear, they performed a repentance full of terrors, and obtained mercy from the Lord. Wherefore certain Catholic writers are falsely calumniated, [read, certain persons do falsely calumniate Catholic writers, falso quidam calumniantur Catholicos scriptores] as if they had taught that the sacrament of repentance conferred grace without good dispositions on the part of the receivers, which the Church of God never taught or believed; moreover, they falsely teach that contrition is extorted and forced, not free and voluntary."—*R. Schism*, 252.

Falso quidam calumniantur Catholicos: and the reader upon comparing Mr. P.'s above-cited inference with the statement of doctrine just laid before him, will draw *his* inference, and observe an illustration of the remark. That which is occasionally the cause, is by Mr. P. confounded with the effect. Attrition, (an imperfect grief of mind and detestation of past sin), is said to be commonly *conceived* either from one or other of two things specified; our author *identifies* it with the *latter* of these two things. The Council protests against the imputation of ascribing a salutary effect to the sacrament without good dispositions; our author represents it as holding that a detestation of sins past is not necessary. The Council, whilst condemning the error of those who asserted "that the contrition which is the sequel of examination, recollection, and detestation of sins, does not prepare for God's grace, nor remit sin, but rather makes a man a hypocrite and a greater sinner, and that such contrition is a forced and not a free sorrow,"—deliberately adopted (*Pallav. Istoria*, L. xii. 10) the word "dispose" instead of the word "suffice." Mr. Perceval makes it assert that fear of punishment with hope of God's pardon, and without present intention of sinning, is *sufficient* preparation. The Council, in short, insists on the absolute necessity of internal sorrow, detestation of past sin, and purpose of not sinning hereafter. He excludes that detestation and all fixed resolution of amendment, as not being required. Mr. Perceval of course knows what fair dealing means: let the reader decide whether he act accordingly or no.

Let him also decide on the seemliness of the following inuendo:—

“Yea verily, is the distinction between venial and mortal sins and the necessity of priestly absolution for the latter, and not for the former, and the necessity of auricular confession for one and not for the other, are all these of divine institution; and will the Reviewer pledge his salvation for it? *If not, what is all this but an attempt to uphold in the sight of the lay readers of the Review, an imposture which in his secret soul he knows to be such?*”—p. 408.

In reply to the appeal made to his conscientious belief, the Reviewer answers most explicitly, YES: and having done so, recommends Mr. P. to consider in “*his secret soul*,” how far it may become a Christian and a minister of the Gospel, to convey so foul an imputation. Certainly, there is not “much virtue” in his *if*. But however aggrieved the party against whom this insinuation is directed may feel, he is aware that it is an ordinary weapon of controversy. Mr. P. has somewhere remarked, (*Peace Offering*, 103) “that the violence of excited and disappointed feeling will frequently provoke sentiments and expressions, which, when the temporary excitement has abated, and men have returned to their cool reason, will be anxiously disavowed.” Excited feeling no doubt gave birth to this accusation, and we shall not await its disavowal to assure its author that we heartily forgive him.

Our subject having led us to allude to the creed commonly called the Athanasian, we remarked (*Review*, 474), in a note:—“That the venerable bishop of Alexandria was not its author, is universally allowed:” as we should say of the Psalter, that it is universally allowed that David was not the author of all the pieces in that collection; speaking of course with reference to the present time, and of the opinion of those who have considered the question, not of times past, or of the popular notion which the title may perpetuate. Mr. Perceval affects a great deal of wonder at our statement, smiles at our inconsistency, gives us, *alla rinfusa*, a number of testimonies from the ninth century down to the end of the seventeenth, and winds up his list with a general reference to Bingham and Comber. On the alleged inconsistency we shall speak presently. The real question turns entirely on this point:—Whether it be untrue to say, that it is universally allowed that the creed bearing the name of St. Athanasius is the work of another author? A list of *ancient* writers, however respectable, cannot decide this question. It is now more than a century since Dupin observed on this creed, “*Présentement*

tout le monde convient qu'il n'est pas de lui." (*Biblioth. II. St. Athan.*) And Cave: "genuinum Athanasii opus non esse, satis indicat quod," &c. (*Hist. Lit.* p. 123. Ed. 1720.) Of subsequent writers we know but two, and those of the last century, who have endeavoured to accredit the old opinion. But Mr. P. refers his readers to Bingham and Comber. It may be supposed that these are positive against us. Even so, our assertion would remain unshaken, for we speak of the present time. But what says Comber, in a work written one hundred and sixty years ago? He undertakes to prove,† that "it is *very probable* Athanasius was the author thereof." He afterwards observes, "It hath borne his name in all the world for many hundred years, if not from the first composition," which may be very true, but is little to the present purpose. What says Bingham, in a work written more than a century ago? *The best and latest critics make no question that it is to be ascribed to a Latin author.*" (*B.* x. 4.) What says his contemporary Dr. Nicholls? who is elsewhere (p. 471), a high authority with Mr. Perceval. "It is *plain* that Athanasius was *not* the author of it, because it does not appear to have been known till the *sixth* century." (*Comm. on C. Pr.*) Mr. P. should have shewn that the verdict of these critics had been set aside, before he called us to account for abiding by it.

But then our "consistency" in appealing to Baronius and Orsi, as ample vouchers for the use of images in the ancient Church, and on this question of authorship making Baronius and a host of others pass for nothing. (*ib.* 274.) Baronius was cited as recording a fact witnessed by a whole city during his lifetime. Orsi was cited as appealing to the researches of antiquarians of his day in cemeteries. Therefore, we ought, for consistency sake, to have abandoned "the best and latest critics," and adhered to the opinion of Baronius, on the authorship of a formulary written some ages before his time. What side of this literary question we were pledged to by "consistency," after quoting *Orsi* with reference to urns and cups, we do not exactly know; Mr. P. perhaps can tell us: we suspect Orsi would have required us to abandon Baronius. A hard fate this, superinduced by consistency. We might have been required to hold the two opposite opinions at once. Be this as it may, Mr. Perceval's requisition is a singular and a pleasant one. Take an author for a voucher of one thing, you must follow him in all. So, quote the early fathers, and

† Companion to the Temple, 350, Ed. 1676.

you must admit with them the genuineness of the Sybilline oracles, and hold with them on the history of the Greek version of the Bible. Or, were an English rector to publish some account of discoveries made in opening a tomb (Bishop Bowthe's for instance) in view of his parishioners, and offer some natural inferences regarding ancient customs, his narrative must not be quoted, his inferences must not be admitted, unless what that same rector may opine on a question of authorship be admitted also; unless Cyril, the author of the Catecheses, and Cyril the tractator of St. John, be allowed to be the same person. (*Peace Offering*, 25, 26, 173, compared.)

On the question of presidency at the Council of Nice, we referred to Gelasius of Cyzicum. Mr. P. had maintained that *none* of the Greek historians had mentioned the presidency of Osius. Gelasius, a Greek historian, has given, as an extract from Eusebius, what appears to us a clear proof of it. Mr. Perceval condescends, now, to listen to Gelasius on this subject; as well as on another, where his authority is paramount with him: but he marvels at our 'consistency' in appealing to that writer (for a fragment of Eusebius on the presidency in the council), when in our note (on celibacy), we aver that we are satisfied that what this same Gelasius has *elsewhere* reported, respecting a discourse of St. Paphnutius, is a fiction.*

* We will refer to some of the authorities which led us to this conclusion. 1st. The explicit language of St. Jerome, Ep. 50, ad Pamm. p. 110, ed. Basil.—and 1 contr. Vigil, T. ii. 121. 2nd. That of St. Epiphanius, Hær. 59, T. i. 496, ed. Petav. These authors wrote about fifty years after the Council of Nice: Socrates and Sozomen more than a century, and Gelasius more than a century and a half. 3rd. The second canon of the second Council of Carthage, "ut episcopi presbyteri et diaconi . . . etiam ab uxoribus se abstineant." And in decreeing thus, they professed to abide by "antiquity." *ib.* † This was less than seventy years after the Council of Nice. These authorities will shew that we had some ground for the opinion we expressed. Mr. P. seems to think that we insinuated that Socrates did not give the story of St. Paphnutius. Nothing was further from our intention. We remarked on his singling out Gelasius, who omits a circumstance which two more ancient historians mention, and which has a bearing on the "constrained (?) celibacy of the clergy:"—(R. S. 328) the point in question.

As we are on the subject of clerical celibacy, we will make a few further remarks. The second council of Lateran, canon 7, forbade the hearing of masses offered by priests who were married. (R. Sch. 127.) That these priests had contracted an engagement to continency, is beyond dispute. That a "copulation" after a vow of continency was held sinful long before this time, Mr. Perceval may learn from St. Augustine, (*De Adulterinis Conjug.* i. 24. tom. vi. p. 295) to say nothing of 1 Tim. v. 12. Yet Mr. P. describes the canon in question as a revival of a feature of the Eustathian heresy, condemned at Gangræ. (R. S. 38, 345.) A word or two on this heresy. From the Synodal letter (Coleti, ii. 428), and from Socrates, (*Reading*, 158,) it appears that its partizans, among their innumerable extravagancies, ("for each one of them, after abandoning the church rule, had his peculiar whim for law," like modern Protestants,) prohibited marriages, regard-

That is to say; take all, or none. Drink deep, nay, drink the whole, or taste not. You find it difficult to reconcile an historian's (or even several historians') narrative, with the assertions contained in earlier writers; you satisfy yourself that the latter are more credible. You may be wrong, you may be right, in your conclusions. No matter: your "consistency" is at stake; you have adopted the historian in one instance, you must follow him throughout. Or "with what face can you appeal to him" (for one thing, the quotation of a lost fragment), "when you declare yourself satisfied," (after examination of vouchers and balancing of evidence,) "that what he records [on another thing,] is a fiction?" Be consistent. "This is a sort of consistency which has not entered into *our* definition of the term."

Mr. Perceval will not be displeased with us, if we apply his own canon (*a canon mirificum* in its way, certainly), to his own work. "With what face" can he ever appeal to Theodoret for instance, when he sets aside his declaration that at Sardica, (*Theod.* II. 7. comp. I. 7.) πεντηκοντα και διακοσιοι συνηλθον αρχιερεις, ως διδασκει τα παλαια δηγηματα, using the same word, (and Socrates does the like: *Socrates* II. 20, comp. I. 8.) as when mentioning the number that *actually came* to Nice? "With what face" can he cite (*R. Schism*, 419) the thirty-sixth canon of the Council of Elvira, inhibiting the use of pictures in churches,—an inhibition, by the way, which the Anglican Church does not uniformly obey,—but with what face can he cite this canon against us, when by another canon of this same council, (the 31st) total continence is charged on bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons, under penalty of deprivation. Yet this latter canon "is to pass for nothing." Once more: "with what face" can he cite the Quinisext council of Constantinople, canons 13, 36, and 15, whilst the members of his sect are freely allowed to violate the strict injunction of canon 67, to refrain from blood and things strangled,

ing all those in the nuptial state, as without hope before God. In *detestation of marriage* they would neither pray in the house of married people, nor assist at the oblation when performed by a priest who retained the wife he had married before his ordination. They regarded that oblation as an "abominable thing." Now Mr. Perceval knows, (*Peace Offering*, p. 146,) in what light we regard marriage. He knows that we hold, that the sanctity of the oblation, or of a sacrament, is not affected by the moral worth of the minister. He knows that this was a distinctly recognized principle at the time (Gratian, D. 32, 4. p. § 5), and that the purpose of the enactment at Lateran was, to compel the clergy to keep their *vows*. He knows too, that there is a difference between a lawless party, who set ecclesiastical rule at defiance, and a council, which has power to frame disciplinary enactments, and impose their observance as a duty. And yet, he would make the question to turn entirely upon the holiness or unholiness of married presbyters.—*Reply*, 467.

(*Coleti*, VIII. 1379); and he with his fellow-clergymen habitually disobey the charge, (canon 32) to mingle water with the wine in the sacramental cup;—a charge, like that of the other just quoted canon, enforced under penalty of deposition.* We could go on almost *ad infinitum*, with such examples in illustration of Mr. Perceval's golden rule. It is his, let him abide by it. It is none of ours. And were it not that the Rev. gentleman so constantly labours to apply it against us, as has been seen and will be seen hereafter in some additional instances, we should have hardly thought it worth while to notice it at such a length.

We briefly adverted (*Review* 480) to "the position of the Roman Church, *its recognized prerogatives*, and its services to the cause of Christian truth," during the perilous times when Arianism or Eutychianism had well nigh overborne it. To a short historical review, exhibiting some of the evidences of these prerogatives, we subjoined an admission of Casaubon, that "for many ages, God employed the instrumentality of the Roman pontiffs to preserve the integrity of doctrine and belief." And from the historical evidences at which we glanced, from undeniable facts which we stated, we ventured to deduce (*Review*, 481) this inference:—"Rome may, then, we suppose, be allowed to style herself the mother and mistress of Churches." Mr. Perceval, anxious, we suppose, to retrieve his character as a logician, sets himself to draw up an argument in syllogistic form. Unluckily, however, he mistakes the above admission of Casaubon for the historical premises to which that admission was subjoined by us; and whilst very ingeniously labouring to demonstrate that the *instrumentality* of a Church in preserving the integrity of doctrine, is an insufficient warrant for assigning to that Church the high dignity we have claimed for Rome, contrives very

* "If therefore any bishop or priest do not according to the order delivered by the apostles, and in offering the spotless sacrifice, mingle water with the wine, let him be deposed, as one who imperfectly shews forth the mystery, and innovates in what is delivered." (*Coleti*, t. vii. p. 1363.) St. Cyprian declares it to be "Dominica traditio:" he describes the cup at the institution as "*mixtus calix*," and seems to place the offering of mere wine, on a level with the offering of mere water. "Offeri aqua sola non potest, quomodo nec vinum solum potest. . . Sic vero calix Domini non est aqua sola aut vinum solum, nisi utrumque sibi miscetur." (Ep. 63, ad Cæcil. p. 154. Ed. Ox.) Mr. P. quotes from this letter, (R. S. 443) but is prudently silent on the necessity of the "*mixtus calix*." We need hardly add that he omits the two just cited clauses. But how came the Anglican Church to discard so venerable, and, as St. Cyprian shews in this letter, so significant a rite? Mr. Perceval will tell us: "It was one, among many other estimable rites, which were removed to satisfy the senseless objections of Calvin and other foreigners."—R. Schism, 402.

cleverly to slip the evidences of the *recognition* of Rome's prerogatives, hoping that his readers will be as forgetful as he is cunning. Some poet has said,

"Itala protuleris si quinque recondita verba,
Non ideo prudens atque disertus eris."

And Mr. Perceval may as well remember, that the mere utterance of "*Imprimis negatur major*," will not turn a cavil into an argument, or make the utterer a logician.

But, the Bishops at Constantinople incidentally styled *Jerusalem* the mother of all Churches. "We acknowledge the most venerable Cyril, most beloved of God, to be bishop of the Church of Jerusalem, which is the mother of all Churches." (*R. Schism*, 32.) This extract, with the three lines of the original Greek, a reference to the document whence it is taken, and Mr. Perceval's judgment of its drift, (against the claim of the Church of Rome to be considered the mother of all Churches) is honoured with a clear page. We made three remarks on this *obiter dictum*, so important in Mr. Perceval's judgment. The second of them he has not noticed; the first and third he has; and the reader shall see how. In reply to our observation that "if the title be equipollent in both documents, 'the *professio fidei*' of Pius IV, and the synodical letter, the modern Church of England owes obedience to that of Jerusalem," Mr. Perceval rejoins,—

"If the title be equipollent, 'much virtue in an *if*.' Who ever dreamed that the fathers in the second general council contemplated the schismatical and *heretical* proposition which Pope Pius couched in the tenth article of his new creed?"—p. 285.

If the title imply not direction and government, how can the attribution of the title be cited against the *professio fidei*, good Mr. Perceval? if it mean only priority of establishment, and a consequent dignity and claim to regard, what conflict can there be between the bishops of the second general council, and Pope Pius? For as we remarked in the third place:—

"Mr. Perceval must allow us Catholics to know and to believe as well as himself, that it was at Jerusalem the Christian Church was first formed, that it was thence the word of God went forth to all the world. (Luke xxiv. 47). In *this* sense Jerusalem was the mother of *all* Churches.* Rome, with which Irenæus, in his day, declared

* Here Mr. Perceval interposes his lively comment. He could brook no delay: the effervescence would have subsided, and the smack have been lost. May we recommend to his consideration, this maxim of a writer with whom he is well

every church must agree, *is* the mother and mistress of all churches, *as a directive and controlling power* (so we believe) over all Churches within the Catholic pale has been entrusted to her. It is in *this* sense that the *profession* applies to her that title."—*Review*, 481.

Now for the reply,

"Jerusalem *was*, Rome *is*, the mother of all Churches. Then Nicodemus' question is answered, and a greater difficulty than his has been overcome. The Church of Jerusalem, it appears, has entered into the womb of her own daughter, and been born again: so that she who *was* the mother is now the daughter; and vice versâ. Well! we live in an age of wonders, and must learn not to be surprised at anything."—*Perceval*, 285.

No, not even at seeing a clergyman turning to his Bible and extracting matter of a jest from it. Some plain people may think this not over edifying, if "not surprising." Be that as it may, the question to be considered here is,—does Mr. Perceval's jest overturn the above distinction of signification in the title as applied to the churches of Jerusalem and of Rome, respectively? No, it confounds two things, between which a marked distinction was drawn. The warrantableness of the distinction has not been disputed or even denied; the reader looks for an argument, and he gets—a jest.*

In the foregoing extract from the *Review*, it will be observed, we referred to St. Irenæus as declaring that every church must agree with the Roman Church; and we cited in our margin the testimony of that father, "*Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potiore principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est qui sunt undique fideles.*" We added, "the original of the passage is lost; but there is little doubt that *convenire* is the rendering of *συμβαίνειν*. Now we

acquainted: "Optimus lector est qui dictorum intelligentiam expectet ex dictis potius quam imponat, et retulerit magis quam attulerit; neque cogat id videri dictis contineri, quod ante lectionem præsumperit intelligendum." (Hilar. de Trin. I.) This system of interrupting at convenience, must be called an "ingenious device."

* We will here insert a few lines of one of Innocent III's letters on the subject. "Jerusalem was prior in time, Rome is prior in dignity. Andrew was first called, his brother Peter was first in rank. The Church of Jerusalem might be called mater fidei, quoniam ab ea sacramenta fidei processerunt; that of Rome mater fidelium, quoniam privilegio dignitatis universis fidelibus est prælata. The synagogue was mater ecclesiæ, quoniam et ipsa præcessit ecclesiam et ecclesia processit ab ipsâ, and the Church is mater generalis, quæ novo semper fætu fæcunda concipit, parit et nutrit, &c." We leave it to the reader to say, whether there be not more sense in these distinctions and explanations, than in Mr. P.'s jest. In the letter from which we have been quoting, occur those words of St. Hilary, which on a former occasion we commended to our Rev. author's attention. "Intelligentia dictorum ex causis est assumenda dicendi, quum non res sermoni sed rei sermo sit subjectus."—Innoc. III. Opp. ii. 517. (Cologne, 1575.)

are warranted in explaining this word by "to agree." Mr. P. makes some courteous remarks on our scholarship, which we shall answer to, not by returning the compliment, but by shewing his mistakes. 1st. "When *convenio* is used to express agreement, it is followed by the dative case; whereas here it has the accusative with a preposition, *signifying having recourse to.*" The closing remark might have been spared; for it is "having recourse to" what the logicians would call *petitio principii*, or taking for granted what is in dispute, and we are here examining just this very thing, whether *convenire* do signify "having recourse to," or "agreeing." Well, "when *convenio* is used to express agreement, it is followed by the dative case." Generally so, Mr. Perceval, not always. Take this example from St. Ambrose:* "*percunctatus episcopum est si cum episcopis catholicis, hoc est si cum Romanâ ecclesiâ conveniret;*" or if on this highly momentous question we must have classical authority, then Cicero will furnish one (*In Verrem. Ac. II. l. 4. n. 147*): "*L. Lucillum sororis filium quicum optime convenisset.*" Or again, if Mr. P. insists on our shewing the verb with the preposition, (not signifying "having recourse to," but signifying agreement or adaptation), then let him accept of this (*De Finib. iii. n. 46*): "*ut si cothurni laus illa esset ad pedem apte convenire.*" But in good sooth, why should the Latin of a translation like that of Irenæus' work be scanned by rules of classic usage? It is close and servile, as Mr. P. well knows; and its author, although in this instance he has not, as we have seen, used an unexampled construction, yet evidently wished to be "*verbo verbi fidus interpres,*" little concerned for good Roman words or Roman phrases. 2nd. Mr. Perceval admits that *συμβαίρω* is occasionally used in the sense we have ascribed to it, but contends that "*whenever* it is so, it has the dative case after it and *not* the accusative." We shall examine this canon presently. 3rd. "But what ground, he asks, has the Reviewer for saying there is *little doubt* that *convenire* in the sense in which he wishes it to be translated, stands for *συμβαίνειν*?" Instead of waiting for our reply, he gives an answer to his question himself: "*None whatever but his own imagination.*"

* De excessu Satyri. Satyrus had escaped shipwreck, and on landing, (probably on the coast of Sardinia) had "addressed himself to the bishop of the place, in order to be immediately baptized; but first asked him whether he was in communion with the Catholic bishops, *that is, with the Church of Rome*, says St. Ambrose, and finding that he took part with the schism of Lucifer, (Bishop of Cagliari) he chose rather to venture upon the sea again, than to receive baptism from a schismatic."—Butler. We put the same question to the establishment bishops.

Had he waited, he would have seen that the Reviewer was not an imaginative conjecturer, but one, who, on questions of verbal criticism as on all others, is willing to follow those who have learning to recommend their opinion. Had we thought our interpretation would be regarded as novel or singular, we should have confirmed it by referring to that author whom we are going to quote. We might cite Catholic critics; but an anti-Catholic one will be more convincing. Mr. Perceval may read and learn too, if he will.

Salmasius* observes as follows on the passage :—

“Necesse est, dicit, omnem Ecclesiam convenire ad Romanam; id est, ut Græce locutus fuerat Irenæus, συμβαίνειν προς την των ρωμαιων εκκλησιαν, quod significat concordare in rebus fidei ac doctrina cum Romana Ecclesia.... Συμβαίνειν προς τινα æque usitatum Græcis ac συμβαίνειν τινι. Unde apud Thucydidem συνεβησαν προς τους Λακεδαιμονίους, convenerunt cum Lacedæmoniiis, pactum fecerunt. Ita Irenæum locutum constat loco quem supra adduximus, quem malus auctor Latinitatis græcissans dixit, ad hanc . . pro cum hâc convenire.” . . .

And again

“Vult igitur Ecclesiam Romanam, ut principalem, id est primam et omnium maxime puram, typum et exemplum cæteris debere esse doctrinæ sinceritatis et apostolicæ traditionis custodiendæ.”

This was our ground for saying there was “little doubt.” Salmasius is more decisive; *constat* is his word. Upon his authority, and that of many others, and not upon our “own imagination,” did we feel authorized to assert that there was “little doubt.” The French critic has dispensed with our answer to Mr. Perceval’s second remark. Otherwise, “we have little doubt,” other examples in abundance are accessible, and only await transcription.

“But we shall best ascertain Irenæus’s views upon the obligation, which the Reviewer *wishes* he had stated, of agreeing with Rome, by his own conduct.” Well, be it so. He fittingly or becomingly (προσηκόντως παραινει, *decenter admonet*) admonished or exhorted Victor of Rome “not to cut off whole churches from church-communion.” His judgment on the question in dispute was in agreement with that of the Roman bishop, but in a written letter he dissuaded the stern course to which he was minded. Whether Victor actually excommunicated the Asiatics, as Mr. P. unhesitatingly affirms, or only threatened to do so, as good many writers contend, we

* De Primatu Papæ, cap. v. page 65. Leyden, 1465.

shall not stop to enquire. Our business is with St. Irenæus. We have seen what he did, and his conduct is in Mr. P.'s view the best key to the interpretation of his words. He remonstrated with the bishop of Rome on a matter of church polity; *ergo* he did not admit that the Roman Church afforded that standard of faith with which all other churches must agree. We hope our logical opponent will put this argument into a syllogism. Meanwhile, we will furnish him with some three or four instances of "decent admonitions," (aye, sharp rebukes if he like it better, and choose to make St. Irenæus a party to the letter of the Asiatics) given to popes by bishops, and not by bishops only, but presbyters. Our first example shall be St. Columban, who in 613,* wrote a strong letter to Boniface IV, on the subject of the three chapters. (*Cave H. Lit.* 352.) Columban was as earnest a Roman Catholic nevertheless, as Rome could desire. St. Bernard of Clairvaux has exhibited, in his admirable treatise *De Consideratione*, a description of papal prerogative the most splendid that was ever drawn; (*Lib.* ii. 8.) That same treatise contains sundry admonitions and rebukes nevertheless, which shew alike the keenness of the writer's pen, and the intrepid sincerity of his temper. Our countryman, Grossetete of Lincoln (*Lingard*, H. E. iii. 179), has inculcated the strictest reverence and obedience to the see of Rome, and yet could withstand the pontiff to the face; and his rebuke was listened to. We might cite the instance of the venerable cardinal Bellarmine's admonishing of Clement VIII, the very pontiff who invested him with the purple. We might come down, in fact, to our own times. But enough on Mr. Perceval's notion, that to admonish or remonstrate with the occupant of a station, is inconsistent with the recognition of pre-eminence and authority.

The "potior principalitas" of which St. Irenæus speaks as belonging to Rome, we think should be explained as "the eminent primacy."† A few references to ecclesiastical writers may serve to confirm or illustrate this interpretation. St. Cyprian: "ad Petri cathedram atque ad *ecclesiam principalem*

* We give the date; for it appears (Episc. Magaz. 487) that "the Popish heresy was now in the vigour of youth, having commenced in the year 606, when Phocas conferred on Boniface the title of universal bishop." This chronologist is a great enemy to the rosary. He begins his attack as follows:—"In these days of rebuke and blasphemy, when the Romish superstition is making such rapid strides towards the establishment of its tyrannical supremacy, it becomes necessary for us *petty* men to ascertain," &c.

† Salmas. ubi supra. *Principalis* illius ævi usu idem quod *primus* et *præcipuus*. Unde *principales* curiarum qui primi et decuriones dieti . . . Potior itaque *principalitas* apud illum Irenæi interpretem το ἐξαιρετικὸν πρῶτειον.

unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est." (*Ep.* 59, p. 135.) St. Augustine: "apostolicæ cathedræ *principatus*." (*Ep.* 43. t. ii. 69.) St. Prosper, or a contemporary writer: "Quæ (Roma) tamen per apostolici sacerdotii *principatum* amplior facta est arce religionis quam solio potestatis." (*De Vocat. Gent.* ii. 16.) Avitus of Vienne, a century later, writing (*Ad Faustum et Symm.* Coleti v. 501), in the name of the churches of Gaul: "*principatum* generalis Ecclesiæ." We regard St. Irenæus's words as declarative of the prerogative of the Church of Rome; Mr. P. as allusive to Rome being the imperial city. He engages to justify his interpretation by a reference to the third canon of Constantinople, as compared with the twenty-eighth of Chalcedon. The one decrees as follows:—"Let the bishop of Constantinople have rank next after the bishop of Rome, for Constantinople is New Rome."* The other is to the following effect. We quote our author's own version:—

(*R. Sch.* 43.) Canon xxviii. (*Against the Roman grounds for Ecclesiastical precedence*.) "We, everywhere following the decrees of the holy fathers, and acknowledging the canon which has been just read of the 150 bishops most dear to God, do also ourselves decree and vote the same things concerning the *precedency* (τῶν πρεσβείων) of the most holy Church of Constantinople, new Rome; for the fathers, with reason, gave precedence to the throne of old Rome, because it was the imperial city; and the 150 bishops beloved of God, moved by the same consideration, awarded equal precedence to the most holy throne of New Rome, reasonably judging that a city which is honoured with the government and senate should enjoy equal rank, (πρεσβειων) with the ancient queen, Rome; and like her be magnified in ecclesiastical matters, having the second place after her," [keep to your Greek, Mr. Perceval; κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλεία καὶ συγλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν καὶ τῶν ἰσῶν ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρῃ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλ., ὡς ἐκείνην, μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι. . . judging that the

* Mr. Perceval complains of our omitting the final clause, and consequently placing a period where there is only a comma in the text. (*Reply*, 288.)—We admit the justice of his complaint, at the same time assuring him that the omission was not designed. He will perhaps excuse us the more readily, if we remind him that he has done the same at p. 352, quoting a fragment of a sentence from p. 498 of the Review, to screen himself from the charge of uncharitableness, in asserting that there have been "many avowed infidels in the ranks of our priesthood." On this subject we have no wish to recriminate, although Mr. P. thinks proper to repeat the accusation by an insulting question. We will answer the Reviler in the words of the Peace-Officer. "An opportunity was afforded (at the æra of the Revolution in France), for ninety-nine out of every hundred of her clergy, to shew how infinitely above all worldly considerations they prized the religion they professed."—p. 130. Would the Church of England do more under similar circumstances?

city honoured with the government and senate, and *enjoying* equal rank with the ancient queen Rome, should, like her, be magnified in ecclesiastical matters also] “but so that (καὶ ὥστε) the metropolitans alone of the Pontic, Asiatic, and Thracian dioceses, and also the bishops among the barbarians in the said dioceses, shall be ordained by the aforesaid most holy throne of the [most] holy Church of Constantinople.....”

“We shall best ascertain the Council’s views on that rank which Mr. Perceval wishes it had allotted to Constantinople, by its own conduct.” This was Mr. Perceval’s rule just now; of course he will “abide by it” at present. Now, at the close of a long discussion which ensued upon the reading of this canon and the sixth of Nice and canons of Constantinople, the *αρχοντες* declared:—“From what has been done, and from the disposition of each one, we discern that before all things the primacy and the peculiar honour (τα πρωτεια και την εξαιρετον τιμην) according to the canons, is preserved to the beloved of God the archbishop of Old Rome; that on the other hand it is expedient that the most holy archbishop of Constantinople, New Rome, enjoy the same privileges of honour (των αυτων πρεσβειων της τιμης) and that the authoritative power of ordaining the metropolitans,” &c. (*Coleti*. iv. 1756, ed. Ven. 1728.) A general acclaim from the bishops followed upon this discourse. “A just vote. So we all say,” &c. The Council addresses a synodical letter to Rome, requesting the confirmation of this award of honour, by the pope’s decree. As we before observed, their language is as deferential as that of the Council of Trent. “Rogamus igitur et tuis decretis nostrum honora judicium: et sicut nos capiti in bonis adjecimus consonantiam, sic et summitas tua filiis quod decet adimpleat.” St. Leo refused, and on what grounds? and alleging what authority? His *grounds* were, not that his primacy was questioned, not that an equal in authority was set up, not that his rank of “father” or of “head” was stated to be assigned to him because his see was “the imperial city:” his grounds of refusal were, that the canon for which his confirmation was prayed, was an invasion of the rights of two other patriarchs, an injury to the ancient privileges of metropolitans, (viz. those of Thrace, Pontus, and Asia), an infraction of the statutes of Nice.* These were the grounds of his refusal to impart that force and sanction which Anatolius himself, in an exculpatory letter, declared had been reserved to his authority. “Quum

* Ep. 80, (Ed. Quen. p. 300) Non convellantur provinciale jura primatum, nec privilegiis antiquitus institutis metropolitani fraudentur antistites. Nihil Alexandriæ sedi ejus quam per S. Marcum, &c. Antiochena quoque Ecclesia &c. Of his own not a word.

et sic gestorum *vis omnis* et confirmatio *auctoritati* vestræ beatitudinis fuerit reservata.” On what authority did he annul the canon? That of being the occupant of the throne of the old imperial city. No. By the authority of St. Peter. “In irritum mittimus, et per auctoritatem beati Petri apostoli generali prorsus definitione cassamus.” Had the pope no right beyond the patriarchal; none beyond and above those declared to have been awarded to the throne of the old imperial city, never would the fathers of Chalcedon, intent as they were on the exalting of Constantinople to the rank of the second patriarchate, have admitted the *πρωτεία* and the *ἐξαιρετικὴν τιμὴν* of Rome; never would they have craved the sanction of its bishop for their vote; never would the individual who was most interested in that vote taking effect at once, have admitted that “all its force” had been reserved to him. The mere vote would at once have put him on a complete equality with the Roman bishop. The history of this very canon which is alleged against the papal supremacy, is a clear attestation of that supremacy: in addition to the patriarchal rights which are there traced to conciliar decrees, (Nicene canon 6), the pope is recognized by the request made to him, and shewn, by the course he adopts, to have others also; not traced, nor pretended to be traced, to the decrees of the fathers.

The Council of Lateran, with Innocent the Third at its head, awarded to Constantinople the first place next after Rome. This compliance furnishes our author with subject for scurrilous derision and invective. We are not moved by it, except it be to pity. Nothing can satisfy the good man. “Rome insists on her bye-laws once passed,” her legislation is unwise: she relaxes them, then she is inconsistent. But we must hasten onward, and rapidly too, or we shall never have done. We cannot notice every point at issue between the Rev. respondent and ourselves; at the same time we are aware that our omissions will be represented as tacit acknowledgment of inability to justify our previous statements, or to encounter remarks by which they are impugned. We are prepared for this insinuation: it gives us little concern; it is the common-place of all polemics, nor do we see how it can be obviated, except a pamphlet be answered by a volume, and an octavo by a quarto. We must therefore confine ourselves to a few remarks on the honour Catholics pay to images, and afterwards proceed to a subject which our author has invested with more controversial importance, and upon which, if time permit, we shall dwell more fully.

The Rector lays much stress upon the wording of the *Professio Fidei* on the subject of images, "that they *ought* to be had and retained, and that due honour *is to be* given to them." "Not *may* be," says he, "but *ought* to be." This is very indifferent criticism. The text says, *habendæ* and *retinendæ*, and the participles in *dus* often imply only fitness or usefulness. *Venerandus* is often synonymous with *venerabilis*, for example. We may take an illustration from our author's own titles: he is "vir honorabilis and reverendus." In the preceding clause of the *Professio*, it is declared "sanctos venerandos et invocandos esse," (that they are to be honoured and invoked) that is "*bonum et utile esse suppliciter eos invocare.*" (*Con. Trid.* Sess. 25.) No *command* is expressed or implied.* Or if Mr. Perceval will insist that this Latin form implies an absolute injunction, then let him be consistent, and admit that St. Ambrose exacted prayers to be addressed to the saints and angels. "Obsecrandi sunt angeli pro nobis qui nobis ad præsidium dati sunt, martyres obsecrandi quorum videmus nobis quodam corporis pignore [their relics] patrocinium vindicare. . . Non erubescamus eos intercessores nostræ infirmitatis adhibere."* "The angels *ought to be* entreated, &c." We should infer from these words, that the obsecration was held to be good and salutary, not that it was deemed indispensable; and Mr. Perceval *ought* to have considered the varying import both of the Latin and of the *English* form, and have spared us the trouble of this minute criticism.

As there is no command imposed on individuals to invoke the saints, neither is there a command on individuals to have, retain, and give honour to images; nor does the mode by which a good and lawful honour is paid to them, form an element of the doctrine on the subject. The mode may vary with times and places; the doctrine does not. A good and lawful usage may be suspended or fall into disuse; there is no consequent intermission of the doctrine. An individual may hold the latter firmly, without ever performing any of

* In almost every language there are words or forms, having this twofold signification of fitness or strict duty:—Our own "ought" "is to be," the Greek *οφείλειν* are examples. So in French, *il faut l'on doit*, (See an interesting letter of Bossuet on this very subject, the 115th in the Versailles edition). It is the same with the German verb *sollen*, and the Italian *da* followed by the infinitive. The candid reader will, it is hoped, excuse these *minutiæ*. We assure him it is not from choice that we enter into them, but from the necessity of the case. We wish to correct misrepresentation.

* De Viduis. Tom. ii. 200. E. B. *Permulta crassa habet*, say the Centuriators. (Cent. iv. 4). Mr. P., it is likely, thinks with them. See *Reply*, 350.

those specific acts of reverence, which the doctrine warrants. Whilst steadily believing the justness and fitness of honour paid to the book of the gospels, he may never have performed the religious act of kissing it. In like manner, though the Council of Trent refers to the baring of the head, the bending of the knees, and that of Nice, to embracing, to kissing, to the honouring with lights and incense the sculptured or painted memorials of Christ and his saints, as things actually performed, and declares the relation which these acts have to the prototypes,—the assent to the doctrine propounded does not involve an obligation of performing all or any one of these things. Whether lights shall be burned, or incense fumed, whether images shall in these or those particular circumstances be set up and exposed to veneration or no, is a matter of disciplinary regulation. “The Catholic faith (as we before said) needs for its existence neither a blessed nor a consecrated place of worship,* nor a crucifix, nor a picture; the Catholic Church could dispense with one and all of them.”†

* Mr. P. asks “whether we mean to contend that the Christians had no place set apart for religious worship before Constantine?” (337.) And he sets himself to prove that they had. This is surely learning’s labour lost. We never meant to contend for any thing so “strange.” We were examining Mr. P.’s allegation from Minucius Felix; and if that author be consulted, it will be seen that Octavius asks “*Templum quod ei extruam*,” &c.

† In confirmation of this, we referred in our note to Petavius De Incarn. xv. 13. We will now cite the words of that divine. “Sed illud ante constituendum: Imagines eorum per se genere esse quæ ἀδιάφορα nominantur; hoc est, quæ ad salutem omnino necessaria non sunt, nec ad substantiam ipsam religionis attinent: sed in potestate sunt Ecclesiæ ut ea vel adhibeat vel abieget, pro eo atque satius esse decreverit.” Now in the preceding page (*Review*, 486), we stated, that “the use of images and pictures, although far less common in the ancient than in the present Church, was by no means rare.” We offered historical evidence in favour of this statement. Mr. P. cuts off the statement from the evidence given in immediate sequel in our pages, and remarks on the former in this style. (334). “In this mere assertion, the Reviewer is at direct variance with Petavius, to whom we shall find him presently referring.” (Now we referred to Petavius but once, and the reader has the passage before him.) The Rev. gentleman proceeds:—“Dogmat. Theol. de Incarn. lib. xv. 13, n. 3, cited by Bingham, “*Certum est imagines Christi, et maxime statuas, primis Ecclesiæ sæculis non fuisse substitutas loco idolorum, nec fidelium venerationi expositas.*” Now allowing that Petavius had said all this, we do not understand how it contradicts our assertion. The use of a thing, and the setting of it up for veneration, are two distinct things. The Church of England does not expose the Eucharist to veneration, yet she uses it. Mr. P. supposed it was a lucky hit to quote Petavius as being in conflict with us (on one subject), when we quoted him (on another.) This is another instance of the application of his golden rule above laid down. It may amuse the reader to inform him that the words quoted are not Petavius’s after all! They are Pagi’s, as any may see who will be at the pains of consulting him, at folio 44 of the Antwerp edition of his admirable work. We will fill up the quotation above given: “*Expositas, ne cultûs idolatrici objectum mutasse viderentur Christiani, non vero reliquisse.*” Our best thanks are, however, due to the Rector

Mr. Perceval having (*R. Schism*, 343) described our tenet and practice, (our ‘practice *chiefly*’ as he now explains himself, (*Reply*, 342) to be “simply a revival of the old Carpocratian heresy,” we enquired whether “Catholics offered sacrifice to images?” He answers, “I suppose the presentation of ‘incense’ expressly enjoined by the Deutero-Nicene, cannot be excluded from the head of sacrifices.” (*ib.* 343.) That is to say, Catholics *sacrifice* to images, because^f they salute them with incense. Try this reasoning by a few examples. It is customary at solemn mass, to salute with incense the gospel-book as well as the crucifix; therefore we sacrifice to the gospel-book. It is customary to salute the celebrant and the assistants at the altar with incense; here is an instance of sacrifice to living men. Nay, at funerals, we fume the mortal remains of our deceased brethren, betokening honour to what is destined to rise in power, glory, and incorruption. Mr. P.’s “supposition” would turn this instructive rite into a sacrifice to a corpse. We design to shew our reverence to the altar for the sake of the gift thereon offered, when we fume it with incense in our solemn offices, as St. Ambrose* appears to have done in his time; we, therefore, according to the same supposition, sacrifice *to* the altar. We pass from this absurdity to notice an objection somewhat specious, though a thousand times refuted.

The Deutero-Nicene council, whilst disclaiming the honouring of images of saints, with λατρεία or supreme worship, “which is due to God alone,” asserts a προσκυνησις as due to them, and styles them σεπτας or “venerable.” The *Professio Fidei* describes them as *colendæ*; “to be honoured or worshipped.” Our author finds some of the ancient writers “repudiating the σεβειν and προσκυνειν and *colere*, as well as the λατρευειν,” (*Reply*, *ubi supra*), and therefore infers that the doctrine of the councils of Trent and Nice was repudiated by those writers. Some of our readers will regard this to be mere verbal trifling: for the sake of those to whom it may carry the appearance of a plausible argument, we make the following remarks. Can Mr. P. have forgotten, that words which have various meanings may be the subject of alternate affirmation and denial, without any *real* contradiction? can

for his unintentionally leading us to consult Pagi. Of course he will not object to that critic’s authority now; and by and by the “*Critica Historico-Chronologica*” will play sad havoc with some of his authorities. Let him prepare.

* In Luc. I. v. 28. Atque utinam nobis quoque adolentibus altaria, sacrificium deferentibus, assistat angelus, &c.

he be ignorant that in all languages such words are to be found, and that yet no confusion of sense arises, save where wrangling is substituted for candid investigation? Take as an instance the very words before us, or at least their derivatives. The word *σεπτος* (venerable) is not to be ascribed to images of saints, because the Christians spoken of by Philostorgius repudiated the *σεβειν* as unlawful. (338.) Did the Christians scruple to style their emperor *σεβαστος*? Yet they knew in what sense St. Paul had used its cognate word *σεβασμα*. (2 *Thess.* ii. 4. *Acts* xvii. 23.) Would Mr. P. scruple to style his arch-deacon "venerable," or so to designate a church, a Bible, or a relic? Do not our ears ring with noise about the "venerable" reformers and compilers of the (Anglican) liturgy? What is this but *σεβειν*? Again, St. Austin has laid it down as an incontrovertible maxim "SOLUS Ille colendus est quo solo fruens beatus fit cultor ejus." On this we are all agreed. What does he say in a subsequent chapter of the very same book? "Colimus martyres cultu dilectionis et societatis." (*Contra Faust.* xx. 5 et 21.) *Κτισμα κτισμα & προσκυνει* is a principle of St. Athanasius, (*Suicer Thes.*) and we see and acknowledge its reference to a capital article of faith; but we cannot, without belying the Scriptures, (*Alex. Vers. Gen.* xix. 1. xxiii. 7) and impeaching the servants of God, reject what Anastasius of Antioch declared in the sixth century (*Suicer*) *προσκυνημεν και ανθρωπους και αγγελους και αγιους, ου μεν λατρευομεν αυτους*. In fact, this word in ritual books sometimes denotes a mere bow of ceremony. (*Ib.*) So variable is the meaning of words. If further illustration were needed, we would take the words *adorare, honorare, &c.*: but it may suffice to have examined those Mr. Perceval has alleged. In conclusion, we will request the reader to compare the two following quotations from the Psalms, according to the Greek version: *προσκυνησατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν αὐλῇ ἁγίᾳ αὐτοῦ.* (xcv. 9.) *προσκυνειτε τῷ ὑποποδῖ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἅγιον ἐστιν.* (xcviii. 5.) The invitation or charge is similar in form, verbal construction, and expression. The meaning of the one same word is totally different; for the object of the "worship" is different. The holy footstool of God's feet which we are called on 'to worship,' is the ark (1 *Chron.* xxviii. 2), over which the "cherubims of glory shadowed the mercy-seat." (*Heb.* ix. 5.) The summons is from a prophet, inspired by Him who gave the Decalogue.

Our author had cited (*R. Schism*, 419), as an evidence against the use of images, the following lines from St. Ambrose: "Ecclesia inanes ideas et vanas nescit simulachrorum figuras,

sed v. ram novit Trinitatis substantiam ;” a passage which it is about as apt to cite for such a purpose, as it would be to quote an English author, who should describe a poet as carefully collecting and consorting images, in evidence that this poet was a virtuoso, engaged in furnishing a gallery. We shewed the irrelevance of the extract, by quoting the context,* and referring to a similar passage. We will quote it again more fully, and produce another from the same book.

“Ecclesia inanes ideas et vanas nescit simulachrorum figuras, sed veram novit Trinitatis substantiam. Denique umbram abolevit, splendorem gloriæ manifestavit. Relinquamus ergo umbram qui solem quærimus, deseramus fumum qui lumen sequimur.” De fugâ sæculi.—*Ed. Ben.* i. 429.

“*Non enim erat apud eum (Jacob) imago, sed veritas, non effigies ignaviæ, sed solida forma justitiæ, et veræ virtutis expressio intelligibilis.*”—ib. § 22. page 427.

Now we will appeal to any reader, whether in either of these passages the words *imago*, *figura*, *simulachra*, can be taken otherwise than metaphorically? We will appeal to any one who will consider the closing words of the former, whether the “simulachra” which are there opposed to the “*vera substantia Trinitatis*,” which is incorporeal, can have any other meaning than “phantoms and illusions, or false doctrines.”

We forget ourselves; we appealed to *one* reader, and with what effect we have now to state:—

“I *simply deny* the force which he puts upon the words he has quoted. But I have no wish to insist upon the passage, if he thinks

* The mention of St. Ambrose reminds us of a quotation elsewhere given by Mr. P. on another subject: “Indignum dicit (Paulus) esse Domino qui aliter mysterium celebrat quam ab eo traditum est. Non enim potest devotus esse qui aliter præsumit, quam datum est ab auctore. (*Ideoque præmonet ut SECUNDUM ORDINEM TRADITUM devota mens sit accedentis ad Eucharistiam Domini, quoniam futurum est judicium, ut quemadmodum accedit unusquisque reddat causas in die Dom. J. Christi, quia sine disciplina traditionis et conversationis qui accedunt, rei sunt corporis et sanguinis Domini.*) For what purpose has he quoted from this passage, think you, reader? “The institution. . . in both kinds is admitted by the Councils of Constance and Trent; let the Romans consider how St. Ambrose speaks of those who depart from *that* institution.”—(R. S. 444.) Of course, that St. Ambrose considered a man receiving under one kind alone, an *unworthy* communicant. We say nothing of the quoting of a *suppositions* work: (See the Bened. Ed. App. p. 24.) we are here examining the meaning of the words, whose-soever they may be. Let the reader judge, after reading the *whole*. Mr. Perceval has thought fit to quote but two sentences: We have thought fit to give the sequel. The reader may not be aware how St. Ambrose received the holy communion on his death-bed. We will quote the narrative of his deacon Paulinus, (sect. 47.) Honoratus (the bishop of Vercelli) “*tertio vocem vocantis se audivit dicentisque sibi: Surge festina, quia modo est recessurus. Qui descendens obtulit sancto (that is to St. Ambrose) Domini corpus, quo accepto, ubi glutivit, emisit spiritum, bonum viaticum secum ferens.*” That St. Ambrose received under *one kind alone* is evident. We think it is time for Mr. Perceval to “consider.”

he can find any *loop-hole* for escaping from it. He will perhaps allow me to supply its place with one from St. Augustine, the relevancy of which he will hardly question. ‘Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores . . . quos et ipsa *Ecclesia condemnat et tanquam malos filios corrigere studet.*’ August. de Merit. [*Moribus*] Eccles. Catholic. Lib. i. c. 34, cited by Bingham.”—*Perceval*, 343.

Now this is a specimen (we assure our readers it is not unique) of Mr. P.’s method of reply. So, when we notice a passage cited from St. Chrysostom (*Review*, 511), as being opposed to auricular confession, and after declaring it to be irrelevant, proceeding to *shew* it to be so, by an examination of the scope and context, Mr. Perceval severs the commencing sentence of our paragraph from its sequel, and goes on to say, (*Reply*, 411), “Nay, then, I will give him one or two more from the same writer, and let him try his hand on them.” Our subsequent examination of the passage and observations in connexion with it, many of which observations will apply to the passages on which we are at present recommended “to try our hand,”—all this is passed over *in silence*. No attempt at disproof. “*But every one knows his own affairs best; and therefore it is probable that* [Mr. Perceval] *had good grounds for not engaging in the attempt.*” (*Reply*, 289.) We thank you, good sir, for furnishing us with this sentence.

To return however. Is it not a very pleasant method, upon your errors being detected, to talk about “loop holes;” to *deny* instead of disproving; to disclaim a wish to insist upon a passage nothing to the purpose, and run off to another equally impertinent? We might refuse to follow the rambler in his “vagaries.” However, *ex abundanti*, we will do so for the nonce, and see what may be the “relevancy” of the quotation with which he “supplies the place” of that of St. Ambrose, whose irrelevancy has been *proved*.

St. Augustine, (taking the quotation as exhibited by Mr. P.)* says, that he knows there are many who adore tombs

* It may interest the reader to see how a quotation can be manufactured. We give the whole passage therefore, and recommend it to *our* revilers to study:—“Nolite mihi colligere professores nominis Christiani, nec professionis suæ vim aut scientibus aut exhibentes. Nolite consecrari turbas imperitorum, qui vel in ipsâ verâ religione superstitiosi sunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti, ut obliiti sint quidquid promiserint Deo. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores; novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni. Novi multos esse, qui renunciaverunt verbis huic sæculo, et se omnibus hujus sæculi molibus opprimi volunt, oppressique lætentur. Nec mirum est in tantâ copiâ populorum, quod non vobis desint quorum vita vituperatâ decipiatis incautos, et a Catholicâ salute avertatis, cum in vestrâ paupertate magnas patiamini angustias, dum a vobis exigitur vel unus

and pictures; that the Church nevertheless condemns such bad children, and labours to correct them. Well, what inference? That *we* adore pictures and tombs? Or that many of us do so? Or that even one of us does so? It may suit Mr. P.'s logic, to argue thus, from what *was* done in the fifth century, to what *is* done in the nineteenth: but such reasoning will not satisfy everybody. Or is the inference this, there were picture adorers, and tomb adorers; therefore the Church allowed no pictures? As well may it be concluded that it allowed no tombs. Or that no *reverence* was to be given to pictures of saints, because many bad children *adored* such pictures. Then no reverence was allowed to the tombs of saints; an assertion easy to disprove from St. Austin himself,* to say nothing of other authorities. Therefore, we do question the "relevancy" of this quotation. It goes indeed to shew the care which the Church took to correct a crying abuse: it may shew that in the fourth century, many, whilst passing from Heathenism to Christianity, carried with them their superstitious errors; it points to a truth which Mr. P. and his brethren are too prone to overlook, that the Church is not answerable for the excesses of its bad children. Reference to the present controversy it has none.

We will quote an interesting passage from that dispassionate and equitable Protestant, Grotius, which will shew that what the Church did in the fourth century, she did also in after times.

"Et tamen Papa neminem cogit imaginibus uti. Quod si alicubi circa sanctos et imagines eorum modus exceditur (neque enim id fieri posse aut factum esse negandum est) id ubi corrigent Episcopi et Reges, facient quod sui officii erit: nec quisquam bonus Papa id impediet, quin ut id fiat, hortatrix est ipsa Tridentina Synodus, nec minus ad prohibendas sacrorum munerum actionumque sacrarum nundinas. Orandi ergo sunt Reges, orandi Episcopi, ut faciant hâc in re quod sui est muneris. Qui id facient, faventes habebunt canones

ex iis quos electos vocatis, qui præcepta illa ipsa custodiat quæ irrationabili superstitione defenditis. (He promises to expose the absurdity and mischievousness of these precepts hereafter, and continues,) *Nunc vos illud admonco, ut aliquando, Ecclesie Catholice maledicere desinatis* vituperando mores hominum, quos et ipsa condemnat, et quos quotidie tanquam malos filios corrigere studet." Ed. B. i. 531.

* Vere pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus; quando nec terra carnis vita deserente contemnitur; et invisibili animâ de domo visibili decedente, habitaculum servi curâ Domini custoditur, et in gloriam Domini a conservis fidelibus *honoratur*. Sermo 275. Tom v. 775. *Exiguus pulvis* tantum populum congregavit; *cinis latet*; beneficia patent, &c. Sermo 317. ib. p. 884. See also de Civ. D. xxii. 8. Tom VII. 500 and seq.

et Paparum decreta in Gratiani codicem relata et omnibus patentia.”
—(*De Antichr. Opp. Theol. III.* 485.)

What Mr. P. once said of relics we will say of images: “In *this* as in EVERY OTHER CASE, the use may be separated from the abuse; and though there is nothing to be advanced in favour of the latter, in favour of the former there is much.” (*Peace Offering*, p. 91.) We would gladly transcribe the whole passage; the principles on which he has dilated with respect to one species of religious memorials, are equally applicable to that of which we are speaking. And the remark that in every case the use may be separated from the abuse, is most applicable to that of which we are going to speak:—Confession.

Before we proceed further, let us request our readers to compare the following extract from the *Review*, and the comment thereon.

“It was our intention to speak of the *bond of secrecy*, which has in fact, a close connection with our theme. Mr. Perceval who deplores ‘the scandalous prostitution of the office of confessor, so common, yet so systematic, in these days,* (he is speaking of Protestant ministers betraying the confidence of prisoners in gaol), may rest assured that the *general* observance of *strict* secrecy, is compatible only with a persuasion of the divine origin of confession. We could prove our assertion, but we are called off by Mr. Perceval himself, to other questions relative to the Council of Trent.’”—*Review*, p. 503.

To this the Rev. gentleman replies as follows:—

“Here then we have the secret of the matter. It seems desirable in the eyes of Roman wisdom, that there were divine authority for enjoining auricular confession. Ho! presto! It is produced in a trice. The council of Trent, or the Congregation of the Index will turn it out for you without any difficulty, and vouch it to the world, on the redoubtable authority of a spurious epistle of an Urban or a Fabian. Steam-power in divinity, it appears, is as old as the Council of Trent.”—*Perceval*, 403.

We have not called attention to this paragraph, as a specimen of *niaiserie* or “impertinence:” but as an evidence of the animus of the author. His words mean nothing, or they imply an accusation of forgery, or wilful uttering of forged documents, by the Council of Trent. Such an accusation requires proof; is he furnished with it? It will not do to say that the *Catechismus Romanus* has occasionally quoted documents, which later investigations of critics have demonstrated not to be genuine. This will neither substantiate the charge,

* *Peace Offering*, 70. The whole passage will repay a careful perusal.

nor excuse the man who prefers it. As well might some Protestant defenders of the doctrine of the Trinity be taxed with forgery, for adducing testimonies which are now* given up; as well may the Fathers be charged with forgery and falsehood, for producing vouchers which we say, and say truly, are of no value.† We recollect *one* “spurious epistle,” indeed, not of a Fabian, but of a Gregory; not “turned out for us” by the Council of Trent or the Congregation of the Index, but knowingly, deliberately, put forth by a member of a council of malignants, a congregation of fanatics, a man of Mr. Perceval’s creed and calling. It was termed (after detection) “*an ingenious device*.” The forger, notwithstanding exposure, has not learned to blush. Mr. P. should not remind us of these things; he should be careful what censure he passes upon those who allege ill-authenticated documents, for *his own sake*; and he should further remember that if “clipping” of good, be an offence akin to the uttering of bad coin, he has something serious to answer for. When he asks us whether we never heard it accounted a sound maxim, “*De non existentibus et de non apparentibus eadem est ratio*,” (412) he tempts us to ask him in return, Whether because certain passages of his authors (having an important reference to the correct understanding of their meaning), “appear” not (in his book) therefore we are to imagine they “exist” not?

On several points relative to the sacrament of penance, Mr. P.’s opinions coincide with our Church’s tenets. There seems at most a nominal difference. How far his present statements agree with the drift of his preceding work, how far his opinions tally with those entertained by a great portion of his brethren, we shall not stop to enquire. The main question at issue between him and ourselves is this; “Is confession to a priest necessary, by divine appointment, to salvation?”

“In support of this dogma, the Reviewer has not produced, and I defy him to produce, a single instance in the first seven, I may say the first eleven, centuries. . . Against the divine institution and necessity of auricular confession, we bring a crowd of witnesses of all ages, who lived and died in communion with the Church. In support of it, the

* The latest writer that we are acquainted with who has quoted the Preface to the General Epistles, (a piece ascribed erroneously to St. Jerome), containing the disputed verse, 1 John, v. 7. is Jones of Nayland. Of the verse we say nothing:—but all Mr. P.’s brethren who deny it to be genuine (and there are many of them who do), are, according to his principle, to consider their own Church as the abettor of forgery.

† The letter to Abgar, for instance; the letters to Seneca; the acts of St. Thecla, &c.

Reviewer, after open challenge, and fifteen months* digestion of it, adduces NOT ONE, and yet has the hardihood to talk of the hazardous speculation of one or two obscure writers.”—pp. 408-13.

The author is in some sense right, when he says that we adduced NOT ONE; inasmuch as there are two cited from St. Augustine, at page 508 of the *Review*. That we might not overload our already too much crowded pages, we did not cite the language of the original in both instances; in the case of the second, however, we presented an analysis of the context. If the two passages be compared, we are sure it will be evident to an unprejudiced reader, that St. Augustine deemed confession of deadly sin to a priest to be necessary by divine appointment. What has Mr. P. offered in reply to these allegations? How has he met them? In this way. In a foregoing portion of that paragraph where St. Augustine is cited, occur some allusions to homilists and tractators, “conjuring penitents to make a full and free disclosure—warning them against criminal insincerity, or the delusion that their sorrow, *without the aid of the divine and healing rite*, would retrieve lost grace.” Here Mr. P. interposes; and after that personal imputation to which we have already alluded, goes on to say: “As all the remainder of the Reviewer’s remarks on the subject only serve to shew that auricular confession was not unknown in the early Church, but countenanced and recommended as expedient by different writers, I shall not trouble myself to enter into a detailed examination of them.” Well said, Reverend Sir. Talk lustily of a challenge given; say that it is unanswered:—when your opponent produces passages which he contends prove the necessity of a thing, roundly say that they only serve to shew that thing to have been in use and to have been countenanced and recommended:—don’t “trouble yourself” any further, the contest is over: your word is argument: your boast is victory; and you may shout a Pæan.

Defiance and challenge are very liberally dealt out by Mr. Perceval, and seem to cost him little. He defies us to produce any authority “in the first *eleven* centuries.” Although we expect that the extract we are about to give will share the

* We suppose the Rev. author to mean, that fifteen months intervened between the publication of his work, and the appearance of our review. Be it so. About seven or eight weeks elapsed between our first opening the former and sending the latter to press. It is really a thing of no consequence: but it is singular that a *fifteen* months digestion should be spoken of by Mr. P., who came forward with his Reply, *eighteen* months after the appearance of the Review. This we take to be an oversight.

fate of those produced from St. Augustin, and that the Reverend gentleman will not give himself the trouble to notice it, we will cite one testimony more; not indeed as the strongest, but as fully sufficient; and the more worthy of notice, because it is from a discourse addressed to the people. In the Saxon Homilist published by Whelock, and quoted by Lingard,* occurs the following simple admonition:—

“The Holy Scripture frequently teaches us to flee to the medicine of true confession of our sins, because we cannot otherwise be healed, except we confess with sorrow what we have unrighteously done through negligence. All hope of forgiveness is in confession. Confession, with true repentance, is the angelic remedy of our sins. Truly no man will obtain forgiveness of his sins from God, unless he confess to some of God’s ministers, and do penance according to his judgment.”

How can God’s pardon be denied to him who does not confess to one of God’s ministers, unless such confession be considered as terms of forgiveness which God has appointed? Let Mr. Perceval preach this doctrine of the Homilist to his flock. Let him, when speaking of confession to one of God’s ministers, not describe it merely “as being of importance in his opinion,” (342) but let him tell his flock that without it forgiveness is unattainable; let him say, when speaking of *THIS* confession, that it is a medicine to which God, speaking in his inspired book, frequently teaches us to have recourse; let him add (and abide by it, if he please) that as it cannot be good for them to persist on their death-beds “in the denial of sins which it is certain they have committed, and rather to leave the world with the smouldering fire in their breasts and a *lie* in their mouths, than make any acknowledgment of any sin which they hope they have contrived to conceal,” and as “the repelling with pertinacity all idea of particular confession is *fatal*” (*Peace Offering*, 69); it is indeed a venturing of eternal loss to remain charged with a grievous sin, and a tempting of God to put off from day to day the use of the *means* of which the Holy Scripture speaks; that, although no time has been determined for the confession of sin, the Church earnestly exhorts them to do it at least in the solemn season of Lent, that they maybe prepared for a worthy celebration of the Paschal solemnity;—let him thus teach his flock, and between his teaching and ours there will be but this single point of difference, that we have an *ecclesiastical* pre-

* Anglo-Sax. Ch. p. 302. 2nd. Ed. May we request the author to favour the public with a new edition of this work, now almost inaccessible,—the first fruits of his erudition and genius?

cept to refer to, as determining the divine law :—an Anglican clergyman has none : there will be no point of difference between what was *insisted on* before the council of Lateran and what he may call for, following the train of the Saxon Homilist. But by so doing Mr. Perceval would, we fear, incur the censure of his diocesan : “ he would find himself at the head of a conventicle.” (*Reply*, 415.)

We must once more quote from the Review :—

“ Had Innocent III, and the council at which he presided, enacted a mere disciplinary regulation ; had they insisted on confession, when the practice was considered as in every case optional ; had the Catholic world not been fixed in the steady persuasion that the remission of mortal sin was to be obtained only by the power of the keys left to the ministers of the Church by its divine founder—a persuasion whose existence the hazardous speculations of one or two obscure writers, contradicted by a numerous body of respectable contemporaries, will never disprove—reclamation and opposition would have been aroused. Suppose the Church of England to insist on the practice of yearly self-manifestation by all and every one of her members ; what protests, refusals, evasions, and schisms would at once ensue ! The bishops and clergy might urge ecclesiastical authority ; but their opponents would be ready with the answer : “ Admitting the utility of unburdening the conscience, we contend that you have no right to enforce it. The practice is optional—not of divine institution ; it has never been considered as such by us. Were it of God’s appointment in any case, the regulation which you have decreed would have our obedience ; for we allow the Church [to have] the power to fix and determine the modes and circumstances of fulfilling a divine injunction. As it is, we protest against a new law proposed as divine, whereas it is merely human : a law most oppressive to the conscience, and requiring a humiliation most shocking to our feelings ; a yoke which neither ye nor your fathers have borne.”

The Reverend respondent has not offered one word of comment on the above argument *ad hominem*. He divides the just-quoted passage into two portions. The second, beginning with the words “ Suppose the Church of England,” he allows to pass without any observation, and resumes his comment in the middle of the following paragraph, which is on Extreme Unction. To the argument contained in the first portion, he makes no reply, but contests the truth of an incidental statement. We will reprint his strictures entire ; only numbering the several members of the paragraph for the convenience of after reference :—

“ The reviewer, it must be confessed, is not easily daunted. (1.) So Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, and the rest, are obscure

writers. Perhaps (2.) Gennadius also, who (*De Dogmat. Eccles. c. 53*) says: ‘*Sed et secreta satisfactione solvi mortalia crimina non denegamus.*’ Perhaps (3.) Laurentius of Novaria also, who (*Hom. I. de Pœnitent.*), writes: ‘Post baptisina remedium tuum in te statuit, remissionem in arbitrio tuo posuit, ut non quæras sacerdotem, cum necessitas flagitaverit: sed ipse jam ac si perspicuus scitus perspicuusque magister, errorem tuum intra te emendes, et peccatum tuum pœnitudine abluas.’ Perhaps (4.) St. Augustine also, who, commenting upon David’s words, ‘I said I will confess my sins unto the Lord, and so thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin,’ observes, ‘Magna pietas Dei, ut ad solam promissionem peccata dimiserit. Nondum pronunciat ore: et tamen Deus jam audit in corde: quia ipsum dicere, quasi quoddam pronuntiare est. Votum enim pro opere reputatur.’ I have taken this from the Canon law, (Decreti ii. P. causa 33, Quæst. 3,) where the curious reader may find the cloud of witnesses which, from Holy Scripture and the ecclesiastical writers, (5.) Gratian has adduced in support of *his* opinion, which in the twelfth century was good and Catholic doctrine, namely, that confession with the mouth is not necessary to obtain remission of sins. In the same Quæst. (dist. 1, § 34), commenting on the words of Zechariah, i. 3, he observes, ‘Unde datur intelligi quod etiam ore tacente veniam consequi possumus.’ And again (§ 86), commenting upon John i. 19, he says: ‘Cum ergo ante confessionem, ut probatum est, sumus resuscitati per gratiam, et filii lucis facti; evidentissime apparet quod *sola cordis contritione sine confessione oris* peccatum remittitur.’ But not to tire my reader’s patience with citing in detail the almost innumerable writers who lived and died good Catholics, though denying the divine institution, or necessity of confession to a priest, must I needs inform the Reviewer, that according to the avowal of Maldonatus (*De Sacram. Pœnit. de Confess. c. 2*), to name no other Roman writers, (6.) *all the canonists* denied confession to be of divine right.” (*Reply*, 412.)

This passage is eminently characteristic of Mr. Perceval’s tone, fashion, method. The magisterial flourish at the close is in good keeping with the wily insinuation at the outset. “The Reviewer is not easily daunted,” says Mr. P.: we rejoin that the “perverse are hard to be corrected,” (*Eccles. i. 15*); and it will be necessary to say much, even at the risk of “tiring *our* readers’ patience,” to rectify the obliquity of the above extract.

1. It will be in our readers’ recollection that Mr. P. (*Reply*, 408) declined “troubling himself to enter into a detailed examination” of certain passages which we alleged from St. Augustine and St. Jerome. On our citations from the former he said not a word; on one out of two passages which we referred to from the latter, he puts a doctrinal construction (*ib.* 409) which we believe St. Jerome never intended, and at variance with

St. Chrysostom's exposition on the same subject;—an exposition cited in a preceding page of our Review (*Review*, 505, note.) An important passage given from St. Ambrose (*ib.* 509) he eludes in advance by a verbal cavil (*Reply*, 410.) Now, however, the good easy man would have his readers believe that we consider these very Fathers as obscure writers; and that, after contending that their testimony was conclusive for the necessity of confession, we regard them as hazardous speculators denying that necessity. Insinuation is certainly less troublesome than detailed examination. The former may have more charms for our opponent; we choose the latter, though more irksome. Towards the close of the eleventh century, lived a man of considerable celebrity, Geoffrid of Vendôme. One who had been his preceptor in youth, maintained that the law of confession extended only to the manifestation of certain more enormous sins; heresy, &c. From the position that those sins were to be expiated by public penance, he drew the inference that others were not necessarily to be confessed. This notion, Geoffrid contradicted; and let the reader note in what distinct language:—"Certum est, nihil hoc certius, *omnia* peccata vel crimina confessione indigere et pœnitentiâ, et quamvis quædam ex ipsis per publicam pœnitentiam puniri videantur, nulla tamen alia publica confessione opus habent nisi ea quæ communem Ecclesiæ fidem violant." (*Ep.* 16, l. 5, *Ed. Sirm.* 1610) Mr. P.'s "defiance" to produce a single authority in the first eleven centuries will be remembered: here are the words of a man of note at the close of the eleventh and commencement of the twelfth: "Opinionum commenta delet dies:" we should know nothing of William of Angers' opinion, or of William himself probably, had not his former scholar preserved the remembrance of both by his contradiction,—the object of which was, "plenam sectandæ fidei reddere rationem." (*ib.*)

2. GENNADIUS. This writer, after recommending weekly communion, speaking encouragingly to those who, though they have sinned, have a purpose to sin no more, who prepare by tears and prayers, and bidding them to confide in Him who is wont to pardon sins upon devout confession, goes on to speak of *another* class. "Sed hoc de illo dico quem capitalia et mortalia peccata non gravant: nam quem mortalia crimina post baptismum commissa premunt hortor prius PUBLICA pœnitentiâ satisfacere, et ita sacerdotis judicio reconciliatum communioni sociari, si vult non ad iudicium et condemnationem suî Eucharistiam percipere. Sed et secretâ satisfactione solvi

mortalia non denegamus," &c. (*Inter Aug. Opp.* viii. 74.) He recommends to satisfy by public penance, of which confession was an integral part: he does not deny, however, he says, that grievous sins may be released, upon the sinner satisfying secretly. Why, here is a testimony directly in our favour! For Mr. Perceval's purpose, these grievous sinners should have been told to do as the first class of Christians were told to do; to be sorry, to hope, to have a good purpose, and then "*accedant ad Eucharistiam intrepidi et securi.*" Very different was the writer's intention, and very different is his language. It will be observed that he uses the word "*satisfacere*" and "*satisfactio*," when speaking of the public and when speaking of the private act. That confession is included in the former is not denied: it cannot be denied to be included in the latter. It was usual with the writers of that age,* as with those of our own, to use the same word sometimes to denote a specific part, sometimes the complex of which that part is an integral.

3. LAURENTIUS OF NOVARIA, though highly celebrated by his contemporary Symmachus (*Coleti*, v. 423), is one of whose "mellifluous" eloquence (*Cave*, p. 319) we have no remains but in two or three tracts or homilies. His name is but little known at present: we would not, however, class him with the obscure writers, as Mr. P. tauntingly suggests. But we would ask our opponent, whether, in accordance with his golden rule, of which we gave examples in the earlier part of this paper, or, leaving that rule aside, whether, in accordance with common fairness, he be prepared to abide by Laurentius, and take his dicta in all strictness? If so, let him be prepared to admit—

* The fifth century . . . "*Oportet unumquemque Christianum conscientie sue habere iudicium, ne converti ad Dominum de die in diem differat, nec satisfactionis sibi tempus in fine vite constituat.*" (St. Leo, Ep. 89, al. 91). And again, speaking of persons in imminent danger of death: "*His qui in tempore necessitatis et in periculi urgentis instantia præsidium pœnitentia mox reconciliationis implorant nec satisfactio interdicenda est nec reconciliatio deneganda.*" Once more: "*Multiplex misericordia Dei ita lapsibus subvenit humanis ut non solum per baptismi gratiam sed etiam per pœnitentiæ medicinam spes vite repararetur æternæ: ut qui regenerationis donum violassent, proprio se iudicio condemnantes, ad remissionem criminum pervenirent: sic divinæ bonitatis præsidiis ordinatis ut indulgentia Dei nisi supplicationibus sacerdotum nequeat obtineri. Mediator enim Dei et hominum homo Jesu Christi hanc præpositis Ecclesiæ tradidit potestatem, ut et confitentibus pœnitentiæ satisfactionem (al. actionem) darent, et eadem(al.eosdem)satisfactione purgatos per januam reconciliationis admitterent.*" This was written in 452; and most readers will consider it as a clear testimony to the divine institution of confession. We have taken the two last extracts from the canon law, and this last one from that very "*Distinctio*" to which Mr. P. has referred "*the curious reader*" for "*a cloud of witnesses*" in support of the contrary. The rector doubtless did not "*trouble himself*" to read the c. Multiplex. 49, de Pœn. d. i.

1st. That there is no need of any ministry for the baptized. The priesthood's services they can, from the time they leave the font, dispense with altogether. 2nd. No need of actual assisting grace; life and victory are at their own command.* This Pelagian and Waldensian doctrine will shock Mr. P. Do we then charge the bishop of Novaria with abetting it? Far from it: but we contend that the scope and design of the discourse are to be considered. It is an earnest exhortation to penitential tears.† The preacher tells his auditory that there is no further baptism of water for them;‡ but he does not speak of confession. Be it so. The apostle writing to the Hebrews, declares it to be impossible for those who have once received baptism to be renewed unto penance; and it is well known with what advantage the Novatians quoted that text. There was (to appearance) something more conclusive against the Catholic doctrine than in the present case. There was something positive: here we have the negative argument, silence. However, we shall not stop here. We will give the immediate context. Bingham, (xv. 8) from whom Mr. P. seems to have borrowed this and the foregoing quotation, has mutilated the author. The homilist says, "*Et quia non poteris manens in membris corporisque compage liber existere a peccato, immunisque a noxa; post baptismum, remedium &c.,*" much to the same purpose as Challoner has said, "In many things we all offend, and not a day passes but we contract new debts to God's justice; but his goodness has provided with a daily means," and proceeds to speak of prayer, and brotherly forgiveness, without one word on confession. Did Laurentius mean to say that his hearers, living in the body, could not remain free from mortal sins? Assuredly not.§ Then where is the applicability of the scrap which Bingham and Perceval have quoted?

4. St. AUGUSTINE, quoted in the canon law: "Magna pietas Dei, &c. . . Votum enim pro opere reputatur, CUM DEEST FACULTAS OPERIS." We complete the quotation by giving the final clause which is given (viii. *pars*) subsequently, in the very book from which Mr. P. has taken the preceding lines, though it is not found in the exact spot from which he makes his extract. Gratian assigns that clause, no less than the preceding, to St. Augustine. Mr. P., it appears, was not aware of

* Non opus habes doctore, non manu sacerdotis.... Vita in manu est: victoria in arbitrio est. De la Bigne, II. 345-348.

† And to alms-deeds also, to which he attributes the same cleansing effects.—348.

‡ Noli tu jam quærere neque Joannem neque Jordanem. Ib.

§ Vinceris subinde, flecteris frequenter, &c. Si per singulos dies erraveris, per singulos dies convertere, &c.—353, 354.

the existence of this clause, "for surely, one so sensitively alive to the disgrace of suppression," (*Reply*, 473) would not have kept it out of sight. But as he pays such regard to glossators on the canon law, we wonder he did not remark that the glossator on c. 5, subjoined: "*ubi est tempus operandi.*" The reader will have the goodness to turn to the paragraph we last cited from the Rev. author at No. 4, and after comparing the extract *in its complete state* with the doctrine laid down by the Council of Trent in a passage already given, will be able to say whether there be any conflict between the two; or whether St. Augustine's assertion "that the will is taken for the deed, when the deed cannot be performed," be tantamount to a declaration that the deed is unnecessary? whether it do not rather imply a strict necessity, dispensed with only in emergencies, when fulfilment is impossible? just as he would infer from the position, that a gracious God admits as sufficient, a purpose of repairing a wrong, when the actual reparation is impracticable—not that actual reparation was merely optional or a matter of indifference, but *per se* absolutely indispensable. This might suffice in answer to Mr. P.; but as he has quoted St. Augustine, we will extract from the canon law* one or two passages of the same venerable writer, on the efficacy of desire of Christ's institutions. After alluding to the baptism by martyrdom, and St. Cyprian's inference from Luke xxiii. 42, on the subject, he proceeds: "Quod etiam atque etiam considerans, invenio, non tantum passionem pro nomine Christi id quod ex baptismo deerat posse supplere, sed etiam fidem conversionemque cordis, si forte ad celebrandum mysterium baptismi in angustiis temporum succurri non potest. [He shows this in the case of the good thief, who was not a martyr, but a believer, when paying the forfeit of his crimes.] Quantum itaque valeat etiam sine visibili sacramento baptismi, quod ait apostolus (*Rom.* x. 10), in illo latrone declaratum est. Sed tunc impletur invisibiliter, cum mysterium baptismi non contemptus religionis, sed articulus necessitatis excludit." Baptism was wanting to the dying culprit: "Non superbia vel contemptu, sed necessitate." Now it would not be difficult so to select from and adjust this passage, as to leave the reader to infer that St. Augustine regarded baptism as unnecessary. In one of our foregoing notes, we have seen how Bingham, and Mr. Perceval after him, culled words from St. Augustine's treatise, *De Moribus Eccl. Cathol.* (*note*, p.

* *Baptismi vicem* 34, de cons. dist. 4. (Ed. Boehmer.)

509, *ante*); and by the omission of a sentence from the Ambrosiaster, Mr. Perceval, it will be remembered, (*note*, p. 508, *ante*) “turned out for us” an authority against communion in one kind, as a sacrilegious communion. By a little ingenuity, then, St. Austin might have been represented as avouching what he never imagined, and an inference have been drawn full as plausible as are nine-tenths of Mr. Perceval’s inferences from authorities. What St. Augustine has said we have seen : and applying his principle to the subject before us, we say that to the sinner after baptism, faith and conversion of heart may suffice. The will to confess is accepted for confession, because confession is impracticable : it is not the contempt of an ordinance of religion, but necessity, loss of speech, the absence of a priest—that “excludes” it. Without the actual reception of the sacrament, there may be a conversion of heart ; that conversion cannot consist with contempt of the sacrament. And what St. Augustine says here of the sacrament of baptism, we say of that other sacrament ; “*Neque enim ullo modo dicenda est conversio cordis ad Deum, cum Dei sacramentum contemnitur.*”

5. GRATIAN. From this author Mr. Perceval has cited two passages : We will give a few more. “*Ex his itaque apparet, quod sine confessione oris et satisfactione operis peccatum non remittitur. (iv. Pars, post, c. 70.) Denique ut perspicue appareat neminem sine confessione a peccato mundari, &c. (Ib.) Quibus nimirum exemplis...evidentissime datur intelligi quod ille quem gravioris culpæ maculâ inficit, nisi confessione proprii oris, vel ecclesiæ intercessionem suffragante, sanari non poterit.*” (*Ib.* § 3.) And as Mr. P. represents him as “adducing a cloud of witnesses,” let us, once more, hear what he says as to the bearing of authorities. (*viii. Pars, 3, pars, subj. § 9.*) “*Porro sine confessione oris, si facultas confitendi non defuerit, aliquod grave delictum expiari, auctoritati penitus probatur adversum. Quomodo enim secundum auctoritatem Leonis.*”.. (*c. Multiplex, before cited.*) “*Quomodo secundum Augustinum.* . . . Quomodo secundum Ambrosium, &c. &c.* Mr. Perceval opines (*Reply*, 379) that “the Dublin Reviewer was writing merely for those who had no books to refer to.” For what class of readers the hon. and rev. gentleman was writing when he cited Gratian in his Reply, we shall not presume to determine. Few of his readers would turn to so uninviting an author, who is not more familiar to Mr. P’s

* In a passage noticed in our Review, p. 508 ; which passage Mr. P. would not “trouble himself” to examine.

readers generally than to our own ; nor would the majority of those for whom *he* was writing ever imagine that what has been given above was to be found in Gratian. But, it will be asked, are not Mr. Perceval's extracts equally to be found in Gratian? To be sure they are. Yes, and so are the words "*ex præmissis apparet quod charitas semel habita, ulterius non amittatur*" (d. 2, ii. *Pars. after c. 12*). But as in the latter instance he proposes the assertion and apparent induction from "a cloud of witnesses" to that effect, and then sets himself to *confute* that assertion, so in the instances alleged by Mr. Perceval, he overturns the inference his words express, and the positions he advances; he overturns them by authoritative testimony and argument.

At the risk of being again taxed with "hardihood," and accused of "drawing largely on the ignorance or credulity of our readers (*Reply*, 403), we shall avow our conviction—a conviction derived from an attentive examination of the whole of Gratian's article (*Distinctio*) in question—that the writer presupposed the necessity of confession; that his inquiry turns upon the point whether antecedent contrition suffice to remit sin;* that of the ninety fragments of Scripture and other writers which he alleges, many are wholly irrelevant;† several relate barely to change of life and satisfaction (c. 72 to 84); others distinctly make for the necessity of application to the keys of the Church by confession (cc. 44, 49, 61, 85); and only one, and that an interpolated passage,‡ gives any countenance

* For the information of some of our readers, we may state that the second part of Gratian's work (*Decretum*) is subdivided into 36 "*causæ*." Each *causa* presents a supposed occurrence, whereupon certain "questions" arise, which are mooted by reasoning and testimonies *pro* and *contra*. The 33rd "*causa*" gives the case of a woman who has been guilty of crime, contracted a second marriage, and after *confessing her crime to God alone*, returns to her former husband, &c. Five questions or moot points are now raised, four of which relate to matrimony. The author, who is strangely unmethodical, avails himself of the above incident (see another curious instance in C. vii. on resignations, starting from an incident in c. 3, c. vi. q. 3) to propose as a third question "*Utrum sola cordis contritione et secretâ satisfactione absque oris confessione quisque possit Deo satisfacere?*" The question turns on the efficacy of sorrow; not on the obligation of subsequent confession. We may add that the Glossator, who admits the affirmative, contends for the necessity of confession: "*Potest dici quod sic. Dei gratiâ interveniente; necessaria tamen est postea oris confessio et operis satisfactio, si fieri possit: alioquin peccat mortaliter ex contemptu qui hoc non facit.*" Peter Lombard, who holds the affirmative, speaks even more explicitly on the necessity of confession to a priest. (D. 17, l. iv.)

† Thus c. 6 to 22 are extracts from the Imperial Codes and Digests, for the purpose of showing that the *civil* law punishes criminal attempts. Equally irrelevant are cc. 59, 60, 64, 65, 87.

‡ C. 90. *Quidam*. See the *Corr. Rom.* on the passage.

to the notion that oral confession is discretionary, and not strictly necessary. We will add, with reference to Gratian's own remarks, that whilst many of them on either side of the question proposed "*partim veritate nituntur, partim pondere carent*," to use his own words—the stress of those remarks manifestly inclines to the negative on that question regarding the general efficacy of contrition; and that seeing Gratian chose to leave the adjudication to the reader's judgment, after stating the arguments on both sides, it does seem something like "hardihood" to represent him as vouching for the affirmative: to aver it to have been "*his* opinion that confession with the mouth is not necessary to the remission of sins." The "cloud"—Mr. Perceval's cloud—

" Gives way,
The mists fly upward and dissolve in day."

6. THE CANONISTS AND MALDONATUS. Our pages are overcrowded with references and extracts, and the reader's patience has been subjected to a severe strain: we must, however, request his attention, for a short space longer, to authorities. We will begin with a celebrated canonist, whose institutes were published* before the close of the Council of Trent, who was commissioned to write by Paul IV, and who dedicated his labours to Pius IV. Paul Lancelot, having explained two species of penance—the solemn and the public—goes on to a third: "*Privata aut secreta pœnitentia est quæ in occulto Deo fit et sacerdoti. Statutum est enim generali concilio, ut omnis fidelis*," &c. (2 *Inst.* t. 5, § 4.) This would seem to be an admission that confession was obligatory *only* in consequence of ecclesiastical law. No mention, here, of divine institution. Certainly not; for as the "rubric" shews, it is of the ecclesiastical law alone that he treats in this place. "*Unusquisque semel in anno debet confiteri*." As we proceed, we shall find another obligation virtually recognized in what he says on the efficacy of the desire of confession when the priest is not at hand, and on the absolution to be given to the speechless: "*Confessionem virtutalem æquiparari cum actuali*," as his commentator Bartolinus remarks. In another section, he, after the example of some of his predecessors, classes the seven sacraments, into those which one is free to receive, as order and matrimony, and those which are of necessity, which "*sine interitu salutis æternæ prætermitti et con-*

§ Early in 1563, at latest. (It said by Card. Gambara to have been written some years previous to publication.) Compare 1 *Inst.* t. xxii. § 4 with Conc. Trid. Sess. xxiii. 12. *Nullus*.

temni non possunt," as the remaining five. He declares all to be of divine institution, though they are called sacraments of the Church, because destined for her sanctification, and confided to her administering. (2 *Inst.* t. 2, § 2, 6.) Penance, the third in his list of divinely instituted means, he defines as follows: "Sacramentum quod contritione; confessione, et satisfactione concurrentibus peccatorum operatur remissionem," (t. 5.) If this be denying confession to be of divine right; if it be not rather a clear inculcating of the divinity of its origin and of its necessity, words have lost their meaning.

We will retrograde about sixty years, and take another canonist. The writer we have before us (*Comp. J. Can. Argent.*, 1499, d. 4) is only an epitomizer, but he is sufficiently explicit. He quotes a passage from a Decretist, and contradicts him. The Decretist says,* "Melius dicitur (confessionem) institutam fuisse a quodam universalis ecclesiæ traditione *potius*, quam ex novi et veteris Testamenti auctoritate." To this the writer now before us subjoins, "Sed contrarium est verum." Then as to the necessity: "Confessio est necessaria et sine ea (saltem in voto) non est salus, nec aliquis potest justificari. . . Confessionis facultas si assit: sine ea non remittuntur peccata gravia: e. c. E contrario. Nam ubi est taciturnitas confessionis non est speranda venia criminis." We know not what is meant by necessity of confession, or what is meant by divine right, if the extracts we have given do not attest the belief of the writer as to the one and the other.

Or, if testimony still more explicit be insisted on, we will go back another half century, and produce a man† who was versed in the canon law from his early youth, and who "was consulted from Rome, and from all quarters, especially on intricate cases of the canon-law." "Omnis lex nobis data a Deo clamat nobis et mandat confessionem. 1. Lex intrinseca; 2. L. Mosaica; 3. L. Prophetica; 4. L. Evangelica; 5. L. Canonica." He explains his meaning, and declares,

* The whole glossa may be seen in the Lyons edition (1671) of the *Decretum*, fol. 1801. We are not called upon to account for the inaccurate statements of this writer. We content ourselves with observing—1st. That he is warranted in asserting that the text James V is not to be taken as a precept of sacramental confession, although the constant reference to that text by ecclesiastical writers is a clear testimony that they regarded the practice as having an apostolical sanction. 2nd. That the passage quoted above is very similar in its language to one on episcopacy in c. Olim. 5 Dist. 95. "Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit esse subjectos, ita episcopi noverint se *magis consuetudine* quam dispensationis dominicæ veritate presbyteris esse majores," &c. The words are St. Jerome's. Yet the Anglican divines do not consider St. Jerome as an impugner of the divine right of episcopacy.

† St. Antoninus of Florence. See Butler, May 10.

that whereas God was once "contented with mental confession, He hath, since His appearance in the flesh, required an oral confession; which, because He is not corporally present, He wills should be made to His delegate, the priest. That the authority to absolve was given John xx; that Christ instituted confession by implication (*tacite*); that the apostles expressly promulgated the institution; that the Pope cannot dispense with the obligation of confession, and for this reason: "*quia non habet potestatem tollendi jus DIVINUM*;" that he could, however, dispense with annual confession. Further, that we cannot be healed from sin, whether original or actual, "without receiving the sacraments of the Church, either really, "*cum adest opportunitas*," or in desire, "*cum articulus necessitatis excludit sacramentum, non contemptus religionis*."* These closing words, the reader may recollect, are St. Augustine's. On this testimony of the most eminent canonist of the first part of the fifteenth century, we need make no comment.

We should proceed to examine the "avowal" of Maldonatus, of which the learned rector so magisterially "informs" us. But the meaning of that divine could not be discussed without entering into many particulars, and comparing the second and third chapters of his treatise. This would be tedious, and it is uncalled for; because, supposing Maldonatus to have intended to assert† that "all the canonists denied the divine right"—a supposition which, however, we do not admit—we have disproved this assertion in advance; and the historical accuracy or inaccuracy of this theologian is a matter altogether extrinsic to the present inquiry. We believe we have met fully and fairly every other assertion in the paragraph of the reverend respondent; and, as we are "not easily daunted," we look without misgiving to the impartial reader's verdict. His patience, as we anticipated, may have been tired, but he will recollect that Mr. Perceval is one of those who are "hard to be corrected;" and whose ingenuity—to use no harsher term—can be justly appreciated only after examination.

We reserve, for a future article, the examination of Mr. Perceval's reply to the last eight pages of our Review. He is pleased to describe our answer to his grand challenge (*R. Schism.* xxxii.), which, indeed, is the *cardo questionis* between us—as "a miserable failure of an attempt at a *tu quoque*."

* 3 Pars Summæ, tit. xiv. c. 6 et 19. Ed. 1485.

† The passage referred to by Mr. P. is as follows: "Tertia (opinio) est omnium juris Pontificii peritorum qui secuti primum suum interpretem omnes *dicunt* confessionem tantum esse introductum jure ecclesiastico in cap. omnis utriusque sexus." De Conf. c. 2 (p. 35, Ed. Lugd. 1614.) He subsequently adds: "Vera sententia est, a qua nemo Catholicus debet discedere, confessionem natam ex jure divino et a Christo proprie et vere institutam esse."

(*Reply*, 479.) The impartial reader, who will examine that answer (*Review*, 517 et seq.), reading it continuously, and not as hacked and mangled in Mr. P.'s reply, must decide as to its being a failure or a triumph. For ourselves, we will only say, that Mr. P. has altogether misdescribed it, in styling it an attempt at a *tu quoque*. It is not a recrimination, but (as we humbly conceive) a demonstration of the futility of the above-mentioned challenge: an answer to his call for reasons.

Here, then, we should close for the present; but we will bespeak our reader's patience for one or two remarks on the following passage.

"Very early in the fifth century, there were councils held in Spain and Portugal against the Priscillianists; and the bishops there at that time drew up "*a rule of faith against all heretics*" which was received and approved of in other parts of the west, especially by the bishop of Rome. The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is distinctly stated in this rule of faith: '*Spiritum quoque Paracletum esse qui nec Pater sit ipse, nec filius, sed a Patre Filioque procedens.*'—*Conc. Tolet. I.* The Roman advocates in the Council of Florence ascribed this rule of faith to Damasus, bishop of Rome A.D. 397. But it is enough for my purpose to show, that in the year 411, that is, twenty-seven years before the council of Ephesus, this point of faith *was enforced under anathema* by the Portuguese bishops in the council of Braga. Pancratian, the president of the council, rehearsed his creed: 'I believe in the H. Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, one in Deity, &c. I condemn, reprobate, and *anathematize* all who hold, *think*, and preach the contrary,' &c."

Taking this as historically correct, we have here an assembly of bishops drawing up "*a rule of faith*" containing several articles not contained in the Nicene Creed. This is the eternal complaint of Mr. Perceval against the Council of Trent. He can diligently inform his readers (*R. Sch.* 376), that at the thirteenth session of that council only forty-five bishops were present; he has not informed his readers, that the number of those *said* to have assembled under the presidency of Pancratian, amounted to *nine*; yet these are reported to have anathematized all who should even "*think*" contrary to what they rehearsed in their "*new creed.*" Anathematizing those who "*think*" is another matter of umbrage with our consistent author, when the Council of Trent's decrees are in question (*Reply*, 334). Supposing, then, the historical correctness of the above extract, here are principles recognised in the early Church, which are utterly at variance with our author's theory. But it is very erroneous, as we shall proceed to shew, beginning with the *Regula Fidei*.

Had "*the Roman advocates*" ascribed this formulary to

Fabian, or Urban, or Evaristus, we should have no talk *here* about the “redoubtable authority of a spurious” document. The truth is that this *Regula Fidei* is not the work of the first council of Toledo, but of one held there or elsewhere in Spain, about forty-seven years after, and *sixteen years after the Council of Ephesus*, and that it is, very probably, an interpolated document. In proof of these assertions, we might refer to several good authorities; but we will content ourselves with one, who, on a question like this, is *instar omnium*, and to whom, Mr. P., according to his golden rule, cannot demur. In speaking of the first Council of Toledo (Ann. 400), Pagi observes:—*

“In isto concilio conditi viginti canones pro disciplina ecclesiastica. . . . Sed Regula fidei quæ canonibus subjicitur, pertinet ad aliud concilium. . . . celebratum anno 447.” And again: “Conculta est in alia Synodo incerto loco celebrata, tempore Leonis M. relectaque postea in Synodo Bracarensi *prima*.”

Then, as to the contents of this formulary:

“Exemplaria istius Regulæ fidei tam in MSS. [namely, the Thuanean, and two others of high character] quam in editis sunt valde *diversa*: in aliquibus 12 tantum habentur anathematismi, inter opera vero S. Augustini duodecim illis adduntur alii 14. Quare, recte judicavit Quesnellus . . . eam fuisse temporum progressu interpolatam quod ex eo *manifeste liquet* . . . ex mentione processionis S. Spiritus ex Patre filioque, quæ verba recentiorum manum prodere non est qui dubitare possit.”

Next, as to the other Council, which Mr. P. cites from Labbe—we do marvel that a purist, like our learned Rector, who has such a disrelish for “monkish Latin” (*Reply* 348,) should not have discerned, in the barbarism of phrase† which disfigures this composition, a clear proof of its not belonging to the age to which it is assigned, and a strong reason for rejecting it as spurious. We doubt whether any of “Mercator’s ware” be of baser metal. But there are stronger arguments adduced against it by Pagi and Hardouin.‡

Pagi§ demonstrates invincibly, as we think, that the first

* Crit. Hist. ad ann. 405, p. 71.

† We will give one or two examples. “Notum est vobis . . . quomodo barbaræ gentes devastant universam Hispaniam, &c. Præter Celtiberiam et Carpetaniam, jam reliqua omnia versus Pyrenæos sub sua (!) jacent potestate. Et quia malum hoc jam jam est *supra capita nostra*,” &c. &c. The very commencement might provoke suspicion: “Convenientibus Episcopis, Elipandus, Pamerius, Arisbertus,” and so forth with six more.

‡ Coleti iii., 345. Ex MS. quod nemini visum nisi, &c.

§ Apud Coleti, ubi supra, from his Crit. Hist. tom. ii., 108. See also page 627, ad ann. 560.

council of Braga was held in 560; consequently, not twenty-seven years *before*, but a hundred and thirty years *after*, that of Ephesus; that in the piece we are examining there is such a palpable misstatement of history, as to divest it of all character; and, independently of this, he expresses himself disposed to reject it on account of that very passage on which Mr. Perceval relies, "as enough for his purpose."

"Hic enim articulus "Credo in Spiritum Sanctum procedentem a Patre in Verbo suppositionem satis prodit, cum hoc circiter tempore Sancto Cyrillo crimini datum sit quod similem propositionem probasset, adeo ut sese de ea propargare coactus fuerit."

Mr. P. may learn, from this detection of his errors, to be a little more sparing of his censure on writers who *bonâ fide* admit doubtful or spurious authorities into their pages.

In reference to his Thrasonic epilogue, we would merely give him this word of counsel: "NE GLORIETUR ACCINCTUS ÆQUE AC DISINCTUS." The warfare is not yet over, and the writer of these lines is "not easily daunted." He will have more to say to the Rector hereafter. Meanwhile, as the boastful polemic challenges us to produce any one single writer in the first seven centuries, who taught an assent to this proposition—"They are accursed who refuse obedience to the Bishop of Rome") as essential to salvation, or required an assent to it as a term of communion (*Reply*, last page)—we offer him the following passages from a bishop of the seventh, equally eminent for his learning and his piety: and "*we* shall be very glad—we speak in truth—if he, or any other [Anglican] shall think it deserving attention."

"Sic nos scimus præesse Ecclesiæ Christi quatenus Romano pontifici reverenter humiliter et devote, TANQUAM DEI VICARIO præ ceteris Ecclesiæ prælatis, specialius nos fateamur debitam in omnibus obedientiam exhibere. Contra quod quenquam procaciter venientem tanquam HÆRETICUM a consortio fidelium omnino decernimus alienum. Hoc vero non ex electione proprii arbitrii sed potius auctoritate Spir. Sancti, habemus firmum, ratum credimus et tenemus,†

"Quod vero de paritate agitur Apostolorum, Petrus præminet ceteris qui a Domino audire meruit Tu vocaberis Cephas, &c... Cujus dignitas potestatis, etsi ad omnes catholicarum episcopos est transfusa, specialius tamen Romano antistiti, veluti capiti, ceteris membris celsior, permanet in æternum. Qui igitur *debitam* ei non exhibet *obedientiam*, a capite sejunctus Acephalorum SCHISMATI se reddit obnoxium, quod sicut illud S. Athanasii de fide S. Trinitatis, quasi sit FIDEI CATHOLICÆ ARTICULUS. Quod nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit salvus esse non poterit."‡

† St. Isidore of Seville, ad Claud. Ducem. Opp. ii. 524. (Madrid, 1778.)

‡ Ad Eugenium. ii. 524.

ART. VIII.—1. *Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Gregorii Divina Providentia Papæ XVI Allocutio habita in Consistorio Secreto, die xxvii Aprilis M.D.CCC.xxxx. Romæ : 1840.* Allocation of His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI, delivered in the Secret Consistory held April 27th 1840.*

2. *Relazione della Persecuzione contro la Religione Cristiana, &c.* Narrative of the Persecution against the Christian Religion, and of the glorious death of the Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Tonkin, of the Coadjutor Bishop, and of other Missionaries, slain in hatred of the faith, in the year 1838. Rome, 1840.

3. *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith.* London.

WE take it for granted that there is, by this time, hardly a Catholic in the United Kingdom, who is not acquainted with the pious institution for the Propagation of the Faith, and that there are few families which do not contrive, by becoming members of it, to obtain at least a glance at the third of the publications on our list. It would indeed be a supineness, which, in the first ages of Christianity would have been deemed incredible, while persecution is at once afflicting and ennobling any portion of the Church, not to feel a lively sympathy in our brethren's sufferings, however distant their scene. It would be alien from the Catholic spirit, not to desire and endeavour to have a minute knowledge of the very names and history of our latest martyrs, both as an argument of the truth of our faith, and as an example and an encouragement to ourselves. It is here that we can indeed point to our missions without fear of rivalry. In the sums collected for missionary purposes, in the number of preachers sent forth, in the length of their voyages, in the multiplicity of their reports, the various missionary societies of our country can equal or rather outstrip the Catholic Propaganda. But in the peril of life, in the "wandering about in sheep-skins, being in want, distressed, afflicted;" in the hiding "in dens and in the caverns of the earth;" still more in "the trials of mockeries and stripes, moreover also, of bonds and prisons;" in being "beaten with rods, stoned, cut in sunder, and put to death by the sword;"† in all these and many other similar proofs of the apostolic *spirit*, we stand without competitors, and without much danger of having them. The Protestant missions as yet want the seal of blood,—that seal which has generally been the authentic stamp of Him, who sent his

* See this document at length below.

† Heb. xi. 2 Cor. xi.

apostles as sheep among wolves. We had occasion in a former number, to denounce the conduct, at once cowardly and mischievous, of some *zealous* Protestant missionaries, who, careful not to peril their own persons, thought proper to scatter Bibles along the Chinese coast, and so endangered the lives of the Catholic converts and their pastors, who were under persecution. For "the good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep, but the hireling flies, *because he is a hireling.*"

But if a laudable curiosity, such as may well spring from Catholic feeling, have not proved sufficient to arouse the dormant sympathies of our Catholics, in favour of their distressed and cruelly persecuted brethren in eastern Asia, the voice of the supreme pontiff will now, we confidently hope, produce that effect. It is usual, at every consistory, or assembly of cardinals held for the purpose of nominating bishops to vacant sees, for the pope to address an allocution or "speech from the throne," on some of the most important events that have lately affected the Church. It was in this manner that the ecclesiastical affairs of Prussia and Poland have been noticed by the holy see; and these allocutions have of late been so important, as to draw powerfully the attention of princes and their cabinets, and to be discussed with earnestness by the European periodical press. In the secret consistory held on the 27th of April last, his Holiness Gregory XVI selected, as the theme of his discourse, the triumphs lately achieved by Catholic fortitude over earth and hell, in the kingdom of Tonkin. The sovereign pontiff has thus proclaimed to the world, the merited praise of the intrepid confessors of Christ, who have rendered Him life for life; and has expressed his hope that further juridical enquiry will allow him to add the martyrs of Cochin-China and Tonkin, to those of China and Japan, in the martyrology of the Church.

Most of our readers are probably aware, that in the united empire of Tonkin and Cochin-China, there has reigned since 1825, a cruel persecution, by order of the emperor Minh Menh.* The Annals of the Propagation of the Faith have published the account of the martyrdom of the pious French missionaries, Jaccard, Marchand, Cornay, and of the intrepid natives, Tuy, Càn, and others. The narrative of their sufferings is most touching and edifying, and truly carries us back to the first ages of Christianity. We have before us an account of the martyrdom of the last-named catechist, privately printed

* See Dr. Wiseman's Moorfields Lectures, Lect. vii. vol. i. p. 243.

in lithography at Rome, which contains many points of minute resemblance to the descriptions of more ancient combats; the attempt of the judges to gain over the youthful athlete, (he was little more than thirty years of age), by promises, by caresses, by threats; the prudence and moderation of his answers; the constant turning of his thoughts to heaven, whither his steps were bending; the mixed feelings of the multitude, some pitying him, some upbraiding him; his fearless preaching of Christ and of eternal truths to the crowd, on his way to execution; the brotherly and fearless sympathy of the Christians, in offering him food and drink, to strengthen him as he walked under the weight of heavy fetters, and the *Canga* or Chinese collar—which refreshments he barely tasted, to accept their love, but would no further partake of; the last effort of the magistrates to save him, when the rope for strangling him was already round his neck, if he would only trample on the crucifix; and his undaunted but meek reply; the last exclamation of the Christians in the crowd, “Be mindful of us when before the face of God!” and his willing promise; in fine their eager rushing forward, after his head had been severed from his body, to dip cloths torn from their garments in his sacred blood, while the heathens exclaimed, “see how they love one another:” these and many other such circumstances, made us almost forget that we were reading an event of the 20th of November in the year 1837, and fancy that we were perusing, with holy envy, the annals of the infant Church.

But the accounts most familiar to the Catholic public, relate chiefly to western Tonkin, which is under the missionary direction of the French clergy. The eastern division is under the care of the Spanish Dominicans, of the Province of the Rosary, established principally in the Philippine islands. This portion of the empire has now its martyrs to boast of; and we are sure that we shall be doing a pleasure to our readers, by communicating to them such particulars as have reached us concerning them. The little work second on our list, consists of a letter from F. Jerome Hermosilla, vice-provincial and delegated superior of eastern Tonkin, dated from that kingdom April 25th, 1839. We will give the substance of his narrative, keeping as near as possible to its form and expressions.

The southern province of Tonkin has been, since 1835, under the government of the Mandarin Trinh Quang Khanh, a sworn enemy of the Christian name. He had all along persecuted the faithful; but towards the end of 1837, he was

severely reproved by the emperor, whom he had gone to visit, for allowing Christians as yet to remain in his province; the sovereign expressing his surprise that he had not as yet taken a single missionary. This was a new goad to his former hatred; and accordingly he had a number of crucifixes cast in the capital of Cochin-China, which he brought with him to his own seat of government, that he might compel the Christians to apostatise, by trampling on them. He despatched magistrates in every direction, to scour the country in search of Christians, particularly of European missionaries; and sent, under various disguises, spies of every class and sex, to gain information concerning their places of concealment. On the 18th of March 1838, he had crucifixes placed at each gate of the city, with guards, who were commanded to oblige every individual, entering and going out, to stamp upon them. Those who refused, were subjected to stripes and other cruel treatment. Of the Christians many remained concealed in their houses, afraid to leave them; some fled in various directions, others bore patiently the inflictions of the soldiery, and through stripes and mulcts freed themselves; while a few unfortunate wretches yielded to the tyranny of their persecutors, and denied the faith. But the very heathens grew sick of this barbarity, many of them expressed a horror of trampling upon the cross, and murmurs became so loud, that the governor thought it prudent, first to remove the crucifixes to a distance from the gates, and then to order them to be taken away altogether.

The governor now turned his attention to his troops, and commanded all to trample on the crucifix. Promises, threats, blows, and torments, were employed to seduce them; some proved too weak to resist, others fled or redeemed themselves by pecuniary sacrifices. Three, however, present an example of which the Church has reason to be proud. They resisted every attempt, were imprisoned, and for nine months underwent every species of cruelty and torture. At length, wearied out with their constancy, the governor had a potion administered to them, which deprived them for a time of the use of reason, and while they were under its influence, got them unconsciously to go through the ceremony of apostacy. But no sooner did they recover, and find out what had happened, than they publicly went to the governor, when sitting in court, threw down the money they had received as a reward, and openly proclaimed themselves Christians, and ready to seal the faith with their blood. As the mandarin had already written

to the emperor that he had overcome the obstinacy of these three confessors, this issue of his pretended success covered him with shame; so that, to hush up the matter, he commanded them to quit the tribunal, and strictly forbade them to be again admitted. The account of F. Hermosilla regarding them ends here; the pope's allocution enables us to complete the history of these holy champions. Unwilling that the emperor should remain in a state of delusion, from the governor's report, two of them, named Nicholas and Augustin, undertook a long and painful journey to the capital, and presented to the emperor a paper, in which they detailed the true history of their supposed abjuration, and repeated their protestations of fidelity to their religion unto death. Once more every art was tried to shake their constancy; and as every attempt failed, they were beheaded and quartered, in the month of June last year.

On the 17th of April 1838, while all the province was overrun with soldiers, a catechist was surprised on his way from the north to the southern province, in quest of the consecrated oils. He had upon him six letters from the missionary F. Joseph Vien; four in European characters, to the bishop, to his coadjutor, to F. Joseph Fernandez, and to F. Hermosilla, author of the narrative before us; and two in the language of the country to two native priests. Every attempt was made to ransom the catechist and his letters, but in vain; the conditions proposed were incompatible with religious principles; and the governor, thinking to ingratiate himself with his sovereign, sent him as a prize, the four European letters. He was caught in his own snare. The emperor was indeed enraged at the Christians, but not less so at Trinh Quang Khanh, that there should be still four European missionaries in his jurisdiction. A decree reached the provincial capital on the 25th of May, deposing him from his command, with the condition, that, if within a month he took the missionaries, he should be reinstated; if not, he should expiate his negligence on the scaffold. Six thousand men were placed at his disposal, and a choice body of 1000 troops, with a trusty commander, was despatched from the capital to ferret out the missionaries from their lurking-holes. The priests remained concealed in their caves and fortresses, till every part being narrowly searched, and every avenue watched, they began to fall into the hands of their pursuers.

The shepherd went before his flock in the way of suffering. The first taken was the venerable bishop Ignatius Delgado,

of the order of St. Dominick, bishop of Mellipotamus *in partibus*, and vicar apostolic of eastern Tonkin.* He was in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and had been upwards of forty years the vigilant and zealous bishop of that country. He was concealed in the village of Kien Lao, together with his coadjutor father Romuald Ximeno. A heathen schoolmaster contrived to extract from a Christian child the secret of their concealment, and, for the sake of the reward offered for their apprehension, manifested it to the magistrate. He made a feint which deceived the Christians, and then suddenly came upon the spot where the missionaries lay concealed. Three caverns had been prepared for further security, and towards these the Christians, in confusion and hurry, bore off their bishop. Being too feeble to walk, he was placed in a sort of litter, or basket covered with a mat, and borne on the shoulders of the Christians, was carried away. F. Romuald, being young and vigorous, contrived after many risks to escape. But the bishop's party soon attracted the notice of the soldiers, who, with shouts of triumph, rushed towards it. The bearers consulted their safety by flight, and left the bishop in the hands of his enemies. This was on the 29th of May 1838. The soldiers heavily fettered him, and bore him back in the same basket to the village, beating their drums, and vociferating loudly in triumph. The same day, he was carried before a superior tribunal in another town, and there shut up in a cage seven palms in length, and five in width and height. In this strait dungeon, he was confined till his death, having been first carried to the chief city of the province, and placed in the common prison under a strong guard. The mandarin wrote an account of all to the emperor, who ordered him to consign his prisoner to the new governor, who was to proceed with all rigour to try him. "I have in my possession," writes F. Hermosilla, "an abstract or copy of the process drawn up by the mandarins against our illustrious confessor, which I contrived ingeniously to get from the notaries of the mandarins." From these he drew the information that the bishop underwent several interrogatories regarding his age, country, profession, and motives for going to Tonkin; as also respecting the number of Europeans and other clergy in the country. To all that regarded himself, the intrepid confessor replied clearly and explicitly: in what might implicate others, he was so guarded as not to betray any one, or give information not

* See an account of some of his letters in Dr. Wiseman's Lectures, *ubi sup.*

already in the enemies' knowledge. On the 14th of June sentence was passed. It states that for fifty years the bishop Ignatius Trum Ca had been at the head of the malefactors who teach and seduce the nation to false religion. Having therefore seen the edicts of the king Minh-Menh, which condemn all European missionaries to death, as well as all that harbour them, the judges condemn him to suffer it. But in order to strike greater terror into his followers, and to shew that he is a more than ordinary malefactor, it is commanded that he be beheaded, and his head hung in a public place in the city.

The sentence was forwarded to the emperor for approbation. In the meantime, the blessed confessor of Christ was kept during the heat of summer in his loathsome dungeon, exposed to every indignity, privation, and suffering. These brought on a dysentery; and as all medical aid was denied him, he disappointed the malice of his persecutors, and, after proof of the most edifying patience and devotion, expired on the 12th of July 1838. The hatred of his enemies pursued him beyond the grave. His corpse was carried to the place of execution and there beheaded. The trunk, at great risk, was disinterred and carried off by the Christians, to the village of Biu Chu, and there honourably placed in safety. The head, after having been exposed for three days during that sultry season in the public street, was placed in a basket and sunk with great stones in the river Vi Hoang, where it is deepest and most rapid. The Christians made every effort to recover it, but in vain, till the first of November, when a Christian fisherman brought it up, incorrupt and intact, every feature and the hair and beard perfectly preserved.

When the bishop was carried out by the Christians, his coadjutor remained with him, but was concealed. This was the Right Rev. Father Henares, a native of Andalusia, seventy-three years of age, and coadjutor since the year 1800. Towards evening, he fled by water, and after remaining concealed for two days, was obliged to re-embark, and remain, with many dangers, among the Christian fishermen. But the diligent search of the heathen officers allowed him no security, till a base treachery delivered him to his enemies. A rich man dwelling on the coast, seeing a bark which was evidently an object of great anxiety to those on board, suspected it might contain a missionary, and, with artful compassion, spoke to some Christian fishermen, begged of them to go on board and offer him shelter from the stormy billows, and promised

his own assistance. Deceived by his assurances, they complied, and brought their beloved pastor on shore, only to see him betrayed by their secret enemy into the hands of the soldiers. With him was taken his companion, the native catechist, Francis Chien. The treatment, process, and sentence, were the same as for Bishop Delgado. The sentence, confirmed by the king, reached the city on the 25th of June, and on the same day was put in execution. Numerous soldiers and elephants led the way, and an immense concourse of Christians and Pagans followed the procession. The bishop was drawn, like a wild beast, in his cage, absorbed in prayer, and perfectly tranquil; the catechist followed, bearing the canga, and loaded with chains. A soldier went before each, bearing the cause of his condemnation written in large characters. In this manner they were conducted through the principal streets and squares of the city, while a mandarin of high rank frequently proclaimed, to the sound of trumpet, "O, all you that are on the east, west, south, and north, hear and know, that this man is a European, who came to teach the people the false religion of Jesus Christ; on which account the king has ordered him to be beheaded. Let no one in future follow this religion, lest he have to die in like manner." About one o'clock, they reached the place of execution; the catechist, with serene and cheerful countenance, having knelt down, recommended his soul to God, stretched out his neck to the impious sword, and on a signal being given by the mandarin, was decapitated in the presence of the bishop, at the age of forty. In the meantime, the venerable bishop was drawn out from his cage, and kneeling down, remained in earnest prayer, calmly commending himself to God, to the great admiration of all, and so persevering in prayer, received the glorious stroke which transferred him to glory, in the seventy-third year of his age, after having laboured, during forty-nine years, in this mission, with great purity of soul, and indefatigable zeal for souls, with a burning thirst after martyrdom, like a worthy son of our most holy father, St. Dominick, all on fire, because of those who lose themselves for eternity; always, night and day, ready for anything that regarded the apostolic ministry; given to prayer, and to the reading of the Fathers; most poor himself, while toward the poor and afflicted he was called, and was truly, a father. The bodies of both were buried on the spot, but were soon disinterred by the Christians, and borne off to places of safety; that of the saintly bishop to the village of Sue Thuy Ha; that of the catechist to his own native place, Frung-Lé. The head

of the bishop, after three days' exposure in the public place, was thrown into the river; and, after three days, recovered by the same fishermen as found that of Bishop Delgado. It is usual for the Tonkinese, so soon as the blow of the headsman has descended, to fly precipitately from the spot, lest the spirit of the slain should fall upon them. On this occasion no one fled, but Heathens as well as Christians rushed forward, and, in spite of the guards, bore away the blood and garments of the glorious martyrs.

The history of these two illustrious soldiers of Christ, is nearly that of others of our brethren. Father Joseph Fernandez, native of Ventosa, in Castile, after having taken refuge in the eastern vicariate, was obliged to flee once more back into the western. He was received into the house of a Heathen, till then very favourable to the Christians. But the demon of avarice corrupted his heart, and he violated the rights of hospitality by delivering his guest into his pursuers' hands, in hopes of reward. In his company was Peter Tuàn, a native secular priest; and both, treated as the two former had been, were brought to the capital of the province. The severity of F. Fernandez's sufferings brought on paralysis, so that he could not even feed himself; but still he maintained a constant cheerfulness, and heard the sentence of death pronounced upon him with a smiling countenance. He was so weak that he had to be carried out of his cage, and laid on the ground, supported by a soldier, and so beheaded. He had laboured thirty-three years on that mission. His companion, Peter Tuàn, was likewise condemned to death, but died before the sentence was confirmed, of a complaint brought on by the loathsomeness of his prison and the torments of the canga. This was on the 15th of July, 1838, he being in his 73rd year, and having laboured thirty-four years in that afflicted vineyard.

On the 2d of June, Father Vincent Yen, a native Dominican, was taken, and after bearing every species of outrage with incredible patience, brought to the city. Every art was employed in vain to induce him to trample on the crucifix. The governor exhorted him to declare himself a physician, and not a priest; but, like Eleazer, he rejected the deceit with disdain. The governor then wrote to the king, to permit his being given over to the tribunals of his native province; but the king, instead, condemned him at once to death. On the 13th of June, he suffered his sentence with joy, in the 73rd year of his age, and 40th of his ministry. A little before this,

a lay catechist, named Joseph Uyen, was brought before the mandarin, loaded with the canga, and urged to trample on the crucifix, and renounce Christianity. On his refusal, and protestation of his readiness rather to die, the mandarin fell upon him with such fury, that he died that night in prison of the wounds inflicted by his collar.

That longing after martyrdom, which so often excites admiration in the ancient saints, manifested itself in a remarkable manner in the venerable ecclesiastic, the Rev. Bernard Due. According to the laws of the country, no one who has passed the age of eighty can be punished with death. This holy man had reached his eighty-third year; but having heard of the arrest of the vicar apostolic, he entreated those about him to convey him to the magistrates, that he might keep a promise long before made to the pastor, to die together with him. This was, of course, refused; and as he could no longer walk, he cried aloud to all passers by that he was a Christian priest, begging of them to arrest him. The Christians then, to conceal him, placed him in a wretched hovel, tenanted by a leper. Still the good old man continued to betray himself, till, on the 3rd of June, he was conducted to prison in the city. About the same time was taken another native religious, F. Dominick Diéu, or Hanh, of the age of 66. After he had been cruelly scourged, to the tearing of his flesh, to induce him to renounce the faith, the two were condemned to death, and conducted together to execution. The old man was carried by the soldiers; and having encouraged one another, and united in prayer, they finished their course by the sword on the first of August.

On the same day was arrested the Rev. Joseph Vien, native secular priest, writer of the four letters mentioned above, betrayed by two of his relatives. On the third, he was condemned, and on the 21st executed. About a month before, the Rev. F. Peter Tu, and the catechist, Uy the former 43, and the latter 27 years of age, were conducted to prison. They were offered their liberty if they would pay a certain sum, but F. Tu generously replied, "that he had indeed no money, but that neither would he for such a purpose endeavour to procure it: for since God," he added, "has so disposed it that I should have fallen into your hands, I do not wish to lose this occasion I have of merit by patient suffering for his name." About the same time were likewise arrested Joseph Canh, seventy years of age, the principal Christian of Thò Hè, and a man of exemplary piety, Francis

Mau, Thomas Dè, 28, Stephen Tinh, 26, and Aug. Moy, 32 years. They were all brought before the magistrates, and assailed with promises and threats, and then treated with every indignity. Father Tu openly encouraged his companions to generous perseverance. In consequence, he and Canh were condemned to be strangled; the others to receive a hundred stripes, and then be banished the province, and condemned to public works. The king would not ratify the sentences, but ordered the two first to be forthwith beheaded, and the two others to be closely confined, to be one day strangled. The first sentence was carried into execution on the 5th of September

The Pope, in his Allocution, mentions the martyrdom, in the month of November, of the Rev. Peter Dumoulin Borie, and of two other native priests, probably in the western vicariate.

We cannot forbear transcribing some of the concluding passages of the letter, from which we have drawn our narrative. After having described, in feeling terms, the various oppressions to which the Christians are now subjected, the writer thus addresses the cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda:—

“It is absolutely impossible for me to express in words the most deplorable condition of this afflicted vineyard in spiritual matters; but even of its temporal state what shall I say? All the residences of the missionaries have been destroyed, and our two colleges, for Latin and moral theology, have suffered the same fate, as well as twenty-two nunneries of sisters of the third order of St. Dominick, and three of the ‘Lovers of the Cross,’ which in other persecutions of the Church of Tonkin, have been spared, but which the present hurricane has swept almost quite away; while the sisters, bearing patiently their great hardships, by a singular providence of God, continue, distributed in small huts, to observe secretly their religious rule.

“The property of the churches of the missions, of the poor, and so likewise that of our vicar apostolic, evil Christians and heathens have considered as public spoil, and have taken to themselves. The chalices, missals, vestments, breviaries, books, in a word almost all things, we have lost; but with regard to these and similar objects, we say from our hearts, with holy Job, ‘The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.’”

These are noble sentiments, and worthy of the time and occasion. We have many remarks to make upon this sorrowful narrative, but we willingly suppress them. To our taste, this little pamphlet contains more gold, more genuine apostolic, evangelic, matter in it, than volumes of missionary reports. Comparisons, or rather contrasts, flock to our memory; but they would be below our subject, which is one for deeper

feelings of admiration, sympathy, and love. Who will read this narrative, simple and unadorned though it be, and refuse to answer the calls of that admirable institution which alone can aid the suffering Christians of that distant land, and restore to them something of their former means to worship God. Who will harden his heart against the thrilling appeal which the blood of bishops, priests, and faithful, poured forth for the love of our common Redeemer, and in testimony to our common faith, addresses to him, to succour their destitute survivors, committing their brethren to the charity of distant Churches, and withhold his mite, under any excuse, to the relief of their manifold wants? We should indeed be surprised, if one single Catholic, from Orkney to Land's End, or from Galway to Norfolk, should have the heart to express himself indifferent to such claims, or hesitate, if able, to comply with them. But we trust that thousands will feel a holy pride in knowing, when they have thrown their oblation, however small, into the treasury, that it will be repaid by the blessings of martyrs, uttered while the stroke of death is impending, and by their glorious pleading when standing before their Lord!

*Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Gregorii Divina Providentia Papæ XVI
Allocutio Habita in Consistorio Secreto, die XXVII Aprilis,
MDCCCXXX. Romæ: Ex Typographia Reverendæ Cameræ
Apostolicæ.*

“VENERABILES FRATRES—Afflictas in Tunquino finitimisque Regionibus Christianorum res, eorumque Fidem multiplici vexatione tentatam ingemiscimus jamdudum, ut probe nostis, Venerabiles Fratres; nec prætermisimus humiliare coram Deo animam nostram, et reseratis etiam Indulgentiarum thesauris Ecclesiæ filios excitare ut pro fratribus in tanta illa tribulatione positis Clementissimo Domino quotidianas preces et alia pietatis opera offerrent. Interea non defuit quæ susceptum inde dolorem leniret consolationis causa ex invicto multorum animo, quos nullius periculi metus, non vincula, non verbera, non aliae diuturni temporis ærumnæ, non ipse tandem præsentis mortis aspectus a professione Catholicæ Fidei dimovere potuerunt. Jam vero quum præcipuarum rerum, quæ illic proximis annis gesta sunt, testimonia satis idonea paullatim ad Sanctam hanc Sedem pervenerint, nostrum modo esse duximus prædicare in amplissimo Vestrum consensu illorum virtutem, qui pro Fide Christi sua corpora tradiderunt, atque una Vobiscum collaudare Christum ipsum in suis militibus triumphantem.

“Atque ut exordium faciamus ab anno millesimo octingentesimo trigesimo quinto, fortem tunc in Cocincina Regione Athletam Christi se praebluit Missionarius Marchand, qui Castro quodam, ubi a seditiosis detinebatur, per Regios Milites expugnato, comprehensus ab his, et in ferream caveam (quasi fera esset bestia) detrusus ad Urbem principem deductus est; ibique multa tormentorum vi ad deserendum Christum frustra sollicitatus, tandem exeunte Novembri mense illius anni, Regis jussu in odium Fidei occisus fuit ibidem per eos dies clauit Sinensis quidam adolescens, viduae Matris unicus filius, qui post aerumnas duri carceris toto pene biennio fortiter toleratas, lætus pro Christo cervicem suam Carnificis gladio supposuit; abscissumque illius caput ipsa, quæ præsens aderat, pia Mater excepit.

“Anno deinceps millesimo octingentesimo trigesimo septimo celebrata sunt in Tunquino Regno nomina Presbyteri Joannis Caroli Cornay, et fidelis indigenæ Francisci Xavierii Càn. Horum primus cum Missionarii munus inibi gereret, captus ab infidelibus, et in caveam inclusus, cum ne crudelibus quidem verberationibus, quibus per tres menses affectus est, a Fide Christi dimoveri potuisset, pro illa demum occubuit mense Septembris memorati anni, obtruncato ei capite, membrisque in frusta concisis, atque in varias partes per ignominiam projectis. Alter vero qui eadem in regione Catechistae partibus fungebatur, pro Christo occisus est mense Novembri; postquam a viginti ante mensibus in vincula conjectus, ac toto illo tempore multumodis divexatus, ob invictam in fide constantiam fidelibus juxta atque infidelibus admirationi fuisset.

“Silentio post hæc præterire cogimur alios longe plurimos, de quibus non aliud fere novimus, nisi aut eo, de quo diximus, tempore, aut subsequentibus annis multos illorum lavissee pariter stolas suas in sanguine Agni; ceteros vero, etsi nondum fuissent pro Christo interempti, gravibus tamen molestiis, tormentisque tentatos in confessione Evangelii firmiter perseverasse. Quo in genere celebratam nominatim accepimus multarum Sinensium mulierum fortitudinem, in quibus fragilitatem sexus Fidei ardor superavit.

“Verum multi insuper sunt postremis iisdem annis mortem pro Christo perpassi, de quorum triumpho allatae huc relationes speciatim loquuntur. Inter illos recensetur Presbyter Franciscus Jaccard in Regno Cocincinae Missionarius, qui jamdiu in vincula datus, et diversa in loca deductus, postquam repetita ubique invictae firmitatis documenta edidisset, tandem in odium Fidei laqueo suffocatus est mense Septembris anni millesimi octingentesimi trigesimi octavi. Eandem cum ipso mortem sustinuit fidelis Juvenis indigena Thomas Thien.

“Imprimis vero celebrabitur idem annus in Historia Tunquinesium Ecclesiarum; in quibus eo vertente tum fideles Laici, tum Presbyteri plures, tum sacri Antistites immarcescibilem Martyrii coronam sunt consequuti. Et primo quidem memorandus occurrit Venerabilis Frater Ignatius Delgado Ordinis Prædicatorum Episcopus Mellipotamensis et in Orientali Regni parte Vicarius Apostolicus; qui post-

quam quadraginta annos ad demandatae sibi provinciae curam advigilasset, tandem aetate gravis in manus incidit infidelium ; a quibus in ligneam caveam detrusus, cum illata sibi tormenta patientissime tolerasset, horum et accidentis morbi vi paulatim confectus, mense Julio memorati anni obdormivit in Domino ; antequam Sententia contra eum a Magistratibus prolata ad ipsos Regio assensu approbata rediret. Non tamen abstinnerunt iidem a demortui capite postea obtruncando, quod in publico per tres dies suspensum, ac subinde in sportam cum lapidum pondere inclusum ad fluminis profunda demerserunt ; sed Deo ita mirabiliter disponente factum est, ut sacrum idem caput (quemadmodum in missa huc relatione narratur) post quatuor ferme a morte menses incorruptum omni ex parte atque illaesum ibidem inveniretur.

“ Pretiosam coram Domino laudati Vicarii Apostolici mortem praecesserat mense Junio Martyrium sui Coadjutoris Venerabilis Fratris Dominici Henares Ordinis item Praedicatorum Episcopi Fesseitensis ; qui et ipse consenuerat in animabus ibidem juvandis ; ac demum una cum memorato Antistite quaesitus a militibus, ac paulo post captus, atque in caveam detrusus, graviterque vexatus, abscisso postmodum ei capite in Fidei testimonium occubuit. Eandem una cum ipso mortem sustinuit pius indigena Franciscus Chiên, qui catechistae illic munus gerebat, Fidemque Christi, cujus progressus adjuverat, constanter usque ad sanguinis effusionem confessus est. Simili paucos post dies supplicio affectus fuit Presbyter item indigena Vincentius Yên Ordinis Praedicatorum, qui annos jam quadraginta in Missionarii officio desudaverat. Is non uno tentatus vexationum genere constantissimus mansit in professione verae Fidei ; ac ne illa quidem fallacia uti voluit, quae sibi a magistratu quodam proposita fuerat ad mortis iudicium vitandum, videlicet ut sacerdotali sua dignitate occultata, medicum se esse diceret.

“ Post hos Mense Julio coronati sunt Missionarius Iosephus Fernandez Ordinis Praedicatorum, et Presbyter Indigena Petrus Tuân ; quorum uterque triginta, eoque amplius annos in excolenda parte illa Dominicae Vineae laboraverant. Et Iosepho quidem caput obtruncatum est, postquam in caveam detrusus, et ante diversos Iudices divexatus ; praeclara ubique Christianae fortitudinis exempla praebuisset. Petrus autem etsi pari iudicio damnatus, cum tamen regia ejus Sententiae confirmatio nondum advenisset, ipse vexationibus, aerumnisque confectus ob Fidei confessionem in vinculis obiit. Eadem ferme paucos ante dies causa fuerat senis indigenae. Catechistae Iosephi Uyên in tertium S. Dominici Ordinem ascripti, qui ob suam in Fide constantiam multipliciter afflictus, et tandem lignei, quo ad collum premebatur tormenti agitatione dire cruciatus, accepto inde vulnere aliquod post horas interiit.

“ Subinde celebris fuit confessio Sacerdotis indigenae Bernardi Duê octoginta trium annorum aetate venerabilis ; qui post multos labores in animarum salutem exantlatos, senio morbisque confectus ambulare vix poterat ; et tamen religione conditioneque sua iteratis clamoribus

annunciata, ex peculiari, ut arbitramur, divine gratiae impulsu seipsum militibus prodidit. Ab his igitur captus, atque hinc vexatione multiplici ad deserendam Fidem frustra tentatus, etsi juxta publicas ejus Regni leges ob aetatem octoginta annis majorem affici extremo supplicio non posset, nihilominus ex irrogato contra eum privilegio factum est, ut initio Mensis Augusti detruncato ipsi capite gloriosam pro Christo mortem subierit. Eodem supplicii genere una simul occisus fuit alius indigena Presbyter Ordinis Praedicatorum nomine Dominicus Diêu Hanh; qui et praecedenti tempore pro animarum bono laboraverat plurimum, et novissime non paucos alios cruciatus pro Christi amore fortiter toleraverat. Paucos autem post dies simile mortis genus alacriter pro Fidei confessione sustinuit alius Christi Athleta Josephus Viê Presbyter item indigena, qui antea in Sacri Ministerii laboribus sexdecim annos exegerat.

“Hos Septembri Mense secutus est Sacerdos alius ejus Regionis Petrus Tù Ordinis Praedicatorum, qui antequam abscisso capite occideretur, nedum in mediis vexationibus constantissimus ipse in Fide permanserat, sed et Christianos simul vinctos impavide in praesentiam etiam Judicum ad perseverantiam fuerat exhortatus. Huic eodem martyrii genere comes fuit Josephus Cánh provecta ætate Vir, in tertium S. Dominici Ordinem cooptatus, idemque inter fideles sui Pagi spectatissimus, qui bene admodum de Vera Religione meruerat. Denique Novembri Mense Presbyter Petrus Dumoulin Borie, atque insuper bini Sacerdotes indigenae una simul pro Christi amore fortiter occubuerunt. Atque haec quidem, uti diximus, contigerunt anno millesimo octingentesimo trigesimo octavo.

“Nuper autem memoratas Cocincinae, Tunquinique Regionem novo virtutis fulgore illustrarunt tres Milites Christiani, quos superiori anno ob Fidei confessionem in Tunquino vinculis mancipatos Provinciae Praeses quum nullis neque blanditiis, neque minis, neque tormentis a caritate Christi separare potuisset, tandem ipsos propinati per fraudem medicamenti vi sensibus alienatos super sanctissimi Redemptoris imaginem jussit imponi: ac postmodum Literas dedit ad Regem de Christiana Religione ab illis per crucis conculcationem abnegata. Verum pii Milites, qui interim e carcere cum pecuniae subsidio dimissi fuerant, re subinde cognita, nihil morati sunt quin ad Praetorium irent, ubi pecuniam, quae dolo eis data fuerat, palam projicientes coram magistratibus, memoratoque Praeside rursus confessi sunt Fidem Nostram, seque ab ejus sanctitate nequaquam recessisse protestati, ipsam aequè in posterum firmissime retenturos professi sunt. Post hanc afficti sibi sceleris praeclaram adeo ac manifestam depulsionem bini eorundem Militum, nomine Nicolaus, et Augustinus, adierunt insuper longo itinere ad Regiam Cocincinae Urbem, Regemque ipsum de his, quae contigerant, ac de sua in Christi famulatu constantia oblato in id Libello certiorum fecerunt. Hinc iterum jussu principis ad Fidem deserendam frustra sollicitati demum Mense Junio anni proximi ad Martyrii palmam feliciter pervenerunt, eorumque corpora detruncato jam capite in quatuor partes dissecta et in maris profundum demersa sunt.

"Habetis igitur, Venerabiles Fratres, in oratione hac nostra breve illorum elogium, qui ex omni Catholici cleri, populique ordine in supradictis ultimi pene Orientis partibus veram Christi Fidem nedum vario aerumnarum tormentorumque genere sustinendo, sed fuso etiam sanguine clarificarunt. Faxit Deus, ut facultas deinceps non desit de tota hac causa rite inquirendi, quo Sancta haec Sedes Pontificiarum Sanctionum normam possit de ipso tot novorum martyrum triumpho, eisdemque fidelium venerationi proponendis judicium ferre. Firma interim spe sustentamur ut Auctor Fidei consummator Christus Dominus, cujus adjutrice gratia factum est, ut fortes in certamine permanent, respiciat modo super Sponsam suam Ecclesiam recenti filiorum sanguine coruscantem, eamque a calamitatibus, quibus affligitur, propitius eripiat; speciatim vero in Regionibus eodem sanguine irrigatis multiplicato credentium numero justitiæ fruges amplificet."

Allocution of our most Holy Lord by divine Providence, Pope Gregory XVI, delivered in secret consistory, 27th April 1840.

VENERABLE BROTHERS.—Already, as you well know, venerable brothers, we have mourned over the grievous afflictions of the Christians in Tonquin and the neighbouring regions, and over the multiplied persecutions by which their faith has been tried; nor have we omitted to humble our soul before God; and moreover by opening the treasures of indulgences, to excite the sons of the Church to offer to the most merciful Lord daily prayers and other works of piety, on behalf of their brethren suffering under such great tribulation. In the meanwhile there has not been wanting, for the alleviation of the grief which has been thence occasioned to us a source of consolation in the unconquered courage of many, whom no fear of danger, no fetters, no stripes, nor other distresses of protracted continuance, not even the very aspect of immediate death, could make to swerve from the profession of the Catholic Faith. And now since of the principal transactions which of late years have happened there, sufficiently satisfactory evidence has by degrees reached this Holy See, we have thought it our present duty to proclaim, in this august assembly, the virtue of those who have delivered up their bodies for the faith of Christ, and together with you to offer up praise to Christ himself, triumphing in his soldiers.

And to begin from the year 1835; at that time, the missionary Marchand shewed himself a worthy champion of Christ in the country of Cochin-China. Being detained by certain seditious persons in a fortified place, which was stormed and taken by the royal troops, he was seized by the soldiers, and thrust (as if he had been a wild beast) into an iron cage, and carried away to the principal city; and there, after the force of torments was spent upon him in vain, in order to make him renounce Christianity, at length towards the close of November in that year, by command of the king, through hatred of our Faith, was put to death. At the same place, and during the same period, a bright example was exhibited in the person of a young Chinese,

the only son of a widowed mother, who after nearly two years severe imprisonment which he sustained with fortitude, joyfully, for the sake of Christ, bowed his neck to the sword of the executioner; and after his head was cut off, that pious mother, who had witnessed the scene, carried away the treasure.

After that, in the year 1837, were rendered illustrious in the kingdom of Tonquin, the names of the priest, John Charles Cornay, and of a native Christian, Francis Xavier Càn. The former of these was seized by the infidels while performing the functions of a priest, and shut up in a cage, and after enduring the most cruel scourgings, which were inflicted upon him during the space of three months, he could not be brought to swerve from the faith of Christ; for that faith at length he died, in the month of September in that year, his head being cut off and his limbs torn into fragments and ignominiously scattered in various directions. The latter, who was performing the duties of a catechist in that same country, was put to death for Christ's sake in the month of November, after suffering in chains twenty months, imprisonment, and divers hardships during all that time; a man who by his invincible constancy in the faith, won the admiration equally of the faithful and of the infidels.

We are here compelled to pass over others in silence, regarding by far the greater number of whom we know scarcely more, than that at the time of which we have spoken, or in subsequent years, many of them in like manner washed their robes in the blood of the lamb; and others, although they have not as yet been slain for Christ, have evinced their steady perseverance in the profession of the gospel, under very grievous afflictions and torments. Among these we have heard especially of the fortitude of many of the Chinese women, in whom the ardour of faith rose superior to the weakness of their sex.

But besides these, many in these latter years have suffered death for the sake of Christ, respecting whose triumph particular details have reached us. Among these is mentioned Francis Jaccard a missionary priest in the kingdom of Cochin-China, who, after being a long time in chains, and dragged about from place to place, and having given repeated proofs of invincible constancy, at length, through hatred of the faith, was strangled in the month of September 1838. A native christian youth, Thomas Thien, underwent the same death in his company. But above all, that same year will be celebrated in the annals of the Church of Tonkin; for towards its close, many laymen among the members of that church, as well as many priests and holy bishops, obtained the incorruptible crown of martyrdom. And first to be commemorated, is the venerable brother Ignatius Delgado, of the order of preachers, bishop of Mellepotamus, and vicar apostolic in the eastern part of the kingdom. After presiding forty years over the province committed to his charge, the aged man at length fell into the hands of the infidels. By these he was thrust into a wooden cage or cell, and there, after patiently enduring the torments inflicted

on him, was at length worn out by a distemper which attacked him ; and in the month of July in that year, he slept in the Lord, before the sentence passed upon him by the magistrates, had been brought back confirmed by the royal assent. These magistrates nevertheless did not refrain from decapitating his lifeless trunk ; and having suspended the head in public for three days, then placed it in a basket heaped with stones, and sunk it in the river. Through the wonderful dispensation however of the Almighty, it so happened that this sacred head, (so it is related in the narrative which has been sent to us), after a lapse of nearly four months after his death, was there found wholly incorrupt and uninjured.

This death of the vicar apostolic just named, so precious in the sight of the Lord, had been preceded, in the month of June, by the martyrdom of his venerable coadjutor, brother Dominic Henares, also of the order of preachers, and bishop of *Fesseit*. He too had grown old in the charge of souls in the same place, and at length, together with his bishop, was hunted out by the soldiers, and captured, thrust into a place of confinement, and grievously tormented, and in a short time being decapitated, bore testimony to the faith. The same lot was at the same time experienced by a pious native, named Francis Chiên, who performed the office of a catechist ; and that Faith of Christ of which he had promoted the progress, he confessed with constancy even to the shedding of his blood. A few days afterwards, a priest who was also a native, Vincent Yèn, of the order of preachers, underwent the same fate, after toiling for forty years in the office of a missionary. Although assailed by more than one species of infliction, he remained constant in the profession of the true faith ; nor would he even avail himself of the deception which was suggested to him by one of the magistrates, in order that he might escape the sentence of death ; namely, to conceal his sacerdotal dignity, and call himself a physician. After these, in the month of July, were crowned the missionary Joseph Fernandez, of the order of preachers, and the native priest, Peter Tuân ; each of them had laboured more than thirty years in cultivating that portion of the vineyard of the Lord. The head of Joseph was cut off although he had been thrust into a cage, and tortured before several judges ; and had everywhere exhibited an illustrious example of christian fortitude. But although Peter was condemned to the same sentence, yet inasmuch as the royal confirmation of his sentence had not as yet been received, he died in prison the victim of torture and sufferings, endured by him for the sake of the faith. The same, a few days before, had been the fate of an aged catechist, Joseph Uyên, who had been enrolled in the third order of St. Dominick, and who after having been many ways harrassed, on account of his constancy in the faith, and at length cruelly tortured, by the fretting of a wooden instrument of torture, which was pressed upon his neck, expired in a few hours under the wound. Next followed the illustrious martyrdom of the native priest Bernard Duê, a venerable man eighty-three years old. After many labours expended on the salvation of souls, worn out by old age and diseases, he could scarcely walk ; and yet loudly and

repeatedly proclaiming his religion and his profession, by a peculiar impulse of divine grace, as it seems to us, he gave himself up to the soldiers. By these he was seized, and then by various torments was tempted, but in vain, to abandon his faith; and although according to the public laws of the kingdom, on account of his his being upwards of eighty years old, the extreme punishment could not be inflicted on him, nevertheless by special decree directed against him this was effected, and in the beginning of the month of August, he underwent a glorious death for the sake of Christ by being beheaded. At the same time and together with him, another native priest of the order of preachers, named Dominick Diêu Hanh, was put to death in the same manner. In former times he had undergone much for the good of souls, and very recently he had gloriously sustained not a few other torments for the love of Christ. A few days afterwards, the like kind of death for professing the faith, was joyfully undergone by another champion of Christ, Joseph Viën, also a native priest, who had previously spent sixteen years in the labours of the holy ministry. To these, in the month of September, succeeded another priest of that district, Peter Tu, of the order of preachers; previously to his death by decapitation, he not only remained most constant in the faith in the midst of torments, but even in the very presence of his judges, fearlessly exhorted the Christians who were in bonds with him to persevere. In this kind of martyrdom he had a companion, Joseph Canh, a man advanced in life, and a member of the third order of St. Dominick, a distinguished character among the faithful of his village, and one who had rendered valuable service to the true religion. Lastly, in the month of November, the priest, Peter Dumoulin Borie, and also two native priests at the same time, courageously died for the love of Christ. All these things, as we have said, happened in the year 1838.

But recently, the already mentioned regions of Cochin-China and Tonquin, have derived fresh lustre from the heroic virtue of three soldiers. In the preceding year, the prefect of the province of Tonquin having imprisoned them for professing the faith, and having failed by blandishments and threats, and even by torments, to separate them from the love of Christ, at length deprived them of their senses by means of a drug he had fraudulently induced them to drink, and caused them to be placed upon the image of our most holy Redeemer, and then sent letters to the king, declaring that they had denied the christian religion by trampling on the cross. But these pious soldiers, who in the meanwhile had been dismissed from Prison with a present of money, as soon as they discovered the fact, hastened to the court of justice, and openly threw down before the magistrates the money which had been thus insidiously given to them, and before the same prefect again professed our faith, protesting that they had never by any means receded from its sanctity, and would continue to adhere to it most firmly in future. After this signal refutation of the heinous charge attempted to be fastened upon them, two of these soldiers,

Nicholas and Augustine by name, even undertook a long journey to the royal city of Cochin-China, and informed the king by a written document, of the circumstances which had occurred, and of their determined constancy in the service of Christ. Hereupon once more, by the command of the prince, they were solicited, but in vain, to desert their faith, and at length in the month of June in the past year, they happily attained the palm of martyrdom, and after their heads were cut off, their bodies were divided into four parts, and were cast into the depths of the sea.

Thus therefore, venerable brethren, you have in this our oration, a short eulogium of these men of all ranks of the Catholic clergy and laity, who in the very verge of the east, have glorified the true faith of Christ, not only by enduring various kinds of trials and torments, but, by shedding their blood. May God grant us the means hereafter of duly investigating the whole of this cause, so that this Holy See, in accordance with the order and rule of the pontifical sanctions, may pass a judicial sentence respecting the triumph of so many new martyrs, and may propose them to the veneration of the faithful. In the meanwhile we are supported by a firm hope that the author and finisher of our faith, Christ the Lord, by whose assisting grace, they were enabled victoriously to sustain the conflict, may look down with complacency on his spouse the Church, glittering in the recent blood of her sons, and may graciously rescue her from all the calamities with which she is afflicted, and especially in the regions watered by their blood, may increase the fruits of justice, by augmenting the number of believers.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Michael Angelo, considered as a Philosophic Poet, with Translations,
by J. E. Taylor. London, 1840.

IF there ever were a man to whose soul the spirits of the sublime and the beautiful, in their unseen visitations, fully revealed themselves in their heavenly perfections, it was the great Buonarotti. As sculptor, architect, painter, he has shown that he was a diligent and devout listener to their inspirations; and as a poet, also, he has further left us evidence that his was no sectarian apprehension, but an ardent and Catholic appreciation of those divine ideas of the lovely, the majestic, the excellent, which they present to their admiring worshipper. To set forth his greatness in the latter character,—to give an estimate of his philosophic genius,—to lift up the veil which conceals the immaculate countenance of the sacred love which formed the argument of his song,—out of the scattered and apparently mystic elements of his system,—to extract the key which he possessed, and, seemingly, cared not to communicate,—is the object of the above work.

In the execution of this duty, Mr. Taylor has shown great industry,—a fervent regard for, and an enlarged acquaintance with, his subject, together with considerable ability, which deserve high praise; though we must confess that the metaphysical investigation is put forth in

too much of a parti-coloured vest : nor is the object always inspected from the right point of view. Instead of the mosaic, though pleasing, composition from Winckelman, Reynolds, Boethius, Plato, &c., we should have preferred a more coherent and digested elucidation to have been given by the author. The elements to be found in these writers, by a process of intellectual absorption,—an intromission as it has not unaptly been called,—should have been taken up, and by the assimilating and creative spirit, the life-giving energy in the soul of him who should discourse of such matters, have been re-produced in a simpler and more systematic form. Mr. Taylor seems to labour under the defect of having no fixed metaphysical system,—a defect, in our days, inexcusable, as, by the series of communications from Plato to Kant and Coleridge, a spiritual philosophy, one, harmonious and impregnable, has been established. He says, in a note, p. 47, that “it is very questionable whether the Diotima of Plato’s Banquet had any more *real existence* than the demon of Socrates.” Is there any doubt of the *reality* of the demon, of whom the great Athenian speaks ? or, does Mr. Taylor think, like the materialists, that only the things of the senses are realities ? If he have not the Catholic faith in the doctrine of guardian angels, can he doubt the spiritual, and, therefore, *real* character of that guidance which the sage recognized, and which God ever bestows upon his creatures ? Is conscience a reality, or the soul, or faith ? The influences that move the immaterial being of man are the *real* realities, and the things of the senses, miscalled so, are but phenomena as unsubstantial as they are transitory.

But our limits do not allow us to prolong these observations. The book, though lacking, for the reason hinted at, a homogeneous character, is a work of high interest, and no one can read it without having his heart warmed, his imagination elevated, his intellect excited and refined. Its value and attractiveness would have been very much increased had he given translations of the whole of the poems ; —a completeness which we recommend him to supply when another edition is published. We also suggest that he should give us the rhythm and music of the originals, instead of blank-verse representations. Although he has very correctly furnished us with the sense of the poems he has translated, we miss the sweet and solemn melody in which Michael Angelo clothed them. Mr. Wordsworth has shown us that their beauty and harmony, in the three sonnets he has rendered, can be embodied in the forms of our language.

The poetical productions of Michael Angelo are unquestionably of a high rank,—marked by a flow of eloquence, a nobility of sentiment, and discover a depth of thought rarely equalled, frequently attaining the sublimity of Dante. He did not allow them to be published during his life,—they were the silent and meditative intercourse which his genius held with eternal truths. He wrote not for praise, and must have felt what Wordsworth has since finely declared, that “grand thoughts are most naturally and fitly conceived in solitude, and cannot be brought forth in the midst of plaudits without violation of their

sanctity." They received the just and cordial approbation of his friends and contemporaries; even Aretino declares that his writings were "worthy of being preserved in an urn of emerald." In his long life, troubled by continued vexations,—but which the wise man but looks upon as conditions of virtue, for only in triumphing over these is he good and great—his affections were devoted to noble objects,—a pure and unsensual love,—the beautiful in art, and the preparation for death by the contemplation of those everlasting verities that are the foundation of all man's immortal hopes.

She who was the subject of many of his verses was the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, wife of the Marquis of Pescara. History affords no instance of a stronger or a purer affection. In this extraordinary woman, were united high mental endowments, with refinement, innocence of heart, and moral purity; conjugal fidelity was the crown of her virtues. The lofty and unearthly spirit of the love that Michael Angelo entertained for her may be seen in the following sonnet, which we prefer giving in Wordsworth's translation:—

"No mortal object did these eyes behold
When first they met the placid light of thine,
And my soul felt her destiny divine,
And hope of endless peace in me grew bold:
Heaven-born, the soul a heavenward course must hold;
Beyond the visible world she soars to seek,
(For what delights the sense is false and weak)
Ideal form, the universal mould.
The wise man, I affirm, can find no rest
In that which perishes: nor will he lend
His heart to aught which doth on time depend.
'Tis sense, unbridled will, and not true love,
Which kills the soul: love betters what is best,
Even here below, but more in heaven above."

Or, in the beautiful one beginning "*La vita del mio amor non è cuor mio*," which we give in Mr. Taylor's.

"My heart is not the life-seat of my love;
The love wherewith I love thee hath no heart;
Turned thither where affection cannot be
Mortal, of error full, nor guilty thought.
Love, in the parting of the soul from God,
Did make me a sound eye and splendour thee,
Which my desire must needs discern in thee
Even in that which through our frailty dies.
As warmth from cold, so is the beautiful
Inseparate from th' Eternal; all which thence
Descends, and wears its semblance, my thoughts exalt.
Perceiving Paradise within thine eyes,
Burning with love, I seek again thy brows,
There to return where first I loved thee."

He stood by her death-bed, and when her lofty and gentle spirit had forsaken its fair tenement, he raised her hand, and kissed it with sacred respect.

"In the sonnets written at the close of his life there is a depth of devotional feeling, mingling painfully with the regrets of the past. . . . There is a grandeur in the melancholy which clothed his thoughts at this period of his life. As he felt age stealing on him, the object of his earthly devotion and thoughts faded before him, and a strong sense of the feebleness of man prostrated his soul in the presence of the Almighty. Inexpressibly touching, and at the same time natural, is this transition of his feelings. His mind could aspire no further; the law of humanity was upon him, whispering, 'Thus far shalt thou go, but no further;' his spirit stood like the man of God upon the mount, in sight of the promised land, whither, through the divine favour, his power had carried him: and now on the verge of the grave, his soul turned to the Creator, and devotion took possession of his feelings; faith gave strength to his weakness and support to his infirmities."

"Burdened with years, and full of sinfulness,
And firmly fixed in evil habitude,
I see me near the one and other death,
And yet with poison partly feed the heart.
Nor have I inward strength, which habit, love,
And my sad state demand, to change my life,
Without thine aid divine to lead me on,
Thy guidance to direct my erring course.
Yet it sufficeth not, O Lord, that thou
Shouldst thither bear my feeble spirit up
To where, from nothing, thou didst it create :—
Ere thou divest it of mortality,
Oh, let repentance first make smooth the path,
That it return to thee more surely blest."

From a spirit so self-accusing, so humble, but so ardent, the divine assistance would not be withheld. All the aids and graces which God has appointed, no doubt brought tidings of peace and faith to his anxious soul, giving him that hope and consolation that he himself so finely speaks of in his discourse on Petrarch. "He who lives a pure and praiseworthy life, as those do who love with a true and perfect love, either in the contemplation of God and heavenly things, or looking on earthly things, which are more like ourselves, with a continual rein on those inordinate appetites which crave after an immoderate enjoyment of them, obtain a peaceful and happy end. Following this path, learning to love with a high, a great, a noble love, we shall pass without danger through the narrow and fearful valley of the grave, beyond which is the only hope of felicity."

He has past the bounds of space and time; the angel of the late hour, the angel of life, which we so mistakenly call death, has borne him to that region where pain and doubt and tears are unknown. Let us seek *truly* to honour him. Let us love, reverence, and imitate the evidences of his greatness which he has left us.

Sordello: by Robert Browning. London: 1840.

This is a work by the author of *Paracelsus*, and one not likely to

exalt his reputation, or to produce any adipose tendency in the exchequer of his respectable publisher. The title page is brief, not defining its character. This brevity may be studied, to enhance curiosity, or forced, from the difficulty of selecting the most appropriate description of the production issued. We have noted down several definitions, out of many that have struck us in the perusal, as being fitted to characterise it; such as "*Sordello* a conundrum," from the difficulty of making out the meaning or object of the author. "*Sordello*, couplets illustrative of the interrogative system;" from the profuse use made of the contorted marks of interrogation, which are spread in great numbers through the pages, standing like so many Scarrons, Popes and Æsops, but not contributing their wit, melody or wisdom. "*Sordello*, or exercises for the asthmatics," from the wheezy, spasmodic, sobbing nature of the verse. These are but a few specimens which the perusal has suggested to us; but as the determination, seeing their conflicting pretensions, is difficult, we must imitate a late chancellor, and postpone our final judgment.

We remember perusing the *Paracelsus* with some gratification, as a work of promise, which, despite its many defects, led us to hope that ultimately, we should be able to hail the author as one deserving of taking his seat among the crowned poets of the age, and whose productions would hereafter contribute fresh stores of beauty, strength, philosophic insight, and harmonious thought, apparelled in majestic and melodious numbers, to the literature of our country. The play of *Strafford* somewhat checked that expectation. Although in it there was no insignificant dexterity in the construction, the language occasionally exhibited power and richness, and somewhat of an artistic eye, there was a meanness in the working out of his conceptions, a want of dignity and appropriateness in the dialogue, and an offensive and vicious style, apparently grounded on some concealed theory, at utter variance with all the canons of taste and propriety.

Our perusal of *Sordello* has not renewed our early anticipation. The faults of Mr. Browning are here exaggerated and profusely displayed, to the destruction of all interest, comprehension of the narrative, sympathy with the author, or approbation of his intellectual pretensions. The story is most elliptically constructed, full of breaks and leaps; the syntax of quite an unusual character, a mass of perplexity and obscurity; the versification is harsh and knotty; the language, instead of being throughout "English undefiled," is larded with many fantastic and arbitrary inversions, and the whole set together in a rickety, hysterical, capricious style, producing the most startling and repulsive effect. All this makes us fear that the defects, which we had previously fancied were ascribable to immaturity, are the result of some obstinate system which has now obtained too strong a control over the writer, ever to let him stand up a free man, to discourse of noble and regenerating themes in a mode worthy of such, or of the sublime and responsible avocation of a poet. If the critical aphorism of Coleridge be true, that the poem to which we *return* with the greatest pleasure, possesses the genuine power and claims the name

of *true poetry*, then is *Sordello* certainly condemned ; for it is as impossible to *return* to, as to read it for the first time even with pleasure.

It is an evil sign when, in the work of an author, we see strong evidence that his energy has been directed to the *form*, rather than to the *spirit* and *substance* of his subject. This has not been manifested by those who have, from of old, down to the present day, furnished us with those productions, which the world will not willingly let die. In them the soul of the poet has spoken ; new worlds of splendour and beauty, displayed to his inner being, have been revealed to us ; treasures of wisdom and knowledge unfolded ; lofty conceptions, spiritual enunciations, oracles that speak of the divine and the infinite, have been breathed forth by him to quicken and ennoble the dead and the worldly ; but the spirit that was in his communications, was his chief concern, not the mode or the shape in which they were to be given. To those who aspire to win the poet's immortal name, and produce his life-giving and lasting effects, must it be recommended to follow such example. They must recognise and respect the venerable in the past and the established, and with the most ardent and dutiful desire to bring a votive offering, as a thanksgiving and supplication, to the Temple of the Beautiful, they must feel the obligation to present it in a shape which has been stamped with the approbation of the good and the wise, which harmonizes with the feelings of the devout and the worshipful, and does not mar its effect by raising the doubt whether the votary has not been more excited by influences relating to the transitory, instead of losing such in the contemplation of the permanent and the supreme.

We regret that we have not been able to give a more recommendatory notice of Mr. Browning's work ; but we have a high estimate of the aim and functions of a poet, and are jealous guardians of our country's literature. We cannot, therefore, to gratify a clever man, or to win a false character for liberality among publishers, compromise our duty and mislead our readers. He has given indication of powers, that if faithfully, diligently, and loftily cultivated, might place him in an honourable and beneficent position. The world of the beautiful is not exhausted, the number of the poets is not yet made up ; there are thousands of manifestations of the good, the true, the lovely, the eternal in man, yet to be revealed. He may yet give the world assurance that he is one who has been appointed to this high calling which he aims at ; If he *aspire rightly*, he will *attain*. We hope that he will do so ; but let him take this warning from us, in the only quotation we shall make from his *Sordello*,—

“Change no old standards of perfection ; vex

With no strange forms *created to perplex*.”

The Works of Josephus. George Virtue. London.

This Work is a reprint in fifteen monthly parts, of nearly one hundred pages, of the Works of Josephus, with valuable notes from the well established Translation of Whiston. The getting up of the work, including some excellent illustrations, is of the highest order. We strongly recommend it to our readers.

SUMMARY REVIEW OF SOUTH AMERICAN SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE.

IN our ninth Number we gave an account of several works published in South America, either in Spanish or Portuguese, chiefly bearing upon the authority of the Holy See, in the institution of bishops. We trust it will not be unwelcome to our readers to have presented to them a brief summary of such works as have come into our hands since that article was written. We must, however, premise that our account will necessarily be very meagre, owing to the difficulty of procuring much that is published in that distant portion of the Catholic world. We will begin with works connected with the controversy concerning the appointment of the Bishop of Rio Janeiro, and the rights of the Holy See in that matter, as it formed the principal topic of our last article. We refer our readers to that article for any information on the different points agitated between the Brazilian Government and the See of Rome.

CANON AND ECCLESIASTICAL LAW.

1. *Observações a respeito das aleições capitulares e exercicio da jurisdicção dos Bispos, &c.*—Observations respecting capitular elections, and the exercise of jurisdiction by Bishops elect and nominated, before their confirmation and canonical institution; Rio de Janeiro, 1836.—This is a pamphlet translated from the French, in which this nice point of canon law, particularly applicable to the question then pending in Brazil, is very ably discussed.

2. *Resposta do illustrissimo Cabido da Sé Cathedral e Capella imperial do Rio de Janeiro, &c.*—Reply of the Most Illustrious Chapter of the Episcopal See and Imperial Chapel of Rio de Janeiro, &c.; Rio, 1837.—This contains two replies to questions of canon law, respecting the administration of vacant sees, neither of them, however, bearing directly on the Rio controversy. One regards the proportion of revenue from the episcopal funds, to which a vicar capitular is entitled, and applies to a question risen in the church of Bahia. The second refers to the translation of the bishop of Cochin to the see of Pernambuco, and discusses his right to grant those dispensations in his former see, not yet filled up, which depend upon concession from Rome, and cannot be granted by virtue of ordinary powers by the vicar-capitular. Both the answers display an accurate acquaintance with the laws of the Church upon this subject.

3. *Ao Illm. e Rom. Cabido da Igreja Cathedral e Capella imper. do Rio de Janeiro em Setembro de 1836.*—To the Most Illustrious and Rev. Chapter of the Cathedral Church and Imperial Chapel of Rio de Janeiro in September 1836.—This is an address of a young ecclesiastic on the subject of the three questions proposed to different parties by the Brazilian Government, regarding the rights of

a bishop not confirmed by the Pope, to grant dispensations, &c. ;* calling on the Chapter, in energetic language, supported by sound argument, to reply in the negative to the proposed enquiries.

4. *Discurso sobre a confirmação dos Bispos, no qual se examina a materia palos principias canonicas, &c.*—Discourse on the Confirmation of Bishops, in which the matter is examined according to the principles of Canon-law in force in the Catholic Church ; Rio, 1838.—This Essay was originally composed in Spanish, by the late Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Inguanzo, and is translated into Portuguese by Father Louis Gonsalves dos Santos. The translator, who has all along been a zealous upholder of the rights of the Holy See, has prefixed to the work an introduction, stating the motives of the publication. The Archbishop of Bahia, Primate of Brazil, and deputy from his province to the General Assembly, had, at the close of the session of 1836, published a speech, delivered by him upon the conduct of the government towards the court of Rome. This was severely attacked by the liberal party ; the principal objections are met in the introduction : it was in order still further to vindicate the zealous prelate, that the translation is published.

5. *Da incompetencia do Concilio Nacional para estabelecer hum novo modo de instituicao canonica dos Bispos, sem a intervencao do Papa.*—On the incompetency of the National Council to establish a new method of Canonical Institution of Bishops, without the intervention of the Pope ; Rio de Janeiro, 1835.—This is another translation from the French of the Bishop of Tournay. The memorial was presented to Napoleon by that prelate in 1811. To it is premised an historical essay, explanatory of the state of affairs in France at that time.

6. *Reflexiones imparciales de un Brasileiro sobre el Message del Trono, &c.*—Impartial Reflections of a Brazilian upon the Speech from the Throne, &c. ; Buenos Ayres, 1837.—A translation of a Portuguese work, sufficiently made known to our readers in our former article. The publisher, D. Pedro Ignacio de Castro y Barros, is indefatigable in his efforts to sustain the rights of the apostolic see in South America, and to counteract the attempts made by a powerful party to introduce infidelity or liberalism into the religious opinions of the country. He has dedicated his translation to the Pope, who, before his elevation to the pontificate, had so ably defended the prerogatives of Rome, against the attacks of the Jansenistic innovators of the close of the last century.

THEOLOGY AND CONTROVERSY.

7. *Ensayo sobre la Supremacia del Papa, especialmente con respecto a la institucion de los Obispos.*—Essay on the Supremacy of the Pope, especially with respect to the institution of Bishops ; by

* See our former article, p. 245.

the author of the *Peruvian Letters*; Buenos Ayres, 1834.—In our former article we reviewed the second part of this work, regretting that the first part, first printed at Lima in 1831, had not reached us. We have now before us the reprint made at Buenos Ayres, and have only to observe that it does not diminish the high opinion we had formed, on perusing the second part, of the author's sound and profound learning.

8. *Compendio de Theologia moral, para o uso do Seminario d'Olinda am Pernambuco.*—Compendium of Moral Theology, for the use of the Seminary of Olinda, in Pernambuco; by Manoel do Monte Rodriguez d'Aranjo, 2 vols. 8vo. Pernambuco, 1837.—This is an excellent compendium of moral theology, sufficiently short to be a practical class-book, but at the same time to contain all that is essential to a correct knowledge of the principles of Catholic morality. The author has always kept in view the laws of the country, and the peculiar privileges or customs of the Brazilian Church. The modifications which all decisions must undergo, when they come in contact with points of law, from the laws of each country, make it almost necessary for every nation to have its own moral course, especially adapted to its own legislative enactments. In England this want must necessarily be felt; questions we know constantly arise, from the character of our commercial and public institutions, for which a resolution will not be found in works composed for other times and countries; and much perplexity consequently results to those who are called upon to decide them without any guide. The learned author of this work has just been named the new Bishop of Rio de Janeiro.

9. *Exame orthodoxo, que convence de má fé, de erro e de scismaa analyse da resposta do Exm. e Rm. Arcebispo metrop. da Bahia.*—Orthodox Examen, which convicts of bad faith, of error and schism, the analysis of the answer of the Archbishop of Bahia, made by Dr. Manoel Joaquim do Amaral Gurgel; by F. Luis Gonsalves dos Santos; Rio, 1835.—The zealous Archbishop of Bahia had sent an answer to an official note from the minister of justice, upon the subject of clerical celibacy, which a party in South America has been long trying to disturb. The Archbishop here, as on every other occasion, showed himself a strenuous defender of the discipline of the church, and urged powerful motives against any attempt to interfere with this important point. His memorial having been published, was attacked very disrespectfully by Dr. Amaral, professor of law. To this attack a full and satisfactory answer is given in the work before us, and the celibacy of the clergy is ably vindicated.

10. *O Celibato ecclesiastico, considerado em suas relações religiosas e politicas.*—Ecclesiastical Celibacy, considered in its religious and political relations; Rio, 1836.—A translation from the French of the Abbé Jager, published as a sequel to the work just named.

11. *Desagravo do Clero e do Povo Catholica Fluminense, ou Refu-*

tação das mentiras e calumnias de hum impostor que se intitula Missionario do Rio de Janeiro.—Exculpation of the clergy and Catholic people of Rio, or Refutation of the lies and calumnies of an impostor, calling himself the Missionary of Rio de Janeiro, sent by the Episcopal Methodist Society of New York, to civilize and convert its inhabitants to Christianity; by F. Gonsalves dos Santos; Rio, 1837.—The person described in the title of this work, thought proper to send to the society which gave him his apostolic commission, a report of his labours, which was published in the New York Christian Advocate and Journal, December 2, 1836. In it he lavished, as is usual with that sort of gentry, every abuse upon the good-natured people that had given him hospitality, and treated the poor Brazilians as no better than heathens, and their clergy as something worse. This letter soon appeared in a Brazilian paper, being translated in order to open the eyes of the public to the character of their guest. The present pamphlet analyses this letter, replying to its statement, paragraph by paragraph; nearly half of it, however, is taken up with an appendix, which well deserves the epithet given to it, of *curtosissimo*, as it contains descriptions, from authentic sources, of *revivals*, camp-meetings, and other such institutions of methodism.

12. *Antidoto catholico contra o Veneno Methodista.*—Catholic antidote against the Methodistic Poison, or Refutation of the second Report of the person called the Missionary of Rio; by the Rev. R. P. G. Tilbury, Rio, 1838.—Mr. Tilbury is an excellent English priest, long resident at Rio de Janeiro, and enjoying there, justly, the esteem of all classes. To his little work is added a critical analysis of the advertisement for the sale of Bibles, put forth by the missionary, from the pen of F. Gonsalves. We think these vigorous acts of justice on the slanderer will have made his subsequent attempts very hopeless.

HISTORY.

13. *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro.*—Annals of Rio de Janeiro, containing the discovery and conquest of the country, the foundation of the city, &c.; by Balthazar da Silva Lisboa, LL.D. 7 vols. 8vo.; Rio, 1835.—This is an important and interesting work, containing the political, natural, and ecclesiastical history of Rio. The latter of these three divisions occupies the sixth and seventh volumes; a detailed account is given of the establishment and progress of the many ecclesiastical institutions, secular and regular, in the country, with biographical accounts of the most distinguished members of each of the missions among the Indians, &c. The narrative will be found, on the whole, to reflect high credit on the clergy of the country. We are generally told in England that monks and friars are the natural enemies of all liberty, and the best instruments for any despotism. We will make one extract from the book before us, respecting the conduct of the first Jesuits established in Southern Brazil:—

" But the Jesuits warmly maintained the unlimited freedom of the native Indians, thus exciting and promoting great disgust, agitation, and tumults among the populations. The distrust became every time more aggravated, in consequence of its having become the popular opinion that it was through their efforts the bull was published, the execution of which was committed to the ecclesiastical prelate, on the freedom of the Indians ; and that from their influence came the laws promulgated on this subject, such as that of the 20th of March, 1570, which ordered that they should be treated and reputed as free persons, and that no one should be allowed to hold them in slavery, excepting in case of just war, authorized by the sovereign or governor, when they had assailed the inhabitants by killing them and destroying their plantations, or when they had killed their enemies to eat them."

Here follows a long catalogue of decrees and laws to the same effect, vol. vi. p. 29. Thus we see the dreaded influence of this powerful body, all directed to secure liberty and equality to the native Indians, and succeeding in their efforts, in spite of the unpopularity it procured them. Might not the liberty-boasting settlers of North America have learnt a useful and honourable lesson from them ?

14. *Relacion sensilla del felij suceso que ha tenido en esta Ciudad y en todo el Arzobispado al Jubileo Santo.*—A sincere account of the good effects produced in this city, and the entire Archbishopric, by the Holy Jubilee, published on occasion of the elevation to the pontifical throne of H. H. Gregory XVI. ; Lima, 1836.—This little work does good to a Catholic heart: it gives an account of the admirable manner in which the devotion of the jubilee was conducted ; it was appointed to commence on the first Sunday of Advent, Dec. 2, 1834 ; but two months of preparation were appointed, during which spiritual exercises, or courses of nine days' sermons, were given successively in the principal churches, conducted by the most eloquent and holy preachers. The jubilee was opened by a solemn and magnificent procession, attended by all the clergy of the city, all the government authorities, and vast crowds of people ; every day was distinguished by some ecclesiastical function, and the pulpits all echoed with the powerful announcement of the word of God. The following passage explains the results of this holy exercise :—

" It is not given to us to know the great fruits produced in the soul, nor would our pen be able to describe them ; but we have been witnesses to the conversions of sinners, which would appear incredible if we consider the enormity of their offences, rather than the immensity of the mercies of the God of all goodness. We have evidence of innumerable reconciliations between persons professing an inveterate hatred towards one another ; we have seen sanctified, by the church's blessing, a multitude of scandalous and clandestine unions ; restitutions have been made of property, of

which the true proprietors had no knowledge ; in a word, faith has been revived, charity rekindled, and hope regenerated."—p. 26.

15. *Discursos parlamentares que pronuncion na Camara dos Deputados ; o Exm. e Rm. Senhor D. Rom. Ant. de Seixas, Arcebispo de Bahia.*—Parliamentary Speeches pronounced in the Chamber of Deputies in the Sessions of 1826, 1834, and 1835, by the Archbishop of Bahia ; Bahia, 1836.—The Archbishop is a good example of how a zealous and enlightened ecclesiastic may, at the same time, be a sound and active patriot. Throughout this collection of his speeches, we find him where he should be ; on the one hand, ever manfully standing up for the immunities, rights, and independence of the ecclesiastical authority ; on the other, seconding, or often bringing forward, motions for the improvement of agriculture, education, and the social state of the people ; true, on all occasions, to his religion and to his country. His style is fervid, elevated, and nervous.

16. *Roma, sua populacao, governo, intuituções e estabelecimentos.*—Rome, its Population, Government, Institutions and Establishments ; Rio, 1838.—This little work is pleasing to us on two accounts : first, because it shows the interest which the capital of the Christian world, and all that relates to it, excites even in that remote quarter of the globe ; and, secondly, because being compiled, in a great measure, from the London and Dublin Orthodox Journal, it proves to us that that excellent periodical finds its way, as it should do, even to distant regions.

17. *Documentos oficiales que prueban el modo extraordinario, &c.*—Official Documents, showing the extraordinary and satisfactory manner in which the travails and persecutions of the Bishop of Comanen, and Vicar-Apostolic of Condova, Dr. Ben. Lascono, have ended ; Cordova, 1836.—This worthy prelate had been an object of persecution from the ministry of the *Reinafées*, as they were called, merely for sustaining his episcopal rights. He had been banished, and condemned to civil death without trial or charge ; though this is one of the severest punishments that can be inflicted under the Argentine constitution. At length they carried their enmity so far, as to plot, with extreme secrecy, the assassination of General Quiraga, his chief protector, a man particularly well deserving of the republic. This once discovered, led to the arrest and discomfiture of the bishop's adversaries, and to the dissolution or destruction of the government. He was reinstated in his honours in the most public and satisfactory manner.

18. *Discussao no Senado e Camara dos Senhores Deputados sobre a Falla do Trono, em 1839, na parte relativa aos negocios com a Santa Sé apostolica.*—Discussion in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies on that part of the speech from the throne which relates to the negotiations with the Holy Apostolic See ; Rio Janeiro, 1839.—The troublesome transactions which occupied the body of our former article, have, at length, been brought to a satisfactory close

This was announced in the speech from the throne, on the 3rd of May, 1839; the report of the minister of justice, on the eleventh of the same month, gave the pleasing intelligence, that besides the filling up of the two vacant sees of Rio and Minas Geraes, the holy see had been solicited to create two new bishoprics for the provinces of Rio Grande do Sul, and of Ceará; in fine, the report of the minister for foreign affairs, laid before the chamber on the 15th, communicated the name of the new bishop of Rio; the author, as we before intimated, of the course of moral theology mentioned above. Such is the interesting intelligence communicated to us at the beginning of this little volume. The body of it is chiefly taken up with comments upon the conduct of the president of the Senate, D. Diago Antonio Feijó. He was regent when the former insults upon the holy see were committed by the Brazilian Government, and has continued, in his speeches, his bitter hostility to the apostolic authority. In addition to his discourses, the zealous author of the book before us comments upon the speeches of three other deputies. The work concludes with official documents, &c.

SERMONS AND BOOKS OF PIETY.

19. *Oracion pronunciada el Domingo 8 de Noviembre, &c.*—Sermon delivered on Sunday, 8th November, 1835, on the festival of thanksgiving celebrated by the Dominican friars, for the restoration of their convent in this city; by Fr. Domingo Inchauregui, dedicated to General Rosas; Buenos Ayres, 1836. —The Dominican convent had been suppressed by a decree, dated December 21, 1822. The government, by an act dated Oct. 22, 1835, authorized its restoration, characterizing the suppression as unnecessary, unjust, and violent.

20. *Discurso pronunciado por el D. D. Bartolomé Herrera, &c.*—Discourse pronounced by Dr. Don Barthol. Herrera, on the 26th of July, on the confirmation of D. Jorge de Benevente y Maroaga; Lima, 1835.—The orator considers the appointment of that excellent ecclesiastic as a special favour of divine Providence to the church of Lima.

The following works are published by the zealous ecclesiastic, D. Pedro Ignacio de Castro Barros, for the purpose, as he always informs us in his title-pages, of counteracting all attempts to introduce anarchy, schism, false philosophy, or jansenism, into South America.

21. *Triclinio dolorosa y devoto Candelero, &c.*—Dolorous Banquet and devout Lamp, or Prayers in honour of the Holy Family; Montevideo, 1835.

22. *Novena de la Esclarecida Virgen S. Catalina de Sena.*—Novena in honour of the glorious virgin St. Catharine of Siena. Buenos Ayres, 1836.

23. *Panegirico de Maria Santisima N. S. bajo del augusto titulo*

del Rosario o de la Victoria.—Panegyric of the most Holy Virgin, our Lady, under the august title of the Rosary, or of Victory; Buenos Ayres, 1834.

24. *Panegirico del glorioso San Vincente Ferrer*.—Panegyric of St. Vincent Ferrer; Ibid. 1836.

25. *Oracion patriotica que dijo el 25 de Mayo de 1817 el Senor Dr. D. Felipe Antonio de Iriarte*.—Patriotic Oration, delivered May 25, 1817, by Dr. P. A. de Iriarte, who made an edifying death in 1821; Ibid. 1835.

After we had brought this summary review to a close, we received a pamphlet, which has given us no small gratification. It is entitled, *Autoridade da Santa Sé na America Meridional, artigo traduzido do Inglez, e tirado da Revista de Dublin, No. IX.*; Rio de Janeiro, 1839. It is, in fact, a translation of our former article, which, we are happy to see, has given satisfaction to our transatlantic brethren. This, we trust, will be some encouragement to them, as it is to us, to learn how the bond of unity, which binds us together, makes us all mutually support and sympathize with each other. We shall be delighted to think that our Review has been of any use to the cause of religion in so distant a part of the world. To the translation has been added a supplementary list of works, treating of the rights of the church, published in South America; and here also we have had the satisfaction of seeing that very little published since 1835, has escaped our notice in our present article. Indeed we have reason to be sure, that a few days more will put us in possession of the few works that have not reached us.

GERMAN LITERATURE,

Dr. J. A. Möhler's gesammelte Schriften and Aufsätze, herausgegeben von Dr. J. J. Döllinger.—The collected writings and essays of Dr. J. A. Möhler, edited by Dr. John Joseph Döllinger, Professor of Theology in the University of Munich, 2 vols. 1839-40; Ratisbon.—In the editorship of the present volumes, Dr. Döllinger has raised a noble monument to the memory of his illustrious friend, as well as rendered a signal service to the cause of religion and literature. He has collected many of Möhler's valuable essays, which were dispersed through various periodical works, as well as several beautiful literary fragments that had not yet seen the light. The interest of the volumes before us may be judged of by the very titles of their contents. In the first volume we find,—1. A disquisition on the controversy between St. Augustine and St. Jerome on St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, c. xi. 14. 2. An essay on the letter, by an anonymous disciple of the apostle, to Diognetos, the time of its publication, and the nature of its contents. 3. An essay on the life and times of St. Anselmo, wherein a most interesting account is

given of the religious and literary state of Europe, and more particularly England, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. 4. An essay on clerical celibacy. 5. Considerations on the historical relation of Universities to the State. 6. Fragments on the false Decretals of Isidore. 7. A disquisition on the relation of Mohammedanism to the Gospel: and 8. An Essay on the Origin of Gnosticism. In the second volume we find Reflections on the State of the Church in the fifteenth, and at the commencement of the sixteenth, century. 2. An Essay on St. Simonianism. 3. An elaborate treatise, entitled fragments on the history of the Abolition of Slavery. 4. A Letter to Dr. Bautain on his philosophy. 5. The History of Monasticism, in the period of its origin and first development; (a beautiful fragment of the great work which Möhler was preparing on the history of monastic orders in the west;) and 6. Two Articles on the arrest and imprisonment of the Archbishop of Cologne; the last literary effort of this great man. In none of his former works are the author's profound philosophic genius, his vast and various learning, and his power of luminous exposition, more strikingly displayed than in the volumes before us. In dignity of style, and amplitude of generalization, he nearly approaches Frederick Schlegel in his happiest efforts; while in closeness, clearness, and dexterity of ratiocination, he far surpasses him. Our limits will not, of course, permit us to give any critique on the various essays contained in the present volumes, but we shall endeavour, by two extracts, to give our readers some idea of the excellence of the work. Our first extract shall be from the Essay on Mohammedanism, which is one of the most interesting and elaborate in the first volume. Our author proves admirably that from the identification of church and state in Islam, any attempt to reform its political laws and institutions on the model of Christian countries, must lead inevitably to their destruction.

"If now Islam," says he, "in case of the occurrence of great political revolutions, will, doubtless, sustain an irreparable injury by the loss of its external part, which is the state, so most assuredly that inborn power of Judaism, which it owes to its divine institution, (however shockingly it may have been perverted), will be entirely wanting to Islam. The superhuman origin of the Mosaic Law is still the inexhaustible source of all the courage of its professors; whereas Islam, based on illusion, however unconscious and involuntary, cannot inspire the same confidence, if its adherents should be subjected to the same destinies which have befallen the descendants of the people of God. The origin must, certainly, be atoned for in the end. We deny accordingly any similarity, in this respect, between Islam and Judaism. If in the joyless, hopeless, totally helpless religious existence of the Jews, destitute as it is of all internal energy and beauty, and in the other marvellous destinies of this people, we should see a special punishment for the rejection of the Son of the living God, and should be disposed to regard this

very state of things as a means for accomplishing the higher views of Divine Providence, which will be developed in the lapse of ages; the consciousness that, in such a view, we are supported by Holy Writ, affords ample amends for any ridicule from a certain quarter, to which such a belief would, most assuredly, expose us. But hereby we would, at the same time, most positively deny the right to compare Islam with Judaism, in reference to the destinies which may befall the former, when it is no longer propped up by the state, with which it sprang up and grew to maturity.

"A religion which has the misfortune to be identified with a state, may be brought by it into great difficulties; as, on the other hand, it impedes the state, likewise, in all its movements. As a divine character is impressed on the whole form of the state; as its entire constitution, and all the rights existing under it, have acquired through religion a character absolutely sacred, the consequence is, that mere human institutions, calculated only for a certain stage of civilization, obtain a divine worth, whereby they are rendered unchangeable. In this manner the state stands, like a motionless petrification, slowly sinking under the weight of its own corruption, when some extraneous power doth not kindly interpose to accelerate its end. In the most extreme peril is a state of this description involved, when it is surrounded by nations, who, civilized by a higher religion, are possessed of a far freer and more progressive constitution, and meet with no peculiar obstacles to continued improvement. In relation to these, its position becomes utterly untenable.* If the political power, recognizing the unavoidable necessity of extensive reforms, enter on the execution of plans of change, it then destroys its own religious foundation, strikes at the very roots out of which it had sprung; the most violent opposition must ensue, and a destructive internal conflict becomes unavoidable. Policy and religion then not only diverge, but become mutually hostile, and no third principle is discoverable in them, which may serve as a point of reunion. The state is accordingly dissolved, even when it would reform; for its very essence consists in its irreformability, and the feeling of the necessity of its improvement becomes, at once, the presentiment of its end."—vol. i. p. 394-5.

We must now proceed to give an extract from the second volume. The charge of an overweening attachment to paganism, and an indifference to the cause of Christianity, has often been preferred against the Humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This accusation is shown by our author to be not applicable to the first and most eminent restorers of classical literature, who were mostly

* We may see in Jaubert's *Travels to Persia and Armenia* the complaints uttered by the Abbas Mirza, respecting the life of vegetation led by the Persians, and the immobility of their political system, as well as his anticipation of a catastrophe, p. 140. See also p. 118, where the first minister, Mirza Scheff, expresses himself in a like manner. Weimar, 1822.

zealous churchmen or pious laymen, that employed their learning in defence of religion, and were no less solicitous for the promotion of sacred, than of classical studies. Numerous examples from Italy, Spain, France, and England, are adduced in corroboration of this assertion. Even in Germany, when the Humanists later took up an attitude of hostility to the secular and regular clergy, and evinced a very profane spirit, he shows that scholars, formed in the school, and imbued with the spirit, of St. Thomas à Kempis, were the first to cultivate and diffuse a taste for polite letters.

Let us see how he vindicates the regenerators of learning in Italy from the charge of a leaning towards paganism :—

“ Let us now turn our eyes to the epoch of the real resuscitation of classical studies. The names of the fugitive Greeks are known, who brought to the west the treasures of ancient literature; but it is less a matter of attention, that they were all pious Greeks, in part monks and ecclesiastics; as for example, the most celebrated of all, Bessarion, who was afterwards made cardinal. By this cardinal, whom his treatises show to have been an able theologian, as well as a man of sanctity, an academy was erected; and on stated days he assembled around him Theodorus Gaza, Flavius Blondus, Platina, Campanus and others, to converse on scientific objects, and to realize their plans for the promotion of a higher intellectual culture. And who were, indeed, the first and most zealous native promoters of philology in Italy? The native Italians of this period, whose names posterity mentions with especial gratitude, belong, with few exceptions, to the clergy—a circumstance which, of itself, manifests the close alliance between polite studies and the theology of the Church. Laurentius Valla, the protégé of Pope Nicholas V, (a pontiff so highly to be revered for his virtues, his interior piety, and his various scientific attainments, more especially in the department of theology), belongs to the class of Humanists, and, as is well known, held a prebend in Rome. Nicholas encouraged him to those translations of the Greek classics, which are so highly prized by critics. Bold as Valla showed himself in his critical researches, he yet, as a theologian, followed the rigid Augustinian system. Angelus Politianus, the celebrated Aristotelian, and translator of Aristotle, was a canon, and Marsilius Ficinus a dean in Florence. The main object of the latter, a Platonist, and most meritorious translator of the writings of Plato, was, in his maturer years, to demonstrate Christianity to be a positive revelation from God, and even to show that the chief contents of the Platonic writings, whereof he was so enthusiastic an admirer, were borrowed from the sacred books of the Israelites. John Picus Mirandula, one of the most active and influential promoters of this new regeneration of science, sought likewise, but on a more extended scale than Ficinus, to prove that all the religious truths which are found among the different nations of the earth, owe their origin to a primitive revelation; and it was particularly for this purpose, and with these

views, he acquired, with such incredible labour, his knowledge of the oriental languages. In this way he sought to give a secure and solid explanation of all the phenomena in the various religious systems kindred to the doctrines of Christianity; and at the same time to prove the truth of Christianity by the fact, that its essential doctrines are as old as the existence of religion itself among men. Another more practical, apologetical course was followed by the intellectual, energetic Dominican Jerome Savonerola. Happy, had he not been involved in political conspiracies against the Medici in Florence, and thereby forfeited his life!

"At the commencement of the sixteenth century, Pope Leo X, the disciple of Angelus Politianus and Demetrius Chalcondylas, and the younger friend of Picus and Ficinus, was pre-eminent among the friends and patrons of polite studies. He it was who sent the Greek John Lascaris back to his native country, to purchase manuscripts of the classics and the Greek fathers, invited the most talented young men of Greece, in great numbers, over to Italy, to give them instruction in their native language, and by the most liberal pensions supported men of scientific merit. Among the most eminent Humanists of Italy at this period, the three cardinals, Sadoletus, bishop of Carpentras, Contareni, a Venetian senator, and Peter Bembo, their friend, occupy an important place. These were men of the purest virtue, and possessing the most enlightened, as well as interior Christian knowledge, whereof the two first have in several works, written with great elegance, left such splendid proofs. The last, the celebrated Ciceronian and historiographer of Venice, has, to our knowledge, left behind him no theological writings; but from his close intimacy with Sadoletus and Contareni, he is sufficiently known in a religious point of view."—vol. ii. p. 17, 18,

Vermischte Schriften von Karl Ernst Jareke: Miscellaneous writings by Charles Ernest Jareke. Second and third volumes; Munich, 1839.—"Whosoever," says a recent German critic, "wishes to see a triumphant refutation of rationalism in the science of public law; whoever wishes to gain clear and sound views on the origin of the state, upon the family, upon property, on the social classes, on legitimacy, on hereditary right, on modern constitutionalism, on taxation and administration, on the causes of the first French Revolution, on the history of the Bourbon Restoration, &c. &c.; let him not fail to peruse the writings of the distinguished publicist Jareke. Jareke is alike removed from the aberrations of the rationalists of political science, as from the one-sided views of the so-called historical school."

This judgment we are, ourselves, happy to confirm; the style of Jareke is remarkably clear and elegant; he is gifted with a power of vigorous dialectic, comparatively rare in his country; while his observations are often luminous and profound. In this short sum-

* See the Journal "Sion," November Number, 1839.

mary it is not, of course, in our power to do justice to the volumes before us, but we would fain call the attention of our readers to the admirable essay on the first French Revolution, where the author proves how much the abuses of the old monarchy have been exaggerated; how comparatively easy were the remedies for those abuses, if reform, and not revolution, had been the object of many; and how fatal, not only in its first effects, but in its remoter results, hath been the Revolution of 1789 to the establishment of a solid and stable system of freedom in France.

The author shows that the true causes of the Revolution are to be sought for not so much in the material abuses of power, (which existed to a much less extent in the reign of Louis XVI than at many former periods), as in *the spirit* of the nation at this time, in those principles of licentiousness, irreligion, and love of wild innovation, that had then taken possession of all orders of the French people.

Die heiligen Berge.—The Holy Mountains; by John Emanuel Veith, prebendary and preacher at the Metropolitan Church of St. Stephen's. Second edition; Vienna, 1840.—Such is the title of the pleasing work which the ingenious author has consecrated to the celebration of all the biblical mountains. He first describes the physical aspect of each mountain; traces rapidly the one or more important events in sacred history, whereof it has been the theatre; enlarges on the nature and character of these events; winding up the whole with appropriate applications. Thus, in the account of Mount Ararat, the deluge; in that of Mount Moriah, the immolation of Isaac by his father Abraham; in that of Mount Sinai, the promulgation of the Mosaic Law; in that of Mount Sion, the building of the Jewish Temple; in that of Mount Garizim, the Samaritan schism; and in that of Mount Thabor, the transfiguration of our Lord, are severally made the subject of philosophical reflection, or ascetic exhortation. The whole is a delightful blending of geography, physics, philosophy, and asceticism. The author, throughout the work, displays great familiarity with profane as well as ecclesiastical writers, fertility of fancy, depth of understanding, and a warm interior piety; a clear elegant style imparts an additional charm to these ingenious essays. Our space will allow us to make but one extract; yet that extract, beautiful as it is, will afford the reader a correct specimen of the nature of the present work.

“For not without reason have the nations of antiquity, who clothed the traditions of primitive history in myths and images, represented the patriarch Noah under the figure of Janus, who, in the course of ages, was regarded by them as a figure of peace and of the seasons. With Noah's recollection was connected the celebration of peace, for he it was to whom, in the sign of the rainbow, the peace of God was promised. With a double face, as one looking forward and backward, was he portrayed by later generations,

for he only (with his sons), had beheld that primeval world, which the flood buried and concealed, as well as the new or present surface of the earth, which emerged from the waters of the deluge. He alone it is, from whose lips the later generations of men, his posterity, have received all their knowledge respecting the primeval world and its history.

"But the richer and the more instructive the researches have been, which, in the course of the last few decades, have been instituted into the monuments of the past and perished world, the easier is it for the Christian to climb in spirit up Mount Ararat, which exhibits the tombstone of the ancient, as well as the foundation-stone of the modern world. From this height, with the double glance of Janus, he may learn to look into the remotest past, as well as into the remotest futurity, not merely into the one, and out of the other, but standing between the two, he can more clearly discern the problem of the present, as well as of his own existence."—Part i. pp. 29-30.

Die gesammte Katholische Lehre in ihrem Zusammenhange.—The Catholic Doctrine in its general Connexion. Expounded in a series of Catechetical Discourses, at the church of our Blessed Lady in Munich. Fourth volume. By H. Haid; Munich, 1839.—The excellent qualities of this work—comprehensiveness in its general plan, and solidity in its details—are strikingly apparent in the present volume. The doctrine of the Church is here treated with a degree of copiousness, of which, perhaps, no other catechetical work can boast.

Dr. Jacob Brand, Bischofs zu Limburg, Hand-buch der geistlichen Beredsamkeit, nach seinem Tode herausgegeben von Kaspar Halm, Dom Kapitular zu Limburg.—Manual of Ecclesiastical Eloquence. By Dr. James Brand, Bishop of Limburg, edited after his death, by Kaspar Halm, Canon of the Cathedral at Limburg. Second volume; Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1839.—The late Bishop Brand was highly esteemed as a pastor, and as a theological writer. This translation of portions of Holy Writ is very much admired, and has been, we believe, much used by Dr. Allioli, in his excellent version of the Bible. To all who desire to cultivate sacred eloquence, this posthumous work of the distinguished prelate may be safely recommended as a useful manual.

S. Vincentii Lerinensis Commonitorium. Jussu et auctoritate Reverendissimi ac illmi. Episcopi Culmensis, Anastasii Sedlag. Denuo editum ab Eduardo Herzog. Vratislavia. Sumtibus G. Phil. Aderholz, 1839.—The friends of Catholic literature will see, with pleasure, the second edition of this admirable work of St. Vincent of Lerins, as it not only offers a proof of the rapid sale of the first edition, but manifests the grateful sense the public entertain of the care and vigilance of the venerable Bishop of Culm, in defending and inculcating ecclesiastical tradition. The learned editor, in his preface, faithfully and concisely characterizes the worth of this writing in

the following words:—"Non solum fontem aquæ vivæ, e quo haurias, simul rationem hauriendi tibi auctor demonstrat. (v.)"

Briefe über Rom's Wohlthätigkeits-anstalten.—Letters on the Charitable Institutions of Rome. By Anton Passy; Ratisbon, 1839.—Excellent.

Das heilige Land, oder Beschreibung der merkwürdigsten Orte des heiligen Landes und der Stadt Jerusalem.—The Holy Land, or description of the most remarkable places of the Holy Land, and of the City of Jerusalem. Second edition, enlarged and improved; Ratisbon, 1839.—The following is the plan of the work: after some general, historical, and geographical notices upon the promised land, the author gives a description of the present state of Jerusalem, with constant reference to its condition in the time of Christ, and with allusion to the events of sacred history, whereby particular places are become remarkable. He then proceeds to the immediate environs of the holy city, and to such remoter points as have importance for Christians. The description of the theatre of Redemption is appropriately followed by an historical exposition of the work of redemption itself, as recorded by the four holy evangelists. A concise account of the miserable destruction of Jerusalem terminates the work. We particularly recommend it to the attention of youth.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ROME.—On the feast of the Purification, high mass was celebrated at St. Peter's, and His Holiness distributed wax tapers to the cardinals, prelates, and distinguished foreigners. It being the anniversary of His Holiness' election to the Chair of St. Peter, the usual rejoicings took place, both in the capital and the provinces. On this festival, the members of some of the religious orders present large tapers, richly ornamented, to the Pope; Father Gêramb, who had just recovered from a dangerous illness, offered one, on which these verses were written in letters of gold:

"Gregorii æternum numen tot duplicet annos

Pondere quot libras cereus iste tenet."

His Holiness replied that he would gladly accept the good wish, provided Father Gêramb would come every year to present the offering of the Trappists.

The French government has renounced the privilege which it possessed of naming, independently of the Pope's vicar-general in the city, the curate of the national church of St. Louis. It is now on the same footing as all the other national churches in Rome.

It is intended to publish a collection of all the briefs, and other decrees or instructions, issued from time immemorial, by the holy See against slavery. The apostolic letters, issued last December, on the traffic in negroes, have produced the most beneficial results.

A complete collection of the constitutions and regulations, relative to the Propaganda, from the time of its establishment, is being printed at the press of the Congregation.

Father Odescalchi, (formerly Cardinal), took the vows of the Society of Jesus, at Verona, on the feast of our Lady's purification. Many of the inhabitants of the city were present at this interesting ceremony.

The Liturgical Academy continues to hold its sittings every Tuesday. It is a revival of that formerly existing in the time of Benedict XIV, in which that pontiff took such delight, that he assisted regularly at all its meetings in his own palace, and appointed, as its secretary, one of his most intimate and confidential friends, Father Sergius, of the order of *Pii Operarii*. In one of his bulls, he terms it his only comfort in the thorny cares of his pontificate. Some few notices of it are to be found in the works of Cancellieri, and in a recent publication of Cardinal Pacea's. The subjects examined during the present course, refer entirely to the holy sacrifice of the mass. Its meetings usually last about an hour and a half; they are opened by reading a few passages from the council of Trent; these are followed by the dissertation; and a short moral discourse on the duties of ecclesiastics closes the conference. Several of the prelates are members of it. The first dissertation was read by Monsignor Riario, the second by Monsignor Martinucci, the next by Monsignor Corazza; the fourth, by the Very Rev. Dr. Wiseman, treated of the different rites of the church in the celebration of the mass, and her anxiety to preserve them. Amongst the remaining essays, we believe one will be given by the Rev. Dr. Baggs, Vice-Rector of the English College.

During Lent, sermons were delivered in all the principal churches by the most distinguished preachers. Father Finetti, S. J., whose published discourses we have had occasion to notice, preached at St. John Lateran's, and the Canon Romiti, at St. Peter's. Father Camerata, a Capuchin, preached on the usual days in the palace, before his Holiness and the cardinals.

After Dr. Baggs' course had closed, at the *Gesù e Maria*, a second course was begun, which continued till Passion Sunday, by the Very Rev. Dr. Wiseman. On the 16th, 18th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, and 27th of March, he delivered a course of lectures on the grounds of separation advanced by Protestants. We are happy to add that several conversions have been the result.

During Passion Week, the Very Rev. B. Esmonde, S. J. preached in the same church, on the destinies of man as developed by Divine Revelation.

On Palm Sunday, high mass was celebrated at St. Peter's, and blessed palms were distributed by His Holiness. The procession round the church followed, with the usual splendour; and the Passion, according to St. Matthew, was sung at mass.

Tenebræ were sung in the Sistine Chapel, on the evenings of Wednesday, Thursday and Friday.

On Maundy Thursday, high mass was celebrated in the Sistine Chapel by His Eminence Cardinal Pacca. The consecrated species for the mass of Good Friday, were then borne in procession to the Pauline Chapel. His Holiness afterwards gave his benediction from the gallery over the portico of St. Peter's, and thence proceeded to the right transept of that basilica, to wash the feet of the apostles, whom he afterwards served at table in the gallery whence the benediction had been given.

On Good Friday, the *Mass of the Presanctified* was sung by Cardinal Castracane, Grand Penitentiary. Before mass, the cross was uncovered with the accustomed solemnity. The adoration of the cross followed. For this deeply-affecting rite, was used for the first time the beautiful piece of the true cross, which has been lately found in the Vatican. It was sent by a patriarch of Jerusalem to St. Leo the Great, and was placed in a case by him. The case was lost at the sacking of Rome by the Bourbons, in the beginning of the sixteenth century; and another rich case was made for it by Clement VIII. Both were missed in 1730, and were recovered under Pius VI, since whose pontificate it was again lost, and was found, a few weeks ago, by Monsignor Massimo, the Pope's majordomo; it will be kept in the sacristy of the Papal Chapel.*

On the afternoon of Thursday and Friday, the Cardinal Penitentiary sat in his confessional in St. Peter's, for the purpose of receiving the confessions of such as applied to him.

On Holy Saturday, high mass was celebrated in the Sistine Chapel, by Cardinal Bianchi.

During Holy Week, pilgrims were received at the Trinità de' Pellegrini. Their feet were washed by the cardinals, princes, and other distinguished and pious persons belonging to the confraternity. The female pilgrims were received in another part of the establishment, by the members of the devout sisterhood formed for that purpose. This pious and charitable association was begun about the year 1548, by St. Philip Neri, (who had not, at that time, taken orders,) in conjunction with his confessor and other persons. The fruit of their common exercises of piety induced them to give a new form to their institute, and, during the Jubilee, published by Julius III, in 1550, they took a house for the purpose of receiving the numerous pilgrims who resorted to the Holy City. Many persons desired to become members of their Confraternity; and to give a greater extension to their charity, they resolved to receive, for a few days, the convalescents who had been dismissed from the public hospitals, before their health was fully restored; many of whom had moved

* See the Pontifical Mass, sung at St. Peter's, lately published at Rome, by the Very Rev. Dr. Baggs.

their pity by relapsing into more dangerous maladies than those whereof they had been cured. For this purpose they took a new and more extensive establishment, on the site of the present hospital. The wonderful advantages produced by it were seen in the Jubilee of 1575, under Gregory XIII, and of 1600 under Clement VIII; during which year the number of pilgrims received and lodged amounted to two hundred and seventy thousand. Several of the Popes have assisted, and have washed the feet of the pilgrims on these occasions. This is recorded of Clement VIII, Urban VIII, (1625), Innocent X, (1650), Clement X, (1675), Clement XI, (1700), Benedict XIII, (1725), Benedict XIV, (1750), and Leo XII, during the last Jubilee in 1825. The sight of this devout work of humility and love, has been the means of converting many Turks and unbelievers, who had been there received as pilgrims. Amongst them was a nephew of Calvin.

On Easter Sunday, High Mass was celebrated in St. Peter's by the Pope, who afterwards gave his benediction, *Urbi et Orbi*, from the upper portico. In the evening, the usual illumination took place, and, on the following evening, the grand display of fireworks was exhibited from the Castle of St. Angelo.

On Easter Monday and Easter Tuesday, the High Mass in the Vatican Chapel was sung by Cardinals Mai and Tosti.

On Low-Monday, a Secret Consistory was held in the Vatican Palace, in which His Holiness pronounced the Allocution to which we have elsewhere alluded, in commendation of the Christians, who have so generously shed their blood in defence of the faith in Tonquin and Cochin China. His Holiness likewise nominated to the following sees, Archbishops of Lyons, (Monsignor de Bonald, bishop of Le Puy,) Chambery, Auch, Cæsarea *in partibus Infidelium*, Bishops Valva and Sulmona, (united), Calvi and Teano, (united), Albenga, Cuneo, Spalatro, California, (a See lately erected by His Holiness), SSma. Concezione of Chili, Corico, Pompejopolis, Abdera, Amoria, Antifello, Botra, and Germanicopolis. The last seven are *in partibus Infidelium*. Instance was made to His Holiness to grant the Pallium to Monsignor Nicholas Isaïas de Giaccobbe, formerly coadjutor, now Patriarch of Babylon, Monsignor de Bonald, Archbishop of Lyons, Monsignor Billiet, of Chambery, and Monsignor De la Croix, of Auch.

On Thursday, the 30th of April, the Academy of the Catholic Religion held its first meeting in the Roman University. The introductory lecture was delivered by Cardinal Bianchi, of the order of Cameldolese Monks, formerly Abbot of the Convent of St. Gregory the Great. The course of lectures during this season, will embrace a defence of several of the Popes, from the aspersions cast upon them by different writers.

His Holiness has created a new Cardinalial title, which he has given to the church of St. Gregory, and has conferred it, in the first instance, on Cardinal Bianchi, who took possession on St. Gregory's day.

The Emperor of Russia has sent a large quantity of malechite, sufficient to incrust the walls of the two chapels of the transept of St. Paul's. He has likewise ordered four candelabra to be wrought in gilt metal and malechite, which he will send from St. Petersburg. The Vice-Roy of Egypt has offered to the Pope four fine columns of oriental alabaster, the quarries of which he has discovered in his dominions. It had been intended to purchase them from him, but as soon as he learned they were for the Pope, he expressed his determination to present them to St. Paul's, which he had heard His Holiness was rebuilding with so much magnificence. That immense undertaking advances so rapidly, that it is expected his Holiness will be able to celebrate mass at the Confession of the Apostle on his festival. The high altar is completely restored, and the mosaic of the apsis is now opened to view. The restoration is carried on in the most costly and munificent style, and will be worthy of the glorious pontificate of Gregory XVI.

On the 11th of May, the Very Rev. Dr. Wiseman was appointed Coadjutor of the Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, in the Midland District. The Very Rev. Dr. Weedall, and the Very Rev. Mr. Wareing, President and Vice-President of St. Mary's College at Oscott, have been appointed Vicars Apostolic.

CONTENTS OF THE "UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE."

JANUARY.—Rome, (Introduction) by the Abbé Gerbet: Social Economy, (Lect. xv.) De Coux: Astronomy, (Lect. xiv.) Desdouts: Architecture of the Churches of Russia, (Lect. iv.) C. Roberts. *Review.* Mosaic Cosmogony, Regnier: Rohrbacher's Rapports entre les deux Puissances, Combaguille: Poujoulat's Toscane et Rome: Père André, S. J.; Tasso's Fugitive Poems, De la Gournerie: Arnaud's Poems, Daniélo. *Short Literary Notices.*

FEBRUARY.—Rome (iv.) Gerbet: Christian Psychology, (vi.) Steinmetz: Social Economy, (Introduct.) Rousseau: Criminal Law, (ix.) Albert du Boys: Russian Churches, (v.) C. Robert. *Review.* Monuments and Reminiscences of the City of Liège, by Condé: M. Charles Ste-Foi's, Livre du Peuple et des Rois, and Livre des âmes: Notice of the Abbé Paramelle, by Viscount Alban de Villeneuve. *Review of German Religious Works:* the Archbishop of Cologne, on Civil and Religious Liberty; by the Abbé Axinger. *Short Literary Notices.*

MARCH.—Legislative History of the Church (Introduct.) De Riancey: Social Economy, (i.) Rousseau: Architecture of Russian Churches, (vi.) C. Robert. *Review.* Preaching of Christianity in Gaul, Bazelaire; Scientific Researches at Algiers; Archeological Results of the Expedition, Thomassy: Journey to Rome, De Genoude: Public Instruction under the Ancient Monarchy, Jaquemets; Reboul's Dernier Jour, Guyot. *Short Literary Notices.*

INDEX

TO THE

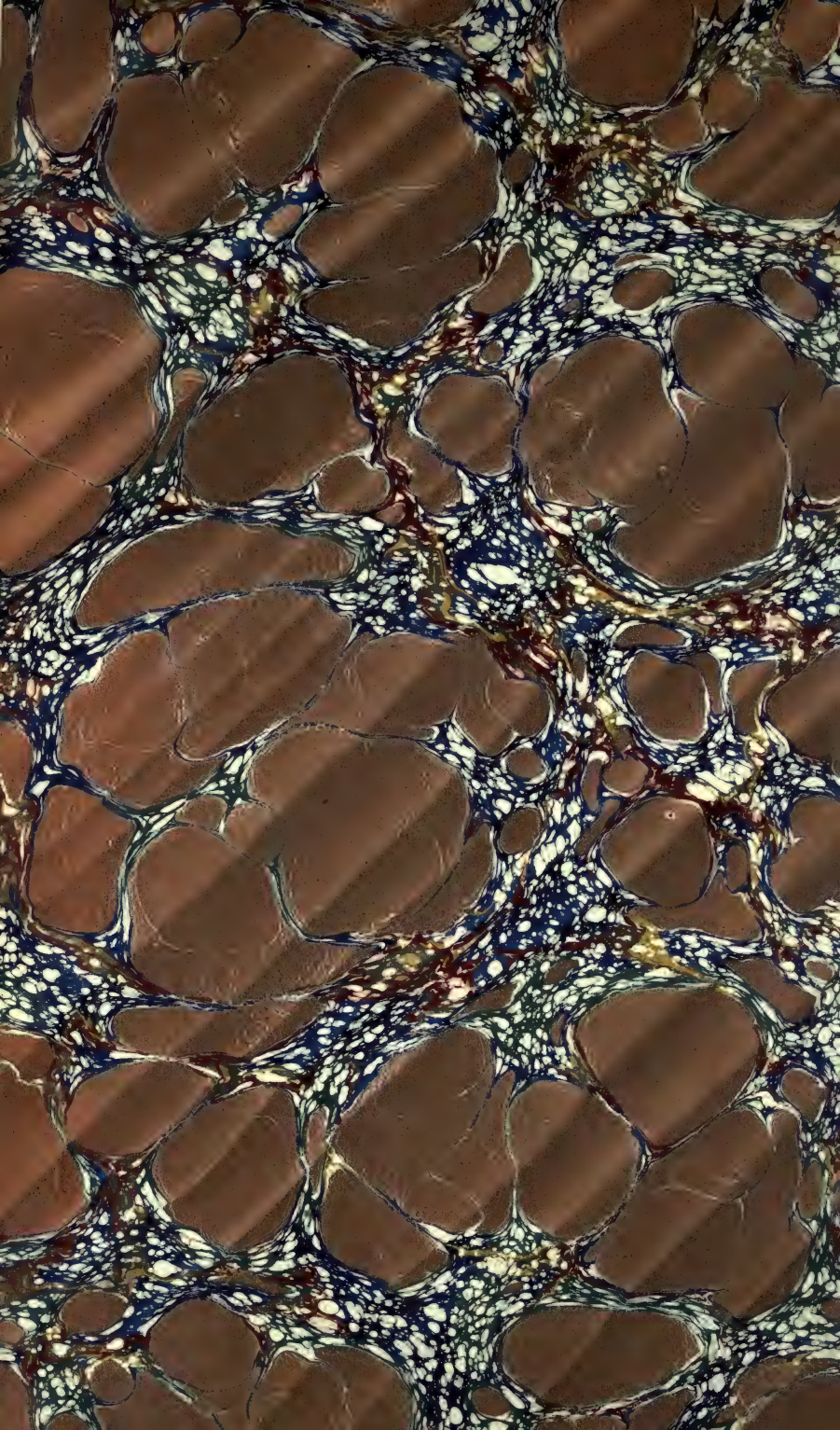
EIGHTH VOLUME OF THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

- AGES OF FAITH**, 289—character of the people in them, 291—their love of poverty, 296—their meekness, 299—their love of mourning, 307—their thirst after justice, 307—their purity of heart, 309—their love of peace, 313.
- Ajib**, story of, in *Arabian Nights*, similarity to *Orlando Furioso*, 116.
- Alaric**, the Goth, his preternatural respect for the Christian churches, 194—his devastation of Pagan Rome, 195.
- Alchemist**, account of, at Bagdad, 439.
- Allocution of Pope Gregory XVI.** on the subject of the martyrs, 540.
- Ambrose, St.**, whether or not opposed to image worship, 507.
- Angelo, Michael**, a poet; the book noticed, 541.
- Anne Boleyn**, her first child a son, 342—her issue declared the heirs of the throne, 346.
- Arabs**, account of them by Fraser, 443.
- Arabian Nights**, review of new translations of, 105—different origin of its stories, 106—version of them by Galland, 113—by Scott, 114—copy found and translated by Von Hammer, 114—foreign versions, 120—version by Dr. Maximilian Habicht, 121—analysis of its stories, 114—who was the author, 119—version by Mr. Torrens, extracts from, 121—prose extracts, 124—notes of, 127—its illustrations, 127—translation by Mr. Lane, extracts from, 131—manuscript copies of in England, 132.
- Articles**, Forty-two, published by Synod, of London, in Edward's reign, whether or not generally received? 360—authority, civil and ecclesiastical, their mutual limitations, 374.
- Association for the Propagation of the Faith**, its spread in England, 251.
- Assyria**, first appearance described by Fraser, 429.
- Athanasian creed**, statement of the Dublin Review, misstatement of Mr. Perceval concerning it, 491.
- Augustine, St.**, upon image worship, 510—cited on the subject of penance, 519.
- Authority**, civil, the people the source of it, such the opinion of Catholic writers, 10.
- Babylon**, ruin and inscriptions of, 441.
- Baghdad**, an incident in its history, told by Fraser, 430—description of it, 433—its noises, 436—the plague there, 437—its present appearance, 438—inscriptions between that city and Téhéran, 446.
- Barrington, Sir Jonah**, his account of the Irish gentry, 457.
- Beaufort, Margaret**, her life, 134—account of different lives of her, 136—her life as written by Miss Halsted, 137—her birth, 138—character, 139—marriage, 140.
- Belgium**, now the only country where civil and religious liberty is understood, 375—profound repose there not incompatible with the existence of parties, 376—comparison between its government and that of France, 377—glance at its history, 379.
- Biography of pious Catholics**, imperfectly written by Protestants, 134.
- Bishops**, deprivation of their authority by Henry VIII., 348—ecclesiastical powers granted to them by commission, 353—suspended from their jurisdiction, 355.
- Blondel, David**, his treatment for refuting the story of Pope Joan, 61.
- Books**, Catholic, their publication prohibited, 60.
- Books written against Catholicism**, 63—indirectly attacking it, 63.
- Buckingham, Duke of**, his discontent and designs upon the crown, 146—ill-success of his insurrection, 150.
- Calvin** concerning obedience, 43.
- Canons** adopted by convocation of 1603, 40—in 1640, 44.
- Catholics**, English, their views of kingly power, 19—injustice recently endured from the penal laws, 326.
- Catholicity**, its prospects in England, 240—its increase dreaded, 241—improved education its great hope, 252—preachers required, 263.
- Chartism**, its rise and fall, 271—inexcusable in the affluent population of England, 273.
- Church of England**, her doctrine concerning divine right, 35, 39—her conduct at accession of William and Mary, 49—whether changed in her opinions, 53—did she reform herself? 334—with what justice does she disavow the name of Pro-

- testant? 338—her condition at two different periods compared, 357—as respects government, *ibid.*—worship, 358—doctrine, 359—changes made in her by Mary, 361—whether her hierarchy can claim apostolical succession, 364.
- Church, Established, her weapons against Popery, 1.
- Churches, Catholic, and of England, their principles respecting civil liberty compared, 5-8.
- Churches, Catholic, multitudes built in the last year, 243.
- Clergy, Catholic, merits of the last generation of them, 254—their duties as missionaries, 257—their labours too great, 260—how to lighten them, 261—Catholic clergy in Ireland, their zeal against intoxication, 460.
- Colleges, Catholic, in England, 245—their importance, 257.
- Confession, Mr. Perceval's misrepresentations concerning it, 487.
- Coronation, circumstances of that of Henry, 22—of John, 22—of Edward VI., 33.
- Cranmer, conduct in respect to his oath of allegiance, 342—assumes the command under Edward, 355.
- Council of Nice, difference between the Dublin Review and Mr. Perceval concerning the Presidency of it, 493.
- Delgado, Bishop Ignatius, his martyrdom, 534.
- Dickens, Mr., popularity of his works, 161—reason of his success, 163—delineation of character, 165—tendency of his works contrasted with that of those of Fielding and Smollett, 167—his originality, 170.
- Digby, K., Esq., his qualifications, 293—plan of his work, *ibid.*
- Divines, Oxford, new views of the Reformation, 335—they deny the authority of the forty-two articles, 359—puzzled by the changes in the reign of Mary, 362.
- Douai, college of, reason of its establishment, 372.
- Drunkenness, connexion between it and crime in Ireland, 461.
- Dublin Review not answered by Mr. Perceval, p. 515.
- Ducpétiaux, Mr., on national education, 409.
- Due, Rev. Bernard, his martyrdom, 538.
- Education, civil and religious, in Belgium, 373—all restrictions upon it done away with by the revolution of 1830, 389—three distinct systems now in operation, 389—the Catholic, *ibid.*—the national, 391—that of the *Université Libre*, 395—nature of ecclesiastical education, 396—course of study supplied by the church, 399—pains taken to promote it by the Belgian Catholics, 405—reasons why the national system is opposed by them, 407.
- Edward VI, rapid progress of reformation in his time, 355—injunctions issued, *ib.*
- Elizabeth, Queen, why a Protestant, 363—her enactments in religious matters, *ibid.*—the church protests against them, 364—gives commission for an irregular consecration of Dr. Parker, 366.
- Encyclopædias, the calumnies contained in them against Catholicism, 66.
- England, history of her treatment of Ireland, 450.
- Extortion in the east, 425—faithlessness of its people in part accounted for, 429.
- Family Library, religious prejudices, 90.
- Fernandez, father Joseph, his martyrdom, 537.
- Fortescue, extracts from, 42.
- France destitute of liberty, 377.
- Fraser, Mr., his different works, 416—difficulties on his travels, 447.
- Frost, John, particulars of his life, 276—his appointment vindicated, 277—his motives for heading the rebellion, 278.
- Galileo, life of, spirit in which written, 91.
- Genius, poetical, deficient at present, 221.
- Gennadius, referred to on the subject of penance, in the controversy with Perceval, 517.
- German literature, 561.
- Gibbon, Edward, evil effects of his writings upon history, 190—his talent at once acknowledged, 191—his hatred of the vesper song, heard on the site of ancient Rome, inspired the plan of the Decline and Fall, 205—his hatred of Christianity shewn in it, 207—his character by Porson, 209—his own account of his conversion to Catholicism, 210—the penal code of England answerable in great measure for his apostacy, 214—his apostacy, 215—becomes a disciple of Voltaire, 216—his hatred of women traced to the cruelty of the minister's wife, 218.
- Gilda, Catholic, their re-establishment desirable, 269.
- Gratian, cited as an authority on penance, 521.
- Grotius, extract from, upon the practice of the church, 510.
- Haroun Al-Rashid, his cruelty, 437.
- Henares, right rev. father, his martyrdom, 535.
- Henry VIII, his conduct to the English clergy, 340—question proposed by him to parliament, 345—answers returned, 346—he is declared head of the church by parliament, 347—use made by him of his powers, 347—the nation distrusts it, 349—he assumed the right to decide on doctrine, 350—the spiritual jurisdiction ascribed to him by parliament, 353—also in the preface of the convocation to their book, 354.

- Herbert, Sir William, his guardianship of the Earl of Richmond, 141.
- History of the middle ages, its virulence against Catholics, 78—of the Italian republics, its prejudices, 81.
- History of the Decline and Fall, by Gibbon, 189—importance of the ages comprised in it, 189—the two chapters the least mischievous part of it, 208—its immorality, 209.
- Homilies, book of, 85, 39, 43.
- Innocent III on the obedience of all churches to Rome, 497.
- Institute, Catholic, suited to the times, 249.
- Ireland, desire of the Tories to coerce and ruin it, 271—charges against her refuted, 272—its present condition a reproach to England, 448—what she might have been if left to herself, 453—what she was, proved by her architecture, 454—her music, *ibid.*
- Irenæus, St., referred to, as saying that all churches must agree with the Roman church, 497—his conduct agreeing with this opinion, 499.
- Irish, the peasantry, if ignorant, whose fault is it, 456—gentry, character of them, 457.
- Italy, poem by Rogers, extracts from, 98.
- Jamasp, story of, in Arabian Nights, 115.
- Jerusalem, in how far the mother of churches, 496.
- Jesuits, account of them by Waterton, 328.
- Judgment, private, not allowed by church of England, 6.
- King of Holland, his measures against the Catholic religion in Belgium, 386.
- Koords, account of them by Fraser, 419.
- Lamartine's works, 221—their tendency, 222.
- Language, the Arabic, 106-121.
- Libraries, that at St. Mary's college, 253—others, *ibid.*
- Liberal, why applied as a distinguishing term from Catholic, 402.
- Liberal party in Belgium, their objects, 403.
- Literary Intelligence, 285.
- Literature, popular, its prejudices, 56.
- Literature, periodical Catholic, its increase, 251.
- Macabees, book of, why not retained by the church of England, p. 54.
- Macintosh, Sir J., his prejudices, 82.
- Magic, oriental notions of it, 112.
- Magna Charta mainly obtained by the church, 24.
- Maria Teresa, character of her government, 379.
- Mary, changes in the Church under her, 361.
- Mathews, Rev. Theobald, the apostle of temperance, sketch of his character, 466—his church and cemetery, 468—knowledge of the people, 469—his address on administering the pledge, p. 472.
- Meer of Rewandooz, his character, 427— anecdotes of him, his death, 428.
- Meerza Abool Caussim, account of him by Fraser, p. 417.
- Missionaries, Protestant, their cowardly and mischievous conduct, 530.
- Mohammed Meerza, his accession to the throne of Persia, 444.
- Monastic orders, propriety of reviving them, 388.
- Monmouth, duke of, his execution, 46.
- Monmouthshire, character of its mining district, 274—of its mining population, 275—absence of resident magistrates, 275—particulars of rebellion there, 279—escape of the lord lieutenant, 281.
- Mythology, Arabian, its similarity to the fables of the Talmud, 108.
- Mythology, Persian, 110—compared with the Indian, 112.
- Napoleon, his attempt to destroy the Catholic hierarchy in Belgium, 383—his treatment of those who opposed him, 384.
- National council called by Napoleon in 1810, 383—anecdote concerning it, 384.
- Nestorian Christians, account of them by Fraser, 419.
- Newport, conduct of its mayor and other magistrates, 280—insurrection there, a local disorder, 284—few Irish implicated in it, 285.
- Oath, Catholic, the insincere purposes with which instituted, 327.
- O'Connell, Daniel, his plan of agitation, 459.
- Ooroomia, the birthplace of Zoroaster, 418.
- Opinions, religious, importance of the history of them, 373.
- Oxford, university of, its decree on civil liberty, 48.
- Palmer, Mr., his sophistry in respect of Cranmer's oath, 343.
- Papal authority, how destroyed in England, 339—prohibited by parliament, 345.
- Parker, Dr., whether or not bishop by apostolical succession, 364.
- Pavillard, Mme., her avarice to Gibbon, 218.
- Penal code, persecution which Gibbon suffered under it, 214-217.
- Penance, controversy upon, 513.
- Perceval, Mr., and the Dublin Review, 485—his assertions without proof, 511—his opinions respecting penance, 512—his unfair stating of arguments, 517.
- Persecution in China, 530.
- Persia, our ignorance of it, p. 415—Shah of Persia, 418.
- Pickwick Papers, German translation of them, 160—inaccuracies in the translation, 173—unjustifiable omissions, 174.
- Pius VII, his entrance into Rome, 219.
- Pontiff, nature of his power, 13—frequently disputed, 14.

- Poor, present method of relieving them, 326.
- Popery, charged with advocating arbitrary power, 3.
- Popes, list of, vindicated from Stebbing's calumnious charges, 84—frequently re-proved by those who submit to their authority, 500.
- Porson, Dr., his character of Gibbon's history, 209.
- Propaganda, extract from a letter to, 539.
- Propagation of the faith, interest of its publications for Catholics, 529.
- Pugin, Augustus Welby, Esq., his holiness' letter to him, 287.
- Reformation, political condition of the country up to, 28.
- Religion, Catholic, how misrepresented, 56.
- Reviews, Edinburgh and Quarterly, their anti-Catholic spirit, 100.
- Richmond, Earl of, testimony of his tutors, 141; prophecy of Henry VI., 142—his departure to Brittany, 143—design to marry him to Lady Elizabeth, 148.
- Rights, their civil, well known to the people before the Reformation, 25.
- Right divine, doctrine of, why maintained by Church of England, 30.
- Rome, its destruction by the Goths, 196—her splendour, 198—present desolation, 199—Christian Rome, never occupied the seven hills, 201—dominion of Christian Rome, 202—its site, 203.
- Sacheverell, his opinions those of the Church of England, 51.
- Sanderson, Bishop, his language concerning the doctrine of non-resistance, 47.
- Slave, story of, 127.
- Somers, Lord, extract from his state tracts, 47.
- Sordello, notice of, 551.
- South American literature, 554.
- Suleimaniah, town and district of, Fraser's account of them, 426.
- Taste to be cultivated in the building of Catholic churches, 246.
- Temperance union, Ireland, 448—success of the societies, 460—plan they adopt, 465—first annual report, 466—temperance pledge and mode of administering it by Father Matthew, 469—moral regeneration, 478—effect upon the revenue, 482—the change is permanent, 483.
- Thiersch, M., his work on education, 411.
- Tonkin, southern province of, sufferings of the Christians there, 531.
- Tracts published by Catholic Institute, 249.
- Traders, Jewish, Turkish, and Persian, compared, 435.
- Translations of familiar stories, their absurdities, 170—anecdotes of them, 171.
- Travels in Koordistan and Mesopotamia, 415.
- Truth, Catholic, in what spirit it should be defended, 270.
- Université Catholique, its contents, 287.
- Université de France, established by Napoleon in Belgium, 382.
- University of Louvain, its system and professors, 390.
- Vendôme, Geoffrid of, referred to respecting penance, 517.
- Vicariates, Apostolic, in England, their division, 269.
- Voltaire, the instructor of Gibbon, 216— anecdote of him, 405.
- Waddington, Dr., extracts from, his bigotry, 91.
- Warrant to St. Mary's College to issue certificates to candidates for degrees in the University of London, 288.
- Waterton, Charles, his autobiography, 317—his style, 321—his character, 322—his description, 323—his taste for natural history early developed, 327—his account of Stonyhurst, 328—his journeys, 331—and wanderings, 332.
- Whelock, the Saxon homilist, 514.
- Worcester, Bishop of, anecdote concerning him, 62.
- Wourali poison, 333.
- Yen, Father Vincent, his martyrdom, 529.
- Zobcid Arabs, account of them by Fraser, 432.



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